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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L.

Author of the 'History of Europe from the Commencement of the French
Revolution in 1789, to the Battle of Waterloo,' &c. &c.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

CHAPTER XV.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF NICHOLAS IN 1825 TO THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE IN 1829.

	Page		Page
Rupture with the Mohammedan powers on the accession of Nicholas,	1	Retreat of the Russians from the south of Schumla,	25
Advantages gained by Russia over Persia,	2	Operations before Varna,	<i>ib.</i>
Statistics of Russia,	3	Siege of Varna,	26
Negotiations between Russia and Turkey,	<i>ib.</i>	Defeat of the Russians,	27
Destruction of the janizaries,	<i>ib.</i>	Fall of Varna,	28
Executions in Constantinople,	6	Operations before Widdin,	29
Effect of this revolution on the negotiations,	<i>ib.</i>	Abandonment of the siege of Silistria, and retreat of the Russians,	<i>ib.</i>
Civil reforms of the Sultan,	7	The campaign in Asia,	30
Conferences at Ackerman,	<i>ib.</i>	Siege of Kars,	31
Sultan Mahmoud continues his reforms,	9	Appearance of the plague in the Russian army,	32
Reforms of Nicholas in Russia,	<i>ib.</i>	Capture of Akhalzikh,	33
Operations in Persia,	10	Nocturnal attack on the Turkish camp,	34
Peace with Persia,	12	Assault of the town,	36
Preparations for war with Turkey,	13	Reduction of Alskhur and Ardagan,	37
Fresh rupture with Persia, and conclusion of peace,	<i>ib.</i>	Results of the campaign,	<i>ib.</i>
Recriminations of the Russians and Turks,	<i>ib.</i>	Paskewitch's plans, and formation of Mohammedan corps,	<i>ib.</i>
Forces of the Russians,	14	Defensive measures of the Porte in Asia,	33
Passage of the Pruth,	15	Assassination of the Russian minister at Teheran, and siege of Akhalzikh by the Turks,	<i>ib.</i>
Forces of the Turks,	<i>ib.</i>	Measures of Paskewitch against the Persians,	40
Russian plan of the campaign,	16	Opening of campaign with the Turks,	<i>ib.</i>
Passage of the Danube by the Russians,	17	Defeat of Hadgi Hassan,	41
Fall of Kustendji,	18	Battle of Kainly,	43
Siege of Brahilov,	<i>ib.</i>	Storming of the intrenched camp at Milli-Duz,	44
Turkish system of defence,	20	Advance of Paskewitch against Hassan-Kale, and its fall,	45
Capture of Anapa,	<i>ib.</i>	Fall of Erzeroum,	46
Combat of Bazardjik,	21	Further movements,	<i>ib.</i>
Cavalry actions,	<i>ib.</i>	Submission of the Pacha of Mush, and of Baibout,	<i>ib.</i>
General cavalry action before Schumla,	22	Disaster before Khart,	47
Blockade of Schumla,	<i>ib.</i>	Defeat of the Turks in Guriel, and subsequent checks of the Russians,	<i>ib.</i>
Journey of the Emperor to Odessa, and measures adopted there,	23		
Operations before Schumla,	24		

	Page		Page
Advance of Paskewitch against Baidoub,	48	Battle of Koulefftscha,	55
Defeat of the Turks, and termination of the campaign,	<i>ib.</i>	Fall of Silistria,	57
Armistice, and summary of the campaign,	<i>ib.</i>	Passage of the Balkan,	59
Preparations for the campaign in Turkey in Europe,	49	Subsequent movements,	<i>ib.</i>
Operations during the winter,	50	Successful attack on the Turks at Selimno,	60
Appointment of Diebitch to the command-in-chief,	51	Advance upon Adrianople, and its capture,	<i>ib.</i>
Naval forces of the Russians and Turks,	<i>ib.</i>	Treaty of Adrianople,	62
Commencement of the campaign,	52	Irruption of the Pacha of Scodra,	63
Combats at Eski-Arnautlar,	53	Affairs of Greece,	<i>ib.</i>
Siege of Silistria,	<i>ib.</i>	Convention of March 22, 1829, regarding the limits of Greece,	64
Redschid Pacha's movement against Pravadi,	54	The alleged regeneration of Turkey,	67
Diebitch throws himself on the Turkish communications,	<i>ib.</i>	Policy of Russia in the treaty of Adrianople,	<i>ib.</i>
Turkish movements,	55	Difficulty of the conquest of Turkey evinced in this war,	<i>ib.</i>
		Dangers of the Russian position in regard to Turkey,	69

CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCE, FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE ACCESSION OF THE POLIGNAC ADMINISTRATION.

	Page		Page
Advantages of Charles X. on his accession,	70	And of M. de Serres,	86
His character,	<i>ib.</i>	Recognition of the independence of St Domingo,	<i>ib.</i>
The Duke d'Angoulême is declared Dauphin,	71	Negotiations for the independence of the Spanish colonies,	87
The secret Camarilla of ecclesiastics,	72	Legislative measures regarding St Domingo,	<i>ib.</i>
Entry of the King into Paris,	<i>ib.</i>	Law of entail,	88
Abolition of the censorship of the press,	73	Finances of 1826 and 1827,	92
Increase of the Jesuits' influence at the court,	74	Measures of the Jesuits,	<i>ib.</i>
Their opponents in the Chambers and the press,	75	Preceptor to the Duke of Bordeaux,	<i>ib.</i>
General prosperity in France,	<i>ib.</i>	Law against the liberty of the press,	93
Measure regarding the army,	76	Riot at the funeral of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld,	95
Opening of the Chambers: strength of parties,	<i>ib.</i>	Review of the National Guard,	<i>ib.</i>
Flourishing state of the finances,	77	Disbanding of the National Guard,	96
Restoration of the estates of the Orléans family,	<i>ib.</i>	Treaty on Greece, and convention regarding the slave-trade,	97
Law of indemnity to the sufferers by the Revolution,	78	Financial projects and embarrassment of the Government,	<i>ib.</i>
Distribution of the indemnity,	83	New creation of Peers, and dissolution of the Chambers,	98
Law against sacrilege,	<i>ib.</i>	Elections and riots in Paris,	100
Law regarding religious societies of women,	84	Recriminations of Ministers and the Jesuits,	<i>ib.</i>
Measure for the reduction of the debt,	<i>ib.</i>	Dissolution of the Villèle Administration,	101
Coronation of the King,	85	Character of M. de Martignac,	102
Prosecutions against the Liberal press,	<i>ib.</i>	Answer of the King to the Address,	103
Death and character of General Foy,	<i>ib.</i>	Legislative measures of the session,	<i>ib.</i>
		New law regarding the press,	104

	Page		Page
Law against the Jesuits, . . .	104	Law for the departmental municipalities, . . .	107
Preparations for a change of Ministry, . . .	105	The King withdraws his measures, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Opening of the Chambers, . . .	106	State of the Legislature at the close of the session, . . .	108
Speech of Prince Polignac, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Prince Polignac Premier, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
State of parties in the Assembly, . . .	<i>ib.</i>		

CHAPTER XVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY TO THE FALL OF CHARLES X.

	Page		Page
Prince Polignac: his biography, &c., . . .	109	Proceedings of the Liberal chiefs, . . .	144
Character of M. de la Bourdonnaye, . . .	110	State of affairs at St Cloud, and firmness of the King, . . .	145
M. de Bourmont, . . .	111	Forces on the opposite sides on the morning of the 29th, . . .	146
M. de Montbel, M. de Courvoisin, and M. de Chabrol, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Mission of M. Arago to Marmont, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Violence of the Liberal press and preparations of the Liberals, . . .	112	Resolution of the deputies at M. Lafayette's triumphant journey in the south, . . .	147
Lafayette's triumphant journey in the south, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	The Louvre is carried by the insurgents, . . .	148
Retreat of M. de la Bourdonnaye, . . .	113	Marmont's first interview with Charles X. at St Cloud, . . .	149
M. Guizot, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Deliberation in the Council, . . .	150
M. Berryer, . . .	114	Ineffectual attempt to make a Ministry under M. de Montemart, . . .	151
M. Thiers, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Completion of the Revolution at Paris, . . .	152
Prince Polignac's Memoir, . . .	115	Last attempt at negotiation, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Hostility of the press to the Polignac Ministry, . . .	117	The Duke of Orléans refuses the lieutenancy-general of the kingdom, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Opening of the Chambers, . . .	118	Abdication of Charles X., . . .	154
Votes on the Presidency, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Revolutionary army which set out from Paris for Rambouillet, . . .	155
Debate on the Address, . . .	119	Falsehoods told the King by Marshal Maison, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Measures of Ministers, . . .	122	Journey to Maintenon, and farewell to the Guard, . . .	156
The King's answer, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Journey to Cherbourg, . . .	157
Prorogation of the Chambers, . . .	123	Last interview of the King and Prince Polignac, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Prosecutions against the press, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	His embarkation at Cherbourg, . . .	158
Report of the Finance Minister, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Charles's error in the conflict, . . .	159
Expedition to Algiers, . . .	126	Objects of the Liberal Opposition, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Battle of Sidi-Feruch, . . .	128	Error of the King in the ground he took for resistance, . . .	160
Fall of Algiers, . . .	129	Want of preparation on the part of the Government, . . .	161
Statistics of Algiers, . . .	130	Effects of the treachery of the troops, . . .	162
Agreement with Russia for extending the French frontier to the Rhine, . . .	131	Error of the military commanders on this occasion, . . .	163
Dissolution of the Chambers, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Mode of combating an urban insurrection, . . .	164
The elections, . . .	132	Influence of the Parti-prêtre on the Government, . . .	165
Resolution of the Cabinet on a <i>coup d'état</i> , . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Vehemence of the opposition which	
The ordonnances, . . .	135		
Total want of preparation for the <i>coup d'état</i> , . . .	136		
Commencement of the insurrection, . . .	138		
The first disturbance, . . .	<i>ib.</i>		
Attitude and security of the Court, . . .	139		
Meeting of the Liberal chiefs at Casimir Perier's, . . .	140		
Marmont's plan of operations, . . .	<i>ib.</i>		
Contest on the 28th, . . .	141		
Measures of the Government and Marshal Marmont, . . .	142		

	Page		Page
the Restoration experienced in France,	165	Decline in the material comforts of the working classes,	171
Effect of the continuance of peace in France,	166	Immense burdens on the land,	174
Effects of the destruction of the aristocracy in France,	168	Crowding of the inhabitants of towns,	175
Absence of the restraint of religion in the towns,	169	Effect of the destruction of commercial capital,	<i>ib.</i>
Number of natural children in the great towns,	<i>ib.</i>	Want of any representation of the working classes,	176
		Were the ordonnances illegal?	177
		Conduct of the King,	178

CHAPTER XVIII.

LITERATURE OF FRANCE DURING AND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

	Page		Page
Effect of the Revolution on the literature of France,	179	The Duchess of Abrantes,	201
Its distinguishing features,	<i>ib.</i>	Chateaubriand and Lamartine as writers of memoirs,	<i>ib.</i>
Character of the romantic school,	180	Cousin — M. Laménais — M. Villemain — M. Ginguené,	202, 203
Corrupt character of their drama,	181	M. de Tocqueville,	204
Chateaubriand,	182	Cuvier,	205
Madame de Staël,	185	Humboldt,	<i>ib.</i>
Guizot,	187	Poets: their decline in France,	206
Lamartine,	189	The Abbé Delille — Béranger — Paul Courier,	206, 207
Sismondi,	190	Decline of the drama,	207
Auguste and Amadée Thierry,	192	Romance-writers,	208
Michaud — Barante — Salvandy,	193	Victor Hugo — George Sand — Eugene Sue,	209, 210
Thiers,	194	Periodical literature since the Revolution,	210
Lacretelle — Capefigue — Michellet,	195, 196	Different class of writers in the daily press in France and England,	211
Military histories and memoirs,	196	The stage in France: Talma,	212
Napoleon Buonaparte,	197	Mdlle. Georges — Mdlle. Mars — Mdlle. Rachel — Mdlle. Bigotins,	213
General Jomini,	198	Architecture of Paris,	214
General Mathieu Dumas,	<i>ib.</i>	Modern French school of painting,	<i>ib.</i>
General Pelet,	199	Le Gros — Vernet,	215
Count Segur,	<i>ib.</i>		
Baron Fain,	200		
The Memoirs of France during the Revolution,	<i>ib.</i>		
Bourrienne,	<i>ib.</i>		

CHAPTER XIX.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY IN 1822 TO THE MONETARY CRISIS IN DECEMBER 1825.

	Page		Page
Paper either a representative of specie or a substitute for it,	216	Budget of 1823,	222
Effect of the South American Revolution on the currency,	217	Budget of 1824,	<i>ib.</i>
Causes which augmented the currency in 1823,	218	Conversion of the Dead Weight,	223
Effect of the expansion of the currency on prices,	219	Reduction of the 4 per cents to 3½,	<i>ib.</i>
Increased general prosperity,	220	Provision for the permanent reduction of the debt,	<i>ib.</i>
Mr Wallace's picture of the country from 1815 to 1823,	221	Grants for new churches, Windsor Castle, and the National Gallery,	224
		Prosperous state of the country,	225
		Ministerial changes from 1822 to 1825,	<i>ib.</i>
		Character of Mr Huskisson,	226

	Page		Page
The Navigation Laws,	227	Lord Dudley's picture of the Empire in the opening of 1825,	249
Retaliatory measures of other nations,	228	Sound condition of trade and manufactures to the end of 1824,	250
Mr Wallace's five Free-trade bills,	<i>ib.</i>	Excess of imports over exports,	253
Mr Huskisson's argument in favour of the Reciprocity System,	229	Drain of specie produced by the South American speculations,	254
Effect of the Reciprocity System,	232	The Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget,	256
Increase of the colonial trade,	234	Reduction of taxation and public accounts of the year,	<i>ib.</i>
Failure of the Reciprocity System to increase our exports,	235	Vast increase of crime,	258
Commencement of the Free-trade system,	237	Temperance Leagues,	259
Results of the system of Free-trade,	241	Renewed measures in favour of Free Trade,	260
State of the silk-trade,	242	Change in the laws regarding our colonial shipping,	<i>ib.</i>
Reduction of duties on foreign wools,	243	The monetary crisis,	261
Repeal of laws against emigration of artisans and combinations among workmen,	244	Increased circulation forced upon the Government,	263
Causes of the frequency of strikes,	247		
Aspect of affairs in the West Indies and Ireland,	248		

CHAPTER XX.

IRELAND, FROM 1822 TO THE MONETARY CRISIS OF DECEMBER 1825.

	Page		Page
Mr O'Connell's account of the Irish peasantry,	265	Renewal of the Insurrection Act, and composition for tithes,	275
Condition of the Irish poor,	<i>ib.</i>	Debates on Irish corruption and Catholic emancipation,	276
Effects of the power of the landlord,	266	Improvement of the country in 1824,	<i>ib.</i>
Redundant population in the country,	<i>ib.</i>	Working of the Tithe-Composition Bill,	277
Grants of the English to Ireland,	267	Rise of the Catholic Association,	278
Causes of the wretched situation of Ireland,	268	Roman Catholic question in reference to England,	279
Effects of the Roman Catholic religion,	269	Parliamentary Reform, Alien Bill, and reversal of Scottish attainders,	<i>ib.</i>
Splitting of farms for political purposes,	<i>ib.</i>	Act for uniformity of weights and measures,	280
Effects of the potato,	270	Chancery reform,	<i>ib.</i>
Want of poor-laws,	<i>ib.</i>	Bill to suppress the Catholic Association,	281
Absentee proprietors,	271	Catholic question, and majority in the Commons on it,	285
Ribbonmen and secret societies,	<i>ib.</i>	Duke of York's declaration on the subject,	<i>ib.</i>
Orange lodges,	<i>ib.</i>		
Irregularity and uncertainty in the administration of justice,	272		
Catholic emancipation the only remedy proposed,	273		
Disturbed state of the country,	275		

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH EMPIRE, FROM THE MONETARY CRISIS OF DECEMBER 1825 TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS IN MARCH 1829.

	Page		Page
Prospects of the nation in the beginning of 1826,	287	King's speech on the subject, and letting out of bonded grain,	287
Rioting in various places,	<i>ib.</i>	Real causes of the distress,	288

	Page		Page
The bill suppressing small notes, . . .	233	Notice of the battle of Navarino in the King's speech, . . .	328
Error in the debates in Parliament on this question, . . .	295	Grant to Mr Canning's family, . . .	329
Measures of relief proposed by Government, . . .	296	Finance Committee and Catholic question, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Banking system in Scotland and Ireland, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Corn-law Bill, . . .	330
The emigration question, . . .	298	Bill for the suppression of small notes, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Finances, . . .	300	Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, . . .	331
Motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Increase of disturbances in Ireland, . . .	334
Character of Sir Francis Burdett, . . .	304	The Catholic Association gets the complete command of the forty-shilling freeholders, . . .	335
Excessive heat and drought of Great Britain in 1826, . . .	305	Mr O'Connell elected for the county of Clare, . . .	336
Dissolution of Parliament, and elections, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Mr Lawless's progress to the north, . . .	337
Interference of the priests in the Irish elections, . . .	306	Mr Sheil's description of Ireland, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Opening of the new Parliament, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	The Catholic Association interferes to moderate the transports, . . .	338
Temporary relaxation of the Corn Laws, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Proclamation against the meetings, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
King's message regarding Portugal, . . .	307	Meeting on Penenden Heath, . . .	339
Mr Canning's speech on the subject in the House of Commons, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	The King urges more vigorous measures against the Catholics, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Improved state of the country in the beginning of 1827, . . .	310	Mr Dawson's speech at Londonderry, . . .	340
Death of the Duke of York, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Letter of the Duke of Wellington, and of the Lord-Lieutenant, . . .	341
Illness and retirement of Lord Liverpool, . . .	312	Violence of the Catholic leaders, . . .	342
Mr Canning's appointment, . . .	313	Difficulties which Ministers had with the King, . . .	343
Composition of the new Cabinet, . . .	314	King's speech, . . .	344
Character of Lord Eldon, . . .	315	Argument in favour of the Catholics, . . .	345
The Catholic Bill is rejected, . . .	316	The bill is carried, . . .	352
Mr Peel's speech against Catholic emancipation, . . .	317	Bill for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, . . .	353
Measure on the Corn Laws, . . .	318	Mr O'Connell's claim for a seat before the bill is rejected, . . .	354
Finances of 1826, 1827, 1823, . . .	321	The second Clare election, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Other proceedings in Parliament—silk-weavers, shipowners, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Character of Mr O'Connell, . . .	355
Penryn and East Retford convicted of bribery. Commencement of the Reform question, . . .	322	Difference between the results of emancipation and what was predicted, . . .	358
Position of Mr Canning, . . .	323	Spirit in which emancipation was received by the Roman Catholics, . . .	359
His last illness and death, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Its effects on the English Government, . . .	360
Lord Goderich made Premier, . . .	325	First effect of emancipation in inducing reform, . . .	361
Weakness of the new Cabinet, . . .	326	Effects of reform in inducing Free Trade, . . .	362
Reduction of the yeomanry, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Reaction against Catholicism in Great Britain, . . .	363
Dissolution of the Goderich Cabinet, . . .	327	And in America, . . .	364
The Duke of Wellington appointed Premier, and his Cabinet, . . .	<i>ib.</i>		
Mr Huskisson's resignation, . . .	<i>ib.</i>		
Reconstruction of the Cabinet, . . .	328		

CHAPTER XXII.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE PASSING OF THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL IN 1829 TO THE FALL OF THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION IN 1830.

	Page		Page
Want of representation for the commercial towns,	365	Financial measures, and great reductions of Government, . . .	382
The interests of the boroughs at variance with those of the country,	<i>ib.</i>	The abandonment of the Sinking Fund,	383
Division among the Tories,	367	Disinclination of the Whigs to parliamentary reform,	386
Catholic emancipation powerfully aided the desire for reform, . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Various motions on parliamentary reform,	387
Effect of the entire suppression of small notes in March 1829, . . .	368	Rise of the political unions, . . .	388
Motion on the distress of the silk-weavers,	369	Illness and death of George IV., . .	<i>ib.</i>
The budget of 1829,	<i>ib.</i>	William IV.: his character, . . .	390
Statement as to the causes of Irish distress and agitation,	370	His Queen,	391
Mr Waithman's exposition of the effect of the monetary system on manufactures,	371	Condition of Ministers after the accession of William IV.,	<i>ib.</i>
Relations with Portugal,	<i>ib.</i>	Debate on the question of a Regency,	392
The expedition to Terceira,	372	Prosecution of the press, and West India question,	<i>ib.</i>
Distress in Great Britain and Ireland during the whole of 1829, . .	373	Prorogation and dissolution of Parliament, and French Revolution, .	<i>ib.</i>
Serious riots,	<i>ib.</i>	Result of the elections,	393
Riots between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland,	375	Distracted state of Ireland, . . .	394
Meeting of Parliament,	<i>ib.</i>	Opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway,	395
Debate on the public distress, . . .	376	And death of Mr Huskisson, . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Position of the Duke of Wellington,	377	The railway system, and its rapid growth,	<i>ib.</i>
Sir James Graham's motion for a reduction of the salaries of public officers,	379	Disturbances and incendiarism in the southern counties,	399
Mr Hume's motion for a reduction of the army and navy,	380	King's speech,	<i>ib.</i>
Mr Thomson's motion for a revision of the system of taxation,	<i>ib.</i>	Lord Grey's declaration on reform, .	400
Ministers beat on a minor question, .	<i>ib.</i>	Duke of Wellington's speech against any reform,	<i>ib.</i>
Motion on the currency,	381	Mr Brougham's plan of reform, . .	401
		Postponement of the King's visit to the City,	402
		Division on the Civil List leaves Ministers in a minority,	403

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XV.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF NICHOLAS IN 1825, TO
THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE IN 1829.

1. It is a markworthy circumstance, that all the serious wars in Europe, between 1815 and 1830, occurred between the Christians and the Mohammedans. The English attack on Algiers in 1816, the French capture of the same place in 1830, the Greek revolution and its seven bloody campaigns, the war of 1826 between the Russians and the Persians, that of 1828 between the Russians and Turks, all partook of this character. Even the distant contests of the English in India were at last of the same description; the Mussulman soldiers were not the least formidable that the English had to encounter on the ramparts of Bhurt-pore, and on the plains of the Doab; and they never ran such danger as when they approached Ghuznee, the cradle of Mohammedan power in Central Asia. It would seem that, when the social contests of Europe itself are hushed, the ancient and indelible hostility of the European to the barbarian breaks forth; and that, when all domestic grounds of dissension have been removed from civilised man, the inherent causes of discord, arising from difference of race, religion, and physical circumstances between him and more savage tribes, never fail to arm one part of the species against the other.

2. Placed on the confines of Europe and Asia, the hereditary enemy, in every age, of the Mohammedan faith, it was impossible that Russia could long escape this general antagonistic movement of Islamism and Christianity which followed on the closing of the wars of the French Revolution. The pacific habits of the Emperor Alexander, indeed, and the strong direction of his mind, in his later years, to mystical objects, and the establishment of the reign of peace and benevolence among mankind, long prevented the collision, and averted the conflict, of the Cross and the Crescent, under circumstances when it otherwise would have become unavoidable. But with the accession of a new emperor this state of strained and unnatural pacification terminated. His character and feelings were essentially national; the frightful civil war which had preceded his accession to the throne rendered him doubly anxious to direct the popular passion to external objects; and the warm sympathy of the entire nation, and in an especial manner the army, with the religious struggle of the Greeks, rendered it not doubtful in what manner this direction might most effectually be given. No one, therefore, entered more cordially than the new Czar into the advances of the

British Government towards effecting a settlement of the Eastern question, by securing the virtual independence of Greece; and the protocol of 4th April 1826, signed by the Duke of Wellington and Count Nesselrode, which, as already mentioned, laid the foundation of that independence, was one of the most popular and agreeable acts of the new reign.

3. The last treaty between Russia and Persia, concluded on 24th October 1813, under the mediation of Great Britain, had recognised the principle of *uti possidetis*; and so largely had Russia been a gainer by previous hostilities that she acquired a very great accession both of territory and influence on that occasion. She had crossed the ridge of the Caucasus, established herself in a solid way between the Caspian and the Black Sea, and spread her dominion far to the south in the vast province of Grandscha, better known under the name of Georgia. The influence of Russia, however, by these acquisitions, was ere long felt by the Persian Government to be too great for a lasting pacification. Various disputed questions of territory still remained unadjusted; they had, under the terror of their new and formidable neighbour, drawn more closely their connection with the British Government; and a considerable number of English officers had communicated to the tumultuary array of Teheran, in a certain degree, the consistency of European organisation and discipline. Aware of these hostile preparations, the Emperor Nicholas, soon after his brother's death, despatched Prince Menschikoff upon a friendly mission, ostensibly to notify his accession to the throne, really to endeavour to effect an arrangement of the disputed points of territory. But this mission proved unavailing; the Prince Abbas Mirza was intoxicated with the thought of commanding an army of fifty thousand men, armed and disciplined in the European method; and so strong did the war party become, that hostilities were commenced, and a considerable part of the territories occupied, by the Russians to the south of the

Caucasus wrested from them, before any declaration of war had been made between the two countries.

4. The intelligence of the commencement of these hostilities reached the Emperor Nicholas during the festivities of his coronation at Moscow, in August 1826; but it related to too distant a province to occasion any interruption to that joyous event. Orders were sent to General Yermoloff, who commanded the troops beyond the Caucasus, to concentrate his men, and attack the enemy; and these orders were executed by that able general with decisive effect. On the 2d (14th) September Prince Madatoff with his division assailed Abbas Mirza, who was at the head of eight thousand soldiers, and so entirely defeated him that nearly his whole army dispersed. Advancing after this success, Madatoff joined the division of Aide-de-camp-General Paskevitch. The latter officer assumed the command of the little army, consisting of six thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and twelve guns, and now first gave evidence of his great military talents. He marched direct against the main Persian force, composed of twenty thousand regular infantry, twelve thousand horse, eight thousand irregulars, and twenty-four guns, who were posted at the distance of four miles from Elizabetopol, on the banks of the little river Djehani. Though the forces were so unequal, the contest was of very short duration; and it soon appeared, as had so often been proved in India, how little the Asiatics have gained by the attempt to engraft European steadiness and discipline on their fiery squadrons. Concentrating the fire of his artillery against their centre, Paskevitch soon broke it by a brisk attack with his infantry. Their wings, now isolated, took to flight. The Persians were totally defeated, with the loss of twelve hundred prisoners, and double that number killed and wounded; while the loss of the Russians was under three hundred men. In consequence of this check, the Persians retreated across the Araxes; and the Russian detachment towards the Cas-

pian, on the left, having gained similar advantages, the Muscovites again recovered and received the submission of the whole provinces which they had occupied before the war.

5. Some idea of the strength of the Russian empire at this period may be formed from the result of a general survey and enumeration of the inhabitants, which took place in the course of this year. From this it appeared that the entire superficies of the empire in Europe, Asia, and America, consisted of 375,154 square German miles (sixteen to an English); the population to 59,534,000; the excess of births over deaths to 700,000; and the army to 1,039,000 men, of whom, however, not more than 600,000 could be relied on as effective. The revenue amounted to 388,000,000 francs, or £11,500,000.* Various important regulations were at the same time made for the establishment of military colonies, especially in the newly-acquired territories beyond the Caucasus, which promised at length to give consistency to the Russian dominion in those vast recent acquisitions.

6. The interminable negotiations between the Russian and Turkish Governments regarding the subjects of complaint which the former had against the latter for violating the clause in favour of its Christian subjects, contained in the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest, appeared this year to have reached an extraordinary and unlooked-for issue. The Ottoman Government, impatient to bring the Greek war to a termination, and intent on the prosecution of the siege of Missolonghi, resolved to dissemble, and avert the threatened invasion of a hundred thousand Russians from Besarabia by a temporary submission. M. Miniacki, the Russian *chargé-d'affaires*, had on 5th April presented a note, in which he recapitulated the

demands of his imperial master, and required their unconditional acceptance within six weeks, failing which, hostilities were to commence. These conditions were — 1. The immediate re-establishment of the two principalities and Servia in the condition in which they were prior to the commencement of the troubles of 1821; 2. The instant redress of all their grievances, conformable to the treaty of Bucharest in 1812; 3. The evacuation of these provinces by the Ottoman troops, and the liberation of the Servian deputies, whom they still held in detention; and, 4. An entire satisfaction to Russia for the insult offered to her by the silence observed in regard to former notes. Contrary to all expectation, the Divan, at the expiration of the prescribed period, gave in their entire and unqualified adherence to the demands of the Cabinet of St Petersburg; the Servian deputies were immediately set at liberty, and orders despatched for the instant evacuation of the principalities and Servia.

7. This sudden acquiescence in the demands of Russia, and departure from the old procrastinating policy of the Turkish Government, excited at the time general surprise in Europe; but it soon appeared that it was the result of a deep-laid design, and formed part of a change of policy long contemplated in Turkey, and which its Government now considered itself strong enough to carry into effect. The janizaries had for ages been the terror of the government at Constantinople, and more than once they had prescribed their own terms to the Sultan, and even imbrued their hands in his blood. Various projects had at different times been formed for the breaking of their pride and the curtailing of their influence; but they all had hitherto proved abortive, from the want of any adequate armed force at hand to restrain the hostility and

	Square German miles (sixteen to an English.)	Population.
* Russia in Europe,	72,861	44,118,600
Poland,	2,293	3,702,300
Russia in Asia,	276,000	11,663,100
Russia in America,	24,000	50,000
	<hr/> 375,154	<hr/> 59,534,000

coerce the excesses of these unruly defenders. The present Sultan, whose predecessor, Selim, had been dethroned and murdered in his attempt to shake off the authority of these imperious masters, had been obliged at the commencement of his reign to dissemble, and he had not only been forced to abolish the *Nizam Djedib*, or new troops, but to swear to preserve all the privileges of the janizaries, and even to enrol himself in one of their regiments or *ortas*, for his service in which he regularly drew pay. But his determination was not the less irrevocably taken; he was only dissembling, to gain time for their destruction. During the interval he was indefatigable in his efforts to gain the confidence of the *Oulemas*, or learned and legal bodies; and the long wars with Ali Pacha and the Greeks had both afforded evidence of the necessity of putting the military force on a new footing, and giving time for the formation of a very considerable body of men, who might be relied on in the convulsion which was approaching. The preparations were now so far advanced that, though the janizaries saw their danger, they did not feel themselves in sufficient strength openly to take steps against it. Fourteen thousand *topjees* or artillerymen had been distributed in the barracks in and around Constantinople; and as they were the avowed rivals of the janizaries, and had been enrolled to coerce them, the utmost pains had been taken to secure their fidelity by every possible means. The pacha who commanded them, as well as the Grand Vizier, Capitan Pacha, and their own aga or general, were all devoted to Sultan Mahmoud, who had also secured the support of the muftis, and the powerful body of the Oulema.

8. In the end of May, after the differences with Russia had been adjusted, Government took the first step in the proposed reform of the janizaries, by the promulgation of a new plan of organisation, which, although cautiously conceived, to avoid exciting their jealousy, was yet calculated, when carried into full effect, to give a fatal blow to

their influence. Their statutes and privileges were preserved entire, and all those who drew pay or emoluments allowed to continue them during their lives; but the existing holders of these immunities were not to be permitted to sell or alienate them, and at their demise they were entirely to cease. From the *ortas*, or regiments, a hundred and ninety-six in number, fifty were to be selected to furnish a hundred and fifty men each, who were to be incorporated with the new troops, and clothed and disciplined after the European fashion. This hatti-sheriff was sanctioned by the signature of the Sultan, and of all the dignitaries of the State, and instantly proclaimed in all the mosques and places of public resort in the capital and chief cities of the empire. The pay of the new troops was raised to thirty *paras* a-day for private men, and to the officers in proportion. In addition to this, they were to receive dress and arms complete from the Government,—the latter consisting of a musket, sabre, and bayonet to each man; the former of a vest of red cloth, a pair of pantaloons of blue, and a cap of green cloth, edged with black sheepskin. Notwithstanding the magnitude of these changes, they had been so prepared, with the consent of the muftis, oulemas, and several of the chiefs of the janizaries themselves, that no resistance was at first experienced; the decree was read in the mosques without opposition; Egyptian officers began to drill the selected men; the clothing was served out; and as no new impost was imposed, the people remained quiet, and seemed disposed to acquiesce without opposition in the new order of things.

9. This state of matters continued for the first fortnight, and it was hoped the danger had blown over; but it soon appeared that these hopes were fallacious, and that a desperate conflict awaited the Government in their attempt to introduce the new regulations. The furnishing of the hundred and fifty men from the selected *ortas* went on without difficulty in the capital and neighbouring towns; but when the recruits began to be drilled and marched

in the European fashion, the discontent at once broke out. On the evening of the 14th of June the ill-humour of the troops assumed the form of open mutiny: the new regulations were stigmatised as a violation of the law of the Prophet, and the men were worked up to such a pitch that they burst in a tumultuous manner from their barracks, assailed the palace of the Grand Vizer, the Capitan Pacha, their own aga, and the Pacha of Egypt's diplomatic agent, which they plundered in the most shameful manner. These exalted functionaries only saved themselves by a precipitate flight; and if the insurgents had been conducted with more ability, and marched in the first moment of alarm on the Sultan's palace and the batteries, they would in all probability have proved successful, and might without difficulty have imposed their own terms on the Government. But being destitute of leaders of prudence or foresight, they neglected these obvious and necessary measures; and instead of improving their victory, when only half gained they thought of enjoying its fruits. Accordingly, after the pillage of the palaces, they dispersed among the wine-vaults in the neighbourhood, and gave themselves up to the most revolting excesses.

10. The Sultan and his ministers turned to much better account the breathing-time afforded by the intoxication of their antagonists. The Grand Seignior hastened to Constantinople from his beautiful palace of Benhick-tash, on the shores of the Bosphorus, and put himself at the head of the topjees or artillerymen, and faithful troops of every description, which were directed from all quarters upon the capital. A large park of artillery was brought from the arsenal of Topkhana, the gunners of which were entirely at his devotion; and the Sultan, whose gallant bearing animated the courage of all his adherents, soon found himself at the head of the chief civil functionaries and principal military authorities of the empire. By their advice—indeed, by their express orders—the famous *Sandjak Sheriff*, or sacred standard, said to be composed of part

of the dress actually worn by the Prophet, was brought forth from the sacred treasury, where it had so long lain, shrouded from the eyes of the faithful, and conveyed to the mosque of Sultan Achmet, with the whole solemnities practised on such occasions, which is of the rarest occurrence, and only resorted to on the most extreme danger. At the same time the public criers in every quarter published a proclamation denouncing the janizaries as enemies to the Prophet and his holy religion, and calling on every true believer to rally without delay around the standard of Mahomet.

11. These decisive measures had an instantaneous effect. The streets were immediately filled with a prodigious crowd of Mussulmans, of all ages and descriptions, fully armed, and inspired with the utmost zeal, who hastened to the various rallying-points assigned them, to swell the array of the followers of the Prophet. The regular force assembled amounted to ten thousand men; and the preparations being deemed complete, the rebels were three times summoned to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance to Mahomet and his vicegerent the Sultan. They positively refused, until they had received the heads of the Grand Vizer, of their own aga, of Hussein Pacha, and of Redschid-Efendi. These demands being of course refused, a decree was hastily passed declaring the abolition of the janizaries, and ordering Hussein Pacha to march against the rebels. They, on their side, prepared for the most vigorous resistance; the Atmeidan was filled with ferocious bands, whose cheering was incessant; and the overturning of all their camp-kettles, the well-known signal of determined revolt, told but too plainly that they were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The combat, when the topjees approached, was brief but terrible. The janizaries commenced an immediate discharge of small-arms, which was kept up with great rapidity, and resolutely withstood several rounds of grape-shot at point-blank range from the artillery. At length, however, a

large number having been mowed down, the remainder retired, but still in good order, and firing steadily on their pursuers, to their barracks, where they had prepared the means of the most determined resistance. But an awful catastrophe, almost unparalleled in civil warfare, there awaited them. Without attempting to force the gates, the Turkish commanders contented themselves with incessantly throwing shells into the building, which was speedily set on fire, and firing grape on the gates by which alone egress could be obtained. In these frightful circumstances the rebels offered to submit, but it was too late. Their petition was sternly refused, and the shells continued to fall and the grape to be discharged till the barracks were totally consumed, and the whole insurgents, four thousand in number, had perished in the flames, or been cut down in endeavouring to force their way out of them.

12. The victory of the Sultan was complete, but the strength of the party of the janizaries, both in the capital and the provinces, was too well known, and their innumerable deeds of violence too fresh in recollection, not to make the Government determined to push its advantages to the utmost, and utterly exterminate the unruly body which had now become as formidable to the throne as they had formerly been to its enemies. A summary court, composed of the principal officers of state, was formed in the Atmeidan, before whom all the janizaries who could be hunted out were brought, and on being identified as belonging to the obnoxious body, instantly sentenced to be executed. Above a thousand were put to death daily for several weeks. When the Sultan went to return thanks at the mosque of Sultan Achmet, it was observed that he was attended only by the topjees, and that the janizaries were entirely discarded. It soon appeared not only that all those engaged in the revolt were to be sacrificed, but that the insurrection was to be made a pretext for the destruction of the entire body throughout the whole empire. The Sandjak-Sheriff

was carried with great pomp to the Seraglio, where it was deposited in one of the inner courts, in token of the public danger, and the Sultan and all his attendants lived in the outer courts, encamped and in tents, as in presence of the enemy. During three months they remained in that situation, constantly engaged in examining spies and informers, and taking depositions and issuing orders for the execution of the janizaries in every part of the empire. It was calculated that, before the executions ceased by the exhaustion of their victims, above forty thousand had perished, besides an equal number driven into exile. In addition to this, the most severe measures were adopted against the whole body. Their name was proscribed, their barracks demolished, their camp-kettles, so often the signal of revolt, broken to pieces, their standards destroyed, and their whole duties transferred to a new corps of regular troops, to whom the defence of the city and empire was intrusted. The eighty gates of the capital, which it had been their privilege to guard, were intrusted to the topjees and bostandjis. The Sultan with his whole court assumed the Egyptian military dress; the old costumes were forbidden; the command of the entire new force given to Hussein Pacha, who established his headquarters at the old Seraglio, which he fortified in the strongest manner; the beauties of the harem who formerly inhabited it were transferred to the new Seraglio; and on the 3d September, as the pacification was deemed complete, the Sandjak-Sheriff was with great pomp carried back to its place of sacred deposit, in the mosque of Sultan Achmet.

13. This great and sanguinary revolution, which produced such lasting effects upon the Ottoman empire, and was intimately interwoven with its whole future destinies, produced an immediate effect, very different from what had been foreseen, on the negotiation between the Porte and Russia. Sultan Mahmoud had very magnificent ideas regarding the new military force which he was to raise; and he already contemplated the formation of

a regular standing army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. But he soon found that it is easier to destroy one military force than raise up another, and that the destruction of so numerous, ancient, and venerated a body as the janizaries, could not be effected without endangering the very existence of the empire. He received repeated warnings how deeply the public mind had been stirred on the occasion; a dreadful fire broke out, in August, in Constantinople, the work of incendiaries, which in a few hours consumed six thousand houses. On several occasions, when he appeared in public, he was received with unequivocal marks of displeasure; and instead of two hundred and fifty thousand recruits, not fifteen thousand were arrayed round the standard of the Prophet. The losses occasioned by the conflagration were immense; they were estimated at 140,000,000 francs (£5,800,000.) So great did the public discontent become, that a proclamation was at length issued, denouncing the instant penalty—the men by being beheaded, the women by being sewn up in a sack and thrown into the sea—against whoever spread reports or used expressions tending to disturb the public peace; and these terrible denunciations were the very next day carried into execution in every quarter of the city with unrelenting severity.

14. Nowise deterred by these alarming proofs of the public discontent, the Sultan pursued his plans of reform and regeneration with the utmost vigour. Inexorable in the destruction of all such as opposed his determination—terrible in the punishments he inflicted on all such as were suspected even of exciting the public mind against him, he rewarded generously such as adhered to his fortunes, and distributed frequent largesses among the troops, to reconcile them to the new exercise and uniform. He was equally vigorous in the prosecution of civil reforms, which he was well aware were, even more than military, essential to the restoration of the empire; and two important decrees, introduc-

ing a very different system of administration, date from this period. He first abolished the confiscation of the movable estate, which had hitherto invariably followed every execution by orders of the Porte, and forbade the officers of justice to interfere with the estate in the event of the heirs being minors; the second enjoined on all the cadis and mollahs the most strict and rigorous administration of justice, and recommended the immediate prosecution of false witnesses, and all disturbers of the right course of the law—all steps, and not unimportant ones, in the amelioration of the internal economy of the State, but the success of which too soon demonstrated that more depends on national feelings and habits than on any regulations that can be made for the direction of the people. And at the same time the Divan gave the strongest proof that they had no inclination to abate by far the greatest social evil—the distinction of races and religions—which afflicted the empire; for, by a decree published in the end of September, the whole population of the country other than the Mussulmans was enjoined to wear the ancient dresses, both in form and colour, and not to venture on those reserved for the followers of the Prophet.

15. The first effect of the destruction of the janizaries appeared in the negotiations between Russia and the Porte, which, as a humiliation to Ottoman pride, the Emperor Nicholas had directed to be transferred to Ackerman, a town of Bessarabia, in the Russian dominions. The conference began on the 1st of August. Great difficulty was experienced in the outset, as might have been expected, when the pride of the Osmanlis was compelled to yield to the stern necessity of the times, and the Russians made the most of the extraordinary advantages which circumstances had thrown in their way to exact the most rigorous terms from their ancient antagonists. The demands of the Cabinet of St Petersburg related chiefly to three points: 1st, The immediate restitution of the whole six fortresses in Asia, which the

Turks were bound to cede to the Russians by the last pacification, but of which they had only given up two; 2d, The relations and legal privileges of the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, of which the emperor had been declared the guardian by the treaties of Kainardji and Bucharest; 3d, The political emancipation of the Servians, whose present chief, Prince Molosch, had obtained his appointment contrary to the wishes of Russia, to the partisans of which he had showed himself peculiarly hostile. At the receipt of these demands, which were rendered more peremptory from a requisition that a categorical answer should be returned by the 25th September, the Turkish commissioners were so indignant that, in the first burst of anger, they threatened instantly to leave Ackerman. But the Russians, who desired nothing better than to commence hostilities when the janizaries were destroyed, and no other military force had been organised to supply their place, having at once offered them an escort to conduct them beyond the frontier, they deemed it best to temporise, under pretence of sending to Constantinople to obtain fresh instructions. They agreed, accordingly, to prolong the period for giving an answer to the 7th October, receiving intimation, however, that if they were not then acceded to without reservation, the Russian troops would cross the Pruth.

16. Such was the situation of the Turkish empire that, hard and even insulting as these propositions were, the Divan had no alternative but submission. The Greek insurrection, like a devouring fire, was consuming the vitals of the State, and entirely absorbed the resources of Egypt, the only part of it which could be relied on for military aid. The janizaries, who had for centuries formed the chief strength of the State, were in part destroyed, and the survivors were animated with such an unextinguishable animosity against the Government, that, if armed, they might be regarded as its most formidable enemies. Of the new levies, from which so much

had been expected, not fifteen thousand were as yet grouped round the Sultan's standard, and even they were very imperfectly disciplined. The English and French ambassadors had intimated the intention of their respective courts to take an active part in the intervention in favour of Greece, and throw into the scale in the conflict with that power the weight of their arms and the terror of their name. Pressed by so many dangers, the Ottoman Government, though with no intention, as it ultimately appeared, of adhering to their engagements, resolved on submission; and, on the last day allowed, their plenipotentiaries signed the celebrated *Convention of Ackerman*, which has ever since occupied so prominent a place in the diplomacy of the East. Some delay occurred in the ratification of the Sultan, but at length it too was adhibited, and the act became part of the international law of the two empires.

17. By this treaty, which was reduced into the form of two conventions, it was stipulated—1. That the whole provisions of the treaty of Bucharest, of 17th June 1812, were ratified and confirmed in their fullest extent. 2. Certain stipulations favourable to Russia, in regard to two large islands in the mouth of the Danube, contained in a convention between the two powers on 22d August 1817, were ratified and renewed. 3. The Sublime Porte solemnly engaged to observe all the treaties, privileges, and acts, on every occasion, in favour of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, contained in the treaty of Bucharest, as also the hatti-sheriff of 1802, which enumerated these privileges. 4. The frontiers of the two empires in Asia were fixed as they were at the moment of signing the treaty. 5. The privileges and concerns of the Servian nation shall be regulated by a hatti-sheriff, which shall be issued at latest in the period of eighteen months. 6. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to determine the compensation which was to be awarded to the Russian subjects who had suffered under the depredations of the Barbary pi-

rates, for which the Porte was held responsible, and to restrain all such acts of piracy in future. 7. The hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia shall be chosen, agreeably to ancient usage, by the boyards of those provinces respectively, subject to the consent and approbation of the Sublime Porte, the period of their enjoyment of power being in every instance seven years. 8. No hospodar was to be dismissed from office without notification to the Russian ambassador; but if no cause of complaint has been stated by that power, he may be re-elected, after notification to the Russian ambassador, for a second term of seven years. 9. The confiscated properties in the two provinces shall be restored to the former proprietors, and those implicated in the troubles of 1821 are to be permitted to return without being molested or disquieted in any particular. 10. All taxes and impositions were to be remitted to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia for the period of two years, and entire freedom of commerce and exportation of the produce of their industry to any part of the world.

18. Considered in themselves, and with reference only to present results, there was nothing in these conditions which appeared very detrimental to the Turkish empire. There were neither provinces ceded, nor fortresses surrendered, nor alliances imposed. But viewed in reference to ultimate consequences, the case was very different. By solemnly recognising the provisions in the treaties of Bucharest and Kainardji, which gave Russia a right of interference in behalf of the members of the Greek Church in certain parts of the empire, it established a RIGHT OF PROTECTORATE in a foreign power inconsistent with national independence, and which opened the door to perpetual foreign interposition. By the impunity which it stipulated for the rebels in Wallachia and Moldavia, the immunities provided to Servia, and the important right of free exportation of their produce, which it secured to all these provinces, it gave a striking example of the benefits

which those sheltered by this protectorate might expect from its influence. A large part of the inhabitants of the country were taught to look to a foreign court for protection and redress of grievances. The ruling power was felt to be elsewhere than at Constantinople. We may form some idea of the effects of such a foreign protectorate in dissolving an empire, from what we have ourselves done in India, and might assuredly expect if a similar system were turned against ourselves by France or Russia in Ireland.

19. Undeterred by the prospect of these remote dangers, or rather secretly resolved to avert them by breaking the treaties when the proper moment arrived, Sultan Mahmoud continued, without intermission, his military and civil reforms. The Seraglio, so long the seat only of indolence or pleasure, resounded with the din of arms; military officers were seen hurrying to and fro in every direction, bearing orders or despatches, as at the headquarters of a great army; and the Sultan himself was constantly engaged in the organising of fresh battalions, and the instructing the troops in the new exercises. Notwithstanding all his exertions, however, the raising of the new force proceeded but slowly; and it soon appeared that it had been a matter of absolute necessity to submit to the terms dictated at Ackerman. Before the end of the year, not more than twenty thousand men were assembled who had been drilled under the new system; and as they constituted the whole regular military strength of the empire, it may easily be figured to what perilous straits it was reduced, and what an opportunity was afforded to Russia for prosecuting her long-cherished projects of ambition on the shores of the Bosphorus.

20. Secured, in the mean time, in a great advantage, on the side of Turkey, by this convention, Nicholas pursued, during the next year, the projects of social amelioration which he had so much at heart, and the necessity of which the revelations made, during and after the great conspiracy of 1825, had so clearly demonstrated. Such

was the activity which he communicated to the judicial department that, in the course of the year 1826, no less than 2,850,000 causes were decided in the ordinary tribunals; and out of 127,000 persons under arrest when he came to the throne, only 4900 remained in detention in the beginning of 1827. A report to the Emperor in the beginning of 1827, however, showed that there were still sixty thousand processes in arrear—a state of things which gave him so much concern that he immediately issued a fresh commission to despatch them; and the Minister of Justice, Prince Labanoff-Rastowsky, received intimation that he might retire to his estates; and he was succeeded in his functions by Prince Dolgorowsky. A ukase of 5th March abolished a cruel species of torture, long practised among the Cossacks of the Don, which consisted in attaching the feet of a victim to huge blocks of stone in a room, while his hands were fastened at extreme tension to the ceiling, and leaving him in that position till he often expired. But amidst these noble cares, the vigilance of internal administration was in no respect lessened; and the increase of the exiles to Siberia, during the course of 1826, from nine thousand to twelve thousand, proved how widespread had been the conspiracy of the preceding year, and how strongly Government felt the necessity of extirpating, root and branch, so formidable a combination. The Polish patriots, in the course of the same year, were discovered to have been engaged in a great conspiracy, veiled under the name, and conducted by the fraternity, of Freemasons, which seriously attracted the attention of Government. A commission of inquiry was issued, which published an elaborate report, and a great number of noble Poles were arrested; but happily the proceedings against them were distinguished by unusual mildness, as the evidence against them was found to be insufficient; for after a few months' detention they were all set at liberty.

21. Notwithstanding the victories of the preceding campaign in Persia,

the Russian Government was far from being satisfied with the general result of the operations. Little durable advantage had been gained from all these successes, chiefly from the want of foresight in providing magazines, which rendered it impossible to move the troops in advance, whatever victories they had achieved. General Yermoloff, in consequence, whose talents, however great, had not proved equal to the emergency, was deprived of the command, which was bestowed on GENERAL PASKEWITCH, who had greatly distinguished himself in the preceding campaign in the capacity of aide-de-camp-general, and who was intrusted with the supreme command in Georgia. Great exertions were made to augment the military force at his disposal, which was increased to forty-six thousand men and one hundred and forty-eight guns—the largest Christian and disciplined body of men which had yet appeared to the south of the Caucasus. The campaign began, in the beginning of April, by an advance by Benkendorf at the head of five thousand men, on the fortified convent of Elschmiadzine, long celebrated from its strength and commanding position, but which was now abandoned by the Persians without opposition. On the 17th May, having got up the requisite supplies and reinforcements, General Benkendorf moved in the direction of ERIVAN, a fortress of great strength, deemed impregnable, and justly regarded as the bulwark of northern Persia. A brilliant cavalry action took place on the 20th May, when three thousand horse, under the command of Hassan Khan, were defeated by the Russian dragoons near Sardarabad, on the banks of the Araxes. Paskewitch, having now concentrated his army, advanced from Elschmiadzine on Nakhichevan, which he occupied on the 8th June. This was the prelude to the siege of the fortress of Abbasabad, which was invested in the middle of June by the commander-in-chief in person.

22. Informed of the danger of this important frontier fortress, Abbas Mirza advanced at the head of forty thousand

men, the chosen troops of the monarchy, to raise the siege; and the Sardar of Erivan joined him with a large body of irregular horse. The Russian general resolved to anticipate the attack; and, leaving eight battalions and a few guns to observe the fortress, passed the Araxes by a ford, by means of hides forming air-bladders, adopted from the Orientals by Paskewitch for the occasion. He found the Persians in a strong position outflanking his right, and supported on their own right by an imposing mass of five thousand irregular horse. The enemy appeared in great strength, and the position extremely formidable; but a headlong charge of the dragoons of Nijni-Novogorod and a body of Cossacks having checked the horse opposed to the Russian left, the infantry in the centre succeeded in making themselves masters of an elevated plateau in their front, from which their guns commanded the whole field of battle. The Persians, seeing their centre forced and their right in disorder, broke and fled on all sides. It was no longer a battle, but a rout; and before the Russians sheathed their victorious swords, the Persians had lost five thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners, several standards, and nearly their whole artillery. Abbas Mirza himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner, and owed his escape entirely to the fleetness of his horse. The loss of the Russians was only forty-nine men; and Paskewitch soon after reaped the substantial fruits of victory by the acquisition of Abbasabad, which surrendered on 31st July.

23. The Persians, however, were not discouraged by this defeat, which was, in truth, rather a "battle of the spurs" than a regular action. They made a vigorous attack on General Sipiagine, who was conducting a considerable park of artillery at Krasowsky, on the frontier of Russian Georgia; and though he succeeded in effecting the junction, it was only after repeated assaults and a very severe loss. They next laid siege to the monastery of Elschmiadzine, which was soon seriously endangered by the fire of their batteries. Upon this Krasowsky took the field to

raise the siege; but so weakened was the Russian force by detachments, that it was only with four battalions of infantry, five hundred Cossacks, and twelve guns—in all, scarce four thousand men. He was met on the banks of the Abarane by Abbas Mirza at the head of five thousand infantry and five thousand irregular horse, with twenty-eight guns. Notwithstanding this great disparity of force, the Russian general, moved by the danger of the beleaguered stronghold, resolved on an attack. The combat which ensued, though in the end favourable to the Russians, was extremely bloody, and evinced a degree of discipline and organisation in the Persian army much beyond what had been hitherto encountered. The Russians, without much difficulty, made themselves masters of the Persian position, which was the summit of a rocky ridge. But when they were there, they found the reverse side to consist of steep precipices, almost impracticable for artillery; and while hesitating what to do next, the Persians attacked them with the utmost impetuosity on all sides, while their artillery, which was admirably served, made fatal ravages in their ranks. At length the enemy were repulsed, but not before they had inflicted on the Russians a loss of twelve hundred men in killed, prisoners, and wounded, Krasowsky himself being among the latter. The Persians were weakened by nearly two thousand men. It was remarkable, in this well-contested action, that two Persian battalions charged two of the Russian guard, and came off victorious.

24. Informed of the narrow escape of this corps from destruction, Paskewitch hastened to the support of his lieutenant with all the forces which he could collect, and obliged Abbas Mirza to retire to the right bank of the Araxes; after which he undertook the siege of Sardarabad, the reduction of which was necessary before undertaking that of Erivan. It yielded after a siege of only four days, and Paskewitch immediately sat down before Erivan. The garrison, which was three thousand strong, made a gallant defence, and repulsed several attacks; but such was the consternation

of the inhabitants, that they could not be brought to take any efficient part in the defence; and on the 13th October, when a battalion of the imperial guard had already mounted the breach, they insisted on the governor imploring the clemency of the conqueror. The garrison, consisting of three disciplined battalions, the governor, and seven other khans, were made prisoners of war; the whole artillery of the fortress, with immense stores of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the Russians; and the bulwark of Persia, regarded over all Asia as impregnable, fell into the hands, and permanently remained under the power, of the Muscovites. Though the place had been in a manner taken by assault, no disorders of any kind were committed by the besiegers. The Russians were received rather as deliverers than enemies, and victors and vanquished met together in peace within its formidable ramparts. With great but not undeserved pride, Paskewitch addressed to his brave companions in arms a proclamation, which recalled the bulletins of Napoleon in his Italian campaigns: "Brave comrades! you have conquered in this campaign two provinces, taken eight standards, fifty guns, two sirdars, twenty khans, six thousand prisoners in arms, ten thousand who had cast them away, and great stores of provisions: such are your trophies!"

25. The remainder of the campaign was nothing but a series of easy successes, which cost the Russians more fatigue than blood. Prince Eristoff, whom Paskewitch had detached upon that service, occupied Ourdabad on 7th October, passed the Araxes on the 10th, the rugged defiles of Daradis on the 13th, and received the submission of all the tribes on the south of the Araxes. Such was the terror which the fall of Erivan inspired, that scarce any resistance was anywhere attempted; and before the end of October, Abbas Mirza found himself deserted by all his forces except five thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, with which, and twelve light guns, he retired in haste towards Khoi. Eristoff, having received intelligence that Abbas Mirza was prepar-

ing to destroy the important magazines in Tauris, the second city in the empire, and the residence of the heir-apparent to the throne, moved by forced marches upon that town. It formerly contained 250,000 inhabitants, now reduced by Mohammedan tyranny to 40,000; but it was still, next to the capital, the most important place in the kingdom. At the first news of the approach of the Russians, five thousand of the troops in the garrison left the town and disbanded. This disgraceful defection left the governor, Ali-Yar-Khan, only two battalions, with which it was impossible to defend a town of such extent. With this handful of men, however, he endeavoured to maintain the ramparts; but he was deserted in presence of the enemy even by them, and compelled to seek safety in flight, attended only by two followers. He was soon made prisoner; and the town, with its whole artillery, having been taken, Prince Eristoff next day, being the birthday of the Empress, celebrated a solemn service of thanksgiving in the great square of the place. The English consul and all his suite were present on the occasion. Five days afterwards Paskewitch made his solemn entry into Tauris, where he was received with great solemnity by the whole dignitaries of the Armenian Church, accompanied by an immense concourse of people, who rent the air with their acclamations, and strewed the road with flowers. The Russian general immediately set about the organisation of the conquered provinces as part of Russia, and established a landwehr, as a lasting barrier against their Mohammedan enemies.

26. These repeated disasters convinced the Persians at length of the necessity of coming to terms. On 29th October the governor of the province of Tauris sent in offers of accommodation; and Paskewitch having stated the conditions on which he was empowered to treat, and accorded a delay of six days, within which they might be accepted, the Persian Government sent in their unqualified submission on the 9th November. The Persians agreed to everything that the

conquerors demanded, and the Russians were forthwith put in possession of the ceded territories, which were very considerable, including the fortress of Erivan, and the province in which it is situated. Prince Abbas Mirza did the most flattering homage to the Muscovites by repairing in person to their camp, and commissioners were appointed to arrange the terms of a definitive treaty.

27. Hardly was the war with Persia at an end when Russia engaged in another. In the beginning of September the Emperor Nicholas gave the most decisive proof of his warlike intentions by a ukase, which ordered the levy of two males in every five hundred over the whole extent of the empire. By another ukase, published on the same day, the Jews were, for the first time, subjected to the military conscription. The departure shortly before of the Emperor's aide-de-camp, Count Capo d'Istria, with great pomp, to take possession of the presidency of Greece, indicated not less clearly in what direction the views of the Cabinet of St Petersburg were set; and the battle of Navarino, which occurred in the end of October, naturally led to violent recriminations on the part of the Porte, and brought the two empires into a state of scarcely disguised hostility with each other. It was soon apparent that, on both sides, war had been resolved on. Military preparations on a great scale were commenced in all the harbours both of the Baltic and the Black Sea, immense magazines were formed in Besarabia and at the mouth of the Danube, and every preparation was made for the crossing of the Pruth and invasion of the Principalities by an army of eighty thousand men.

28. But when all eyes were turned from the Araxes to the Bosphorus, and a new war was hourly anticipated with Turkey, advices were received at St Petersburg that hostilities had been suddenly resumed on the side of Persia. In effect, the Court of Teheran, informed of the battle of Navarino, and foreseeing an approaching rupture between the Muscovites and

Ottomans, deemed the opportunity too favourable to be lost, and resolved upon recommencing hostilities when the strength of Russia was mainly directed to the Danube. They refused accordingly to ratify the preliminaries agreed to, and insisted on the Russians retiring behind the Araxes before they paid any of the promised indemnity. But they did so too soon, before any Russian battalions had been withdrawn from the banks of the Araxes, and met, in consequence, nothing but disaster. In the middle of winter, and during a most rigorous season, Paskewitch resumed hostilities; General Pankratieff, in the middle of January, occupied Urumiyah; while Count Suchtelen moved upon Ardabil, where two sons of Abbas Mirza had taken refuge with two thousand men, who were obliged to capitulate. These disasters convinced the Court of Teheran that Russia was still too strong for their forces, and they determined to yield to necessity. The treaty was signed at Tourkmantchai, on terms even more rigorous than the preliminaries. It stipulated the payment of 20,000,000 silver rubles (£3,200,000) towards the expenses of the war, and the cession of the provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchewan, with the fortress of the first name, and a military frontier which commanded the entire north of Persia. That power lost by this treaty, which was justly regarded as a glorious triumph at St Petersburg, the only defensible frontier towards Russia, and all means of resisting its encroachments; for which it obtained a poor compensation in the guarantee of the succession of Abbas Mirza to the throne.

29. This outbreak in Asia hardly suspended for a moment the approaching hostilities in Europe. As usual in such cases, the hostile powers published manifestoes, in which they mutually accused each other of having given occasion for the rupture of pacific relations. There was too much truth in both sets of complaint. The Porte accused the Russians of having secretly fomented the insurrection of Greece, and openly attacked and de-

stroyed their fleet at Navarino, with having violated the treaties of Bucharest and Ackerman, and established connections with the malcontents in every part of the empire. The Russians replied by accusing the Porte of having excited the mountaineers of Caucasus to revolt, and invited them to embrace Islamism; with having violated or delayed the execution of all the treaties in favour of its Christian subjects, arbitrarily closed the Bosphorus on various occasions, and deeply injured thereby the southern provinces of the empire. It must be confessed that the balance of injuries inflicted was here decidedly in favour of Russia, as might have been anticipated in a contest between the superior and the weaker power; but, what was really extraordinary, and perhaps unprecedented in the annals of diplomacy, the Turks had the candour to admit, in a published declaration, that they had signed the treaty of Ackerman without any intention of performing its conditions, and merely to gain time,—a thing often done, but rarely confessed.*

30. Although hostilities had thus been determined on on both sides, yet it was not till the beginning of April that they actually commenced. The vast extent of the Russian empire renders it a matter of absolute neces-

sity to have several months, generally half a year, to complete their preparations and bring up their forces. When most of the troops have a thousand or fifteen hundred miles to march before they reach the theatre of war, it may readily be conceived how long a time must elapse before any considerable concentration can take place. Every preparation, however, was made during the spring months to augment the military forces of the empire, and communicate a warlike spirit to the inhabitants. The army stationed in Poland was in great part moved to the Pruth, and the troops there augmented by a fresh levy of twenty-five thousand men, calculated, with the forty thousand already in arms in that kingdom, to form an imposing reserve. Wittgenstein was appointed commander-in-chief and General DIEBITCH adjutant-general of the army on the Danube, which by the beginning of April mustered 70,000 men actually in the field. This force was augmented by the guards and 2d corps, which arrived in the end of August, in all to 102,000.† A grand review of the guards in presence of the Emperor, the Prince-Royal of Prussia, and the Prince of Orange, took place in St Petersburg in the beginning of April, at which the most unbounded enthusiasm was evinced. They defiled, with the Grand-

* "Les demandes faites par les Russes, l'an passé à Ackerman, au sujet des indemnités, et surtout à l'égard des Serviens, ne furent aucunement susceptibles d'être admises; néanmoins, les circonstances étant pressantes, on y acquiesça bon gré mal gré, et par nécessité, afin de saisir l'occasion de conclure un traité pour le salut de la nation Mohamétane."—*Circulaire aux Ayams de l'Europe et d'Asie*, 20 Decembre 1827; *Ann. Hist.* x. 120; *Documens Historiques*.

† Wittgenstein's army consisted of three corps d'armée and a reserve, in all eight divisions of infantry and five of cavalry, which should have presented 100,000 men and 80,000 effective under arms. Their numbers actually in the field, however, were nearly as follows:—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Total.	Guns.
3d Corps, General Roudzewitch, .	28,800	4,160	32,960	144
6th Corps, General Roth, . .	14,400	4,160	18,560	96
7th Corps, General Woinoff, . .	14,400	2,080	16,480	72
Total, .	57,600	10,400	68,000	312
Arrived in August.				
Imperial Guard, .	14,000	2,000	16,000	72
2d Corps, General Tcherbutoff, .	15,600	2,400	18,000	88
Grand total, .	87,200	14,800	102,000	472

duke Constantine at their head, amidst the cheers of an innumerable crowd of spectators, and took their departure for their distant destination to defend "the holy cause in which they were engaged," amidst the tears and enthusiasm of the entire inhabitants.

31. The bad weather retarded the commencement of military operations till the first week of May; but on the 7th of that month, the sun having broke forth, and the ground beginning to be covered with the first verdure of spring, the armed multitude commenced the passage of the Pruth. The spectacle was grand and imposing in the extreme. As far as the eye could reach, the left bank was crowded with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which, at a signal given after singing *Te Deum*, began to defile in admirable order to the bridges which had been previously thrown across at Skouleni, Faltchy, and Ipatska, amidst cheers which resounded over the vast expanse. The Turks, who were in no force to resist such a crusade, and had resolved on making their first stand on the Danube, had merely a few videttes of cavalry on the spot, which retired as the Russians advanced, and left the entire Principalities to the invaders. In a few weeks the level country was overrun, Jassy and Bucharest occupied; Galatz, with its valuable harbour, taken; their advanced guards observed Brahilov and Widdin, and the entire left bank of the Danube was occupied by the Muscovite troops.

32. The Divan on their part made the most vigorous efforts to maintain their independence. Though taken at a manifest disadvantage, from the old military force of the empire having been destroyed, and the new one not yet organised, they succeeded, by rousing the religious zeal of the Mussulmans, in putting themselves, in a short time, in a surprisingly respectable posture of defence. The ships which had escaped the disaster of Navarino were equipped anew, and got ready for sea; the forts on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus armed and garrisoned with trusty troops; war proclaimed against the Russians with

the utmost solemnity in the mosques, and all Mussulmans called on to take up arms in defence of their holy religion and national independence; a manifesto published against the Czar, embodying with great ability all their grounds of complaint against the Cabinet of St Petersburg; and at length the sacred relic, the Sandjak-sheriff, was solemnly brought forth, and the well-known symbol of war to the death—the horse-tails, which recalled the pristine conquests of the Osmanlis—were displayed on the gates of the Seraglio.

33. By these means, acting upon the naturally intrepid and warlike spirit of the Ottomans, a very considerable force was in a short time assembled, though but a small part was sufficiently disciplined to be able in the open field to contend with the formidable legions of the Muscovites. In the beginning of May, when the campaign commenced, the Turks had got together in Europe fifty thousand regular infantry (*Massouris*), several squadrons of regular cavalry, fifteen thousand spahis or feudal horsemen of the most admirable description, and twenty thousand gunners, who already had been brought to a surprising degree of efficiency and skill. The fortresses on the Danube had all been armed and provisioned, and for the most part provided with adequate garrisons; and a reserve force was already beginning to be formed at Adrianople, from whence to strengthen any part of the front line which might be menaced.* Schumla had been greatly strengthened with outworks, and already contained a garrison of twenty-five thousand men, in a position equally difficult to force and incapable of being left behind; and in addition to this, the irregular hordes of the Albanians, the Bosniacks, the Roumelians,

* Their total force opposed to the Russians, was thus distributed—

In garrison on the Danube,	25,000 men.
At Schumla, . . .	25,000 "
At Adrianople, . . .	30,000 "
In Constantinople and its environs, . . .	37,000 "

Total, . . . 120,000 "

—MOLTKE, i. 17.

and the Bulgarians, had been called out; and as every Turk is trained to arms, an accomplished horseman, and skilled in the use of firearms, they formed, though not regularly disciplined, a very formidable force, especially in desultory warfare, and for the defence of walled cities. It was calculated that, with the aid of these rude but brave and effective auxiliaries, the Turkish force in Schumla might, if the barrier of the Danube was forced, be raised to a hundred thousand men. In Asia Minor, where the Mussulman population constituted three-fourths of the entire inhabitants, and the religious spirit was at its height, the preparations, so far as numbers were concerned, were still more formidable; and it was expected that the commander-in-chief, the Pacha of Erzeroum, could collect a hundred thousand men round his banners—a force triple any which Paskewitch could bring against him. But they were the old feudal militia of the country, with a very slender intermixture of regular troops; and though most formidable in the defence of fortresses, or in detached cavalry actions, could not be trusted to move under fire in the open field, and were liable to disperse on any serious reverse.

34. By the Russian plan of the campaign, General Roth with the sixth corps was to occupy the two principalities, and extend his troops to the upper Danube; while the seventh corps, under the orders of the Grand-duke Michael, was to undertake the siege of Brahamlov, and having reduced it, to push on to Schumla; and Roudzewitch, with the third corps, should pass the Danube at Isaktchi, and move along the Black Sea to Varna, lending a hand at the same time to the seventh corps, which had advanced to Schumla. But this plan of operations, which was analogous to all those which the Russians had adopted in former wars, was open to very serious difficulties, owing to the peculiar conformation of the country, and the nature of the positions which the Turks occupied in it. Whoever will cast his eyes on the map will perceive that the Muscovite army ex-

tended in this manner from the shores of the Euxine to the frontiers of Austria, and, having its communications stretching from the Pruth to Widdin, over a distance of above five hundred miles, exposed, in any offensive movement, its flank, in a most hazardous manner, to the Ottoman forces, comparatively concentrated, and resting on the fortified towns, which gave them the command of both banks of the Danube. As long as the latter were in possession of the triangle of which Silistria and Roudschuck formed the base, and Schumla the apex, the Muscovites not only could not, without extreme hazard, venture to push across the Balkan, either by the shores of the Black Sea or the great road by Sophia to Belgrade, but they were exposed to great risk from the power which the enemy possessed of making an inroad from their fortified posts on the Danube *into the very middle of their long line of communications*. It was impossible that every point of this line could be equally guarded; and if broken through at any one point by twenty or thirty thousand men, the whole supplies of the army would be interrupted, and its most advanced corps exposed to total ruin. This is the secret of the paralysis communicated to the whole Russian army, eighty thousand strong, by the defeat of inconsiderable bodies of men at Oltenitza and Kalafat in the campaign of 1853. These defeats endangered their whole line of communication, and arrested the march of entire corps, some hundred miles in advance, from the risk of being separated from their supplies and reserves.

35. To avoid this danger, of which the experience of former wars had made them well aware, the Russian generals, in the present campaign, resolved to push at once from Brahamlov and Silistria on Varna and Schumla, by which means their columns, instead of being *échelonnés* across the Turkish forces in a long line, would come up in front, one behind another, in a comparatively short one, so as to be able to give mutual support in case of danger. This plan was of course based on the command of the sea—a matter of

great importance in all wars in maritime districts, but which, in every age, has been of vital consequence, and generally decisive, in those of Turkey and Greece. The reason is, that the countries around the Euxine and Aegean Seas are so desolate and unhealthy in the plains, and so rugged and inhospitable in the mountains, that the passage of troops by land is attended with great loss of life, and the bringing up of supplies a matter of extreme difficulty, often impossibility; while, on the other hand, the ocean, penetrating every part, forms an interior line of communication, readily traversed in every direction, and affording to whoever has the command of it the means of transporting troops and the muniments of war in a few days to the most distant parts of the empire. The battle of Navarino, however, had given the Russians this immense advantage, and their dispositions soon showed that they were aware of its importance, and resolved to make the most of it in the operations which followed.* Yet was the country to which the war was in a manner confined, between the direct road from Roudschuck to Schumla and the sea, one presenting great difficulties to an invading army. The mouldering rampart of Trajan still ran, like the wall of Antoninus in Scotland, across the narrow neck of land which led from Rassova on the Danube to Kustendji on the Euxine; and when it was passed, the country between the river and the Balkan presented very great difficulties to an invading force.

* "Il est un cas dans lequel il est peut-être convenable de dévier de ce que nous venons de dire, et de porter ses opérations du côté de la mer: c'est lorsqu'on a affaire à un adversaire peu redoutable en campagne, et qu'étant maître décidé de cette mer, on pourrait s'approvisionner aisément de ce côté, tandis qu'il serait difficile de le faire dans l'intérieur des terres. Quoiqu'il soit fort rare de voir ces trois conditions réunies, ce fut néanmoins ce qui arriva dans la guerre de Turquie en 1828 et 1829. Toute l'attention fut fixée sur Varna et Bourgas, on se bornant à observer Schumla—système qu'on n'eût pas pu suivre en face d'une armée Européenne, lors même qu'on eût tenu la mer sans s'exposer à une ruine probable."—JOMINI, *L'Art de la Guerre*, i. 165.

Intersected, as that to the north of the Po is by the Adige, the Piave, and the Tagliamento, by a series of streams with impetuous torrents and rocky banks, which descend from the northern face of the mountains of Hæmus to the Danube, and from its eastern shoulder to the Black Sea, it presents a succession of defensible positions of which a retiring army can avail itself, and of which the Ottomans made good use in the two campaigns which followed.

36. The Emperor of Russia set out from St Petersburg for the seat of war on the 7th May, and arrived on the 20th before Brahamov, situated on the left bank of the Danube, the approaches to which were conducted by the Grand-duke Michael in person. But the formidable nature of the place, and the difficulties in getting up the siege equipage, owing to great floods in the river, having rendered it apparent that little progress could be made in the siege for some time, he resolved to push forward in person the operations for the passage of the Danube. But there a fresh difficulty presented itself. The place where the passage was to be attempted at Satunovo, towards the mouth of the river, was low and swampy, and a dike required to be driven a considerable distance through the inundation before the stream could be approached. The Emperor had been led to believe, from the information transmitted to St Petersburg, that the piles for the bridge and its approaches were already fixed. On arriving at the spot he found that the wood for them had not yet been cut down in the forests of Bessarabia. Finding that nothing could be done there for some time, he withdrew to Bender, where he spent two weeks with the Empress; and the preparations having at length been brought into a state of forwardness, he returned to the banks of the Danube on the 8th June. The third corps was to force the passage, which was opposed by eight thousand Turks, with a powerful artillery, resting on the fort of Isakthi. The Emperor established a battery of twenty-four twelve-pounders

on the bank, which vigorously replied to the Turkish guns; and under cover of this fire eight battalions were embarked, and hurried across. The boats grounded far from the opposite bank, and the men, leaping out, found themselves up to the knees in water, through which they had to wade under a fire of grape for a considerable distance, and then through deep swamps, before they reached firm ground. Protected by the fire of the gunboats, however, which kept up a vigorous cannonade, the brave Muscovites pushed forward, and the Turks, abandoning their guns, fled in disorder. Isaktchi was immediately surrendered, a *tête-du-pont* constructed, and the bridge having been laid across, the passage commenced and was continued during the following day without further interruption. Count Nesselrode published from Isaktchi an address to the inhabitants of the Principalities, in which, disclaiming all projects of territorial aggrandisement, he declared that the wishes of his imperial master were limited to securing to them their legal rights and privileges under the *protection* of Russia.*

37. Rudiger was intrusted with the command of the Russian advanced guard, which moved through the Dobroudscha upon the rampart of Trajan. They encountered only small bodies of the enemy, which skirmished while retiring, till they came to the fortress of Kustendji, at the extremity of the old rampart next the sea. It held out, however; but the approaches having

been rapidly made, on the 20th the garrison, having exhausted all its means of defence, capitulated on condition of the men being conducted to Pravadi. The Russians found on the ramparts thirty-six pieces of artillery; and, what was of much more importance, they became masters of a fortified harbour on the Euxine, where supplies could be landed with facility from the sea. The importance of this acquisition appeared the very next day in the arrival of twenty-six ships laden with provisions and stores from Odessa. Meanwhile their plan of campaign received a severe check on the Upper Danube. There General Roth was to force the passage of the river at Oltenitza, and blockade Silistria with part of his corps; but the Turks having established themselves in force opposite him at Turtukai, the operation failed.

38. Meanwhile the siege of Brahilov continued to be prosecuted with vigour; but there the Russians encountered a most sturdy resistance, and were taught that, in the defence of fortified towns at least, their antagonists had not degenerated from the valour of their ancestors. This fortress, the most important and strongest on the Lower Danube, is situated close to that river, on a plateau elevated seventy or eighty feet above its level. The Danube, a little way above the town, divides into two branches; and the smaller, which flows past its walls, is only four hundred yards broad. The other and larger branch passes the little fort of Matchin, rather more than a league distant. The place itself had no outworks, and none of the outer salient angles which in Vauban's system expose each face to a raking fire from the adjoining one. It has a rampart, however, thirty feet high, and nine bastions, with a deep wet ditch in front: the covered-way is narrow, but it terminates in a glacis, which forbade any access to the place except by regular approaches. The citadel is situated on an eminence on the right bank, and commands the whole interior. It is surrounded by a strong bastioned wall, but has no casemates or protection against shells other than the rude excavations behind the

* "Le dessein de sa Majesté n'est pas, et n'a pas jamais été, d'agrandir ses états aux dépens des provinces qui l'avoisinent. Vos doctrines sont donc à l'abri de tout projet de conquête: mais l'ordre légal dont vous êtes appelés à jouir; mais les bienfaits d'une administration régulière et stable; mais l'inviolabilité des privilèges que vous possédez, l'exercice paisible des droits qui en découlent, le bonheur, enfin, de votre terre natale, sous l'égide des lois qui doivent la gouverner,—tels sont et seront toujours les objets des vœux que l'Empereur formera pour vous; tels seront aussi, il se plaît à le croire, les résultats de la Protection qu'il ne cessera d'exercer sur les deux Principautés, et de l'administration provisoire qu'il vient d'y établir."—Réponse de M. le Comte Nesselrode à l'Adresse du Divan de Walachie, 12 June, 1828; *Annuaire Historique*, xi. 378, 379.

rampart, in which the Turks are in use to deposit their ammunition and combustible materials. The interior of the town bore no likeness to a modern city; it resembled rather the description which Montesquieu has given of ancient Rome. It had no regular streets, but passages cut for the entrance of cattle, booty, and provisions, through a confused mass of wooden houses or mud cottages. But in these hovels dwelt thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom ten thousand were capable of bearing arms; and these, joined to a garrison of nearly equal strength, constituted a most formidable body of defenders, whose resolution the Russians were too fatally taught in the siege which followed.

39. The first Russian troops appeared before this formidable fortress on the 11th May, when they made themselves masters, with scarce any resistance, of the suburbs. Operations in form, however, did not begin till the 17th, when the first parallel was opened. The trenches were armed with 24-pounders on the 25th, and a heavy fire commenced on the place. The Mussulmans, according to their usual custom, gave themselves very little trouble to disturb the advances of the besiegers, which were generally conducted in the night; they amused themselves with firing at single figures at a distance, as if to evince their skill in ball-practice. Their whole serious care was devoted to preparing a warm reception for the enemy when he should venture to mount the breach. Their isolated shots were so well directed, that they struck down daily fifteen or twenty men in the besiegers' lines. Several sorties at daybreak were also attempted, but with little success, though the vehemence of the besieged was evinced by their issuing forth with a pistol in each hand, and a poniard in their teeth. Meanwhile the besiegers continued their advances with great vigour, and several mines having been run under the walls, three great globes of compression were ordered to be fired at nine in the morning of the 15th June, while the assaulting columns

stood ready to rush forward when the last had exploded.

40. A breach of forty paces wide was formed by the third explosion, and the Russian columns, before the smoke had cleared away, and when the fragments were still falling, rushed forward to the assault, the generals and chief officers at their head. One column, however, missed its way, and got into the ditch at a point where the rampart was entire, owing to the failure of the second mine, and where it was exposed to a plunging fire from its summit, which occasioned a very severe loss. The other came right on the breach, and a few hundreds succeeded in reaching the summit, but they were immediately mowed down by the deadly fire which issued from the Turkish musketeers, retrenched behind the breach and posted on the tops of the houses. Several bold men on the right and left, indeed, succeeded in making their way in by escalade, and mounted on each others' shoulders, by the embrasures of the guns; but they were instantly bayoneted on the top, or struck down by the murderous fire which assailed them on all sides. In vain the Grand-duke Michael, who directed the assault, and the officers who headed it, exerted themselves to the utmost to encourage the troops, and repeatedly led them back to the attack. All their efforts were vain, all their assaults repulsed; and at length, gnashing their teeth with vexation, the Russians withdrew on all sides, having, by their own admission, three thousand killed and wounded around the breach. Soliman, the governor of the town, had made good his words when summoned to surrender: "Should the rampart be destroyed, we will make a second living one with our bodies." *

41. Nothing discouraged by this

* Such was the spirit of the besieged, that a boy of twelve years of age, who was made prisoner on the breach, when his younger brother, a boy of ten, had just been killed, having been brought before the Grand-duke Michael, and asked whether he did not lament his brother, he replied, "Why should I weep for him?—did he not die upon the breach?" —VALENTINI, 239.

bloody repulse, the Russians on the following day sprang a fresh mine, which opened a still wider breach than the preceding; and the troops having been disposed for an assault, the brave governor, who did not feel himself in sufficient strength to resist a second attack, proposed to capitulate, provided he was not relieved in ten days. The Grand-duke, however, would grant only a respite of twenty-four hours; at the end of which time, as no relief approached, he surrendered. He obtained the most honourable terms, the troops marching out with the honours of war, and being conducted to Silistria with their arms and field-pieces. The Russians found two hundred and seventy guns on the ramparts, and seventeen thousand pounds of powder, besides immense stores of wood and provisions in the magazine, which entirely subsisted the army for a month. There can be no doubt that the place made a noble defence, and that the governor was deserving of every commendation for his conduct in directing it; nevertheless, by the Mussulman customs, which do not distinguish between misconduct and misfortune, he incurred the penalty of death by consenting to a surrender. "Soliman," said the Grand Vizier, "has done well; but he should not have survived the fall of Brahamov." In effect, the bowstring was sent him; and it was with the utmost difficulty, and at the earnest solicitation of the Russian general, that he was saved from death as the reward of his devotion. The Russian loss in the siege amounted to 122 officers and 2251 men killed, besides the sick and wounded.

42. The Russian besieging force, after the fall of Brahamov, was directed upon Bazardjik, where it joined the third corps; while several columns were sent out who soon overran the whole level country between the Danube and the sea, as far as the rampart of Trajan. The fortresses of the district, Hirchova, Toulteha, and Matchin, capitulated at the first summons; the rapidity with which they lowered their colours begat the suspicion that the old janizary party was

still predominant in them, and that they took this method of revenging themselves on their oppressors. Meanwhile the Seraskier, Hussein Pacha, having collected twenty-two thousand men in Schumla, an advanced guard of eight thousand horse, under the orders of the celebrated Karadjeinim (Black Devil), advanced towards the Russian army on the road to Bazardjik. Jussuf Pacha, a great feudatory in Macedonia, was thrown into Varna with ten thousand men, and the garrison of Silistria augmented to nine thousand. A reserve began to be collected at Adrianople, to succour any point in the line which might be menaced; while the Sultan himself, with the standard of the Prophet unfurled, was making the utmost efforts to organise and forward reinforcements from the capital. The system of defence adopted, and the orders issued to the generals, were to take advantage of every defensible position, and harass the enemy in all possible ways, but avoid general actions, and in the fortified towns to defend themselves to the last extremity.

43. The Euxine is the interior line of communication to the Turkish empire; the party who has the command of it enjoys the inappreciable advantage of being able to direct his forces at pleasure in a few days to any place on its margin, while the enemy, toiling round its rugged or inhospitable shores, with scarce any roads practicable for carriages, is unable to render any timely support. Throughout the whole of this war, the Russians took the utmost advantage of the naval superiority which the battle of Navarino had secured to them; indeed, it was the main cause of their success. This is more especially the case on the side of Asia, for there is no road practicable for carriages along the shore of the Black Sea, by Anapa, from north to south; so that the troops proceeding from Russia to Asia Minor must have made the immense round by the pass of Vladi-Kavkas, or the Gates of Derbend, on the shores of the Caspian, before they could have reached their destination. On the 15th May an

expedition, consisting of eight ships of the line and six frigates, having on board seven thousand land troops, sailed from Sevastopol, and made for Anapa, a fortress on the opposite shore of Asia Minor, at the foot of the Caucasus, valuable both on account of its strength, and as containing a safe harbour of great value on that dangerous coast. The garrison consisted of three thousand men; but the Russians, having made themselves masters of the peninsula on which the place is situated, pushed their approaches with such vigour—the land forces being under the orders of Prince Menschikoff, the sea of Admiral Greig, a Scotchman in the Russian service—that on the 10th June three practicable breaches were made in the walls, and on the 11th the place capitulated. The besiegers found eighty-five guns on the ramparts, abundant stores of ammunition and provisions in the magazine, and became masters of a fortified harbour of great value on the north-eastern coast of Asia Minor.

44. The first engagement in the open field which took place in the campaign was in the neighbourhood of Bazardjik, on the 8th July. The Turks had evacuated it in the course of their retreat, and their rear-guard, consisting of six thousand horse, was imprudently attacked by General Read with an inferior Russian body of cavalry. After a furious conflict the Mnscovites were routed. Some squadrons of the hussars of Alexander, sent up to support them, shared the same fate; a gun was taken; and it was only by the opportune arrival of a brigade of foot that the Ottoman horse was at length arrested. The Russians in this affair lost twelve hundred men, and at one period six guns had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The superiority of the Turkish horse was rendered manifest by its result, and the sense of this never left either party during the remainder of the campaign. It was observed on this occasion, that though the Turkish cavalry were still equipped in the old fashion, and assailed their opponents by a swarm charge, yet they resumed their ranks more rapidly than formerly and ob-

viously obeyed the will of a single chief, instead of every one following, as heretofore, the dictates of his own impetuous courage. Such was the spirit of the men, that one of the Ottoman horsemen threw himself on a cannon which had been taken, as if to secure his prey, and was bayoneted while still sitting astride on it.

45. After this check Nicholas paused a week at Bazardjik, to give time for his reinforcements to come up. At length, deeming himself, on the arrival of the seventh corps from Brailov, in sufficient strength to face the Turkish horsemen in the field, the march was resumed, on the 15th July, with forty-two thousand men and a hundred and eight guns. The plan of directing one corps on Schumla and another on Varna was abandoned. Both united were now to advance on the former point by Koslodschi and Jenibazar. Rudiger, with 6000 men, formed the advanced guard; 24,000 under the Emperor in person supported him; 5000 were detached against Varna and Pravadi, to observe the former and secure the latter place; and 6000 were employed in keeping up the communications with the fleet and fortresses on the Danube. Another cavalry action took place between the Russian advanced guard, under General Rudiger, and a body of eight thousand Ottoman horse, with five guns, on the road between Bazardjik and Jenibazar. The Russians were here more rudely handled than on the former occasion; their advanced guard was surrounded, and in part broken, by the Turkish cavalry; and it was only by the advance of Rudiger himself, with two brigades of infantry and a battery of horse-artillery, that the enveloped squadrons were at length extricated, after having lost six hundred men. In this, as in the other cavalry actions at the commencement of the campaign, the Russian horse were greatly inferior in number; but it was evident, from their result, that they had conceived an undue contempt for their adversaries, and that the spahis were as formidable still on their admirable steeds as they had been in the

days of Soliman the Magnificent, or Bajazet the Invincible. Nothing could exceed the vehemence of their charge, or the impetuosity with which they threw themselves on the guns or bayonets of their adversaries; and their courage was now restrained by discipline, and directed by prudence; for they withdrew, when ordered, as readily as they had advanced, and thus escaped the disasters which, in former wars, had so often succeeded their greatest successes. It was the spahis of Bulgaria, each mounted on his own horse, superbly armed, and holding their lands by military tenure, which constituted this most formidable feudal militia.

46. Their strength was soon put to the test on the greatest scale. On the 20th July, the reserves having come up, and the troops, to the number of 30,000, being concentrated at Jenibazar, a general movement took place towards Schumla, with the cavalry in advance. The right was commanded by Roudyewitch, at the head of the third corps; the left by General Woinoff, who, with the assistance of Diebitch, in whose suite the Emperor placed himself, led the seventh corps. They had need of all their strength; for the Ottomans had ten thousand magnificent horsemen and sixty guns in the field, and watched only for an imprudent advance of some isolated body, to fall upon it, and trample it under their horses' hoofs. Several cavalry charges, with various success, took place; in the course of which the Turks evinced their improved military skill, by the manner in which they supported their cavalry by masses of infantry, and the masked batteries which they opened, on a repulse of their own men, on the pursuing squadrons of the enemy. The Ottoman horse maintained their wonted superiority over the Muscovite; but the invading army was too strong in infantry and artillery for their opponents; and, after several brilliant charges, seeing the Russians established in great force, with a hundred guns in front of their position, the Turks withdrew in the best order within their intrenched camp around Schumla,

where forty thousand men were now assembled.

47. The Emperor had at first intended to hazard an attack upon this important stronghold, the key to the Balkan, and the crossing-point of all the roads in that quarter which traverse that mountain-barrier. But these ideas vanished at the sight of the strength of the position, and the experience he had had of the tenacity with which the Turks maintained their ground on every occasion. It was resolved, therefore, to observe Schumla only with a corps of thirty thousand men, and to direct the remainder of the army and the reserves as they came up against VARNA, which presented fewer obstacles, and in the attack of which the command of the sea and the co-operation of the fleet promised several advantages. The force before Schumla was divided into two parts; the third corps received orders to occupy the redoubts erected to the north, that is, in front of the town, while the seventh was to extend itself to the south by Eski-Stamboul, in its rear, so as to interrupt the communication and complete the blockade. Count Suchtelen, with four thousand men, had taken a position before Varna, and sustained, with great intrepidity, the attacks of the garrison, which was superior in number. Benckendorf had seized Pravadi and destroyed a Turkish convoy. Silistria was blockaded by General Roth with ten thousand men, who, after his failure at Oltenitza, had descended the Danube to Hirsova and there crossed to the right bank; but they were not in sufficient strength to undertake till August the siege of so important a fortress; and General Geismar, on the extreme right, with a little corps, five thousand strong, protected Little Wallachia against the incursions of the Pacha of Widdin, with the garrison of that place, and Kalafat, its *tête-du-pont* on the left bank of the Danube. It was evident that this line of operations was too extensive for the force which the Russians as yet had in the field; the more especially as the powerful garrison of Schumla, instead of remaining within their lines, made daily sorties,

which, though attended with various success, were accompanied also with great loss of life, and for the most part turned to the advantage of the Turks.

48. The Emperor, perceiving that he was not in sufficient strength to undertake the siege of Schumla, or anything decisive, with the main army, till the guards and reserves, who had left St Petersburg in the beginning of May, came up, and deeming it derogatory to the majesty of the Czar to remain with the army in a state of inactivity, set out on the 2d August with a strong escort, consisting of twelve pieces of cannon and a large body of infantry and cavalry, for Varna. He arrived before that town on the 5th, and, after inspecting the approaches, which hitherto had made very little progress, he embarked, in the evening of the same day, on board the *Flora* frigate, part of Admiral Greig's squadron, which lay in the bay, for Odessa. He arrived on the 8th, and joined the Empress at a country palace at a little distance from the town. He there carried through two measures eminently indicative of the charges of the war, and the vast loss of life with which it had already been attended. The first was a loan of 18,000,000 of florins (£1,800,000), contracted with the house of the Hopes at Amsterdam; the other a general levy of four men in five hundred for the service of the army, promulgated by a ukase on 21st August. At the same time, a decree was issued, prohibiting the exportation of all sorts of grain from the harbours of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof—a measure destructive of the agricultural industry of the south of Russia, but adopted in the hope that it might starve the Sultan into submission.

49. Great as had been the progress and incontestable the advantages gained by the Russians since the commencement of the campaign, matters had now become more gloomy, and it was evident that the issue of the struggle, unless large reinforcements came up, was very doubtful. The plague had broken out in the rear of the army, and made great ravages; the usual pes-

tilential fevers of autumn had made their appearance in the Principalities and on the banks of the Danube; the hospitals were filled with sick; and without having as yet engaged in any pitched battle, the invading army was weakened by nearly half its numbers. Add to this, the roads, at all times bad, had been rendered all but impassable by the continued passage of carriages over them; provisions had become scarce, notwithstanding all the advantages enjoyed from the command of the sea; and the inhabitants of the Principalities, overwhelmed by contributions, and the passage of one large body of men after another, did their utmost to conceal what they had, or fled into the woods and mountains to avoid the exactions of their oppressors.

50. On the other hand, the condition of the Turks was hardly less critical, for they were pierced to the heart of their empire, blockaded in their stronghold, the last and greatest bulwark of the realm; they had lost the important fortress of Brahilov, commanding a passage of the Danube; a third of their territory in Europe was in the hands of the enemy; and Constantinople itself was blockaded by sea, and shut out from the supplies from the Euxine, on which it had hitherto depended for the subsistence of its inhabitants. In these circumstances, the firmness of the Sultan and his council was worthy of the very highest admiration. In a grand council held at Constantinople on the 2d of August, it was resolved that the Grand Vizier, Mahomet Selim Pacha, should forthwith join the army; on the 5th, the horse-tails were again displayed in the court of the Seraglio, in presence of the Sultan, his ministers, and an immense crowd of spectators; public prayers were offered up for the prosperity of the empire and the preservation of the true faith; and a fresh proclamation was issued, calling upon all Mussulmans to take up arms, and combat in defence of their country and holy religion. These energetic measures were attended with a great effect. Recruits came rapidly in from all quarters, the armaments went on with redoubled activity,

and Constantinople resembled an immense camp, where military exercises and preparations were incessantly going forward. On the 9th the Grand Vizier set out for Adrianople, attended by a splendid retinue, and in great pomp; but that gave rise to an occurrence which demonstrated how deep-felt had been the wounds recently inflicted on the old patriotic party, and on how precarious a footing the public tranquillity rested. When the procession set out, the well-known ensigns of the *ortas* of the janizaries were not to be seen; the public discontent soon became visible, and a tumult arose, which was not suppressed without measures of great severity, and the execution of a number of the persons suspected of favouring that hated body.

51. Meanwhile the operations before Schumla continued with various success, but on the whole to the advantage of the Ottomans. On the 15th August, Rudiger received orders from Wittgenstein to move on Kioitei, a village beyond Eski-Stamboul behind that fortress, and on the road to Constantinople, in order to dislodge a body of three thousand Turks who were stationed there, and kept up the communications with the interior. He was at first successful, and drove the enemy back; but, attacked in his turn by superior forces, he was routed with the loss of four hundred men, and a gun taken. This check revealed the superiority of the enemy in detached actions, the ascendant which their horse had acquired, and the extreme danger to which the army was exposed in consequence. Provisions were becoming scarce, and forage in particular, in consequence of the first growth of summer having been consumed or past away, was everywhere wanting. The Turkish horses, accustomed to be fed entirely on barley or bread, did not suffer in consequence; but the Russian, bred up on the green pastures of the Ukraine and the Don, were daily becoming weaker, and died in great numbers from pure inanition. This rendered a more extensive circuit for foraging indispensable; and that in its turn induced fresh dangers, by exposing the

advanced parties to attack, not only from the indefatigable light troops of the enemy, but the armed peasants, who had everywhere taken up arms to defend their hearths from spoliation. In a word, the situation of the Russians before Schumla in 1828 closely resembled that of the French around Moscow in 1812; great numbers of foraging parties were every day cut off, the horses of the army were rapidly melting away; and the Russians were experiencing the danger so often encountered by a victorious invader in Eastern warfare, that of being starved in the midst of their conquests by the superiority of the enemy in light horse.

52. These dangers were brought to light in the clearest manner by an event which took place on the 26th August, and what was really extraordinary, by a phenomenon wholly unknown in Ottoman warfare—a nocturnal surprise. At one in the morning a large column of Turkish infantry silently defiled out of Schumla, and attacked the last redoubt on the Russian right. The surprise was complete; the redoubt was carried, six guns taken, and General Wrede, with five hundred men, put to the sword. The Russians experienced an equal loss in their efforts to regain the redoubt, which was obstinately defended, and in the endeavour to rescue the guns, which the Turks succeeded in carrying off. This attack was not a mere detached operation, but was intended to divert their attention from the principal design, which was nothing less than to crush by a concentric attack the troops of Prince Eugene* at Marash, four thousand strong, and then assault General Rudiger near Eski-Stamboul, on the extreme Russian left, who would in that event have been seriously compromised. These attacks were not entirely successful, but such as they were they inflicted a serious loss upon the Russians, and demonstrated the extreme danger which they ran when scattered around Schumla, in presence of a powerful and enterprising enemy.

* Eugene had succeeded to the command of the 7th corps, on Woinoff being appointed to that of the cavalry.

53. The column destined to attack Marash, composed of eight thousand infantry, four thousand horse, and eight guns, met with more resistance than that which destroyed General Wrede, for the enemy were informed of what was intended, and were on their guard. One Russian battalion was cut to pieces in the first fury of the assault; and although obliged to retire by the vigorous attack which three other battalions directed against them, the besieged carried with them one gun, and inflicted a very severe loss upon the enemy. The division destined for the attack of Rudiger near Eski-Stamboul was still more successful; for that officer, on hearing of its approach, abandoned his post and retired behind the Great Kamtjik. In these different actions the Russians lost above fifteen hundred men and eight guns; alarm and insecurity were spread over their whole lines, and the Turks gained the substantial fruits of victory by the introduction, two days after the tumult, of a considerable body of troops and large convoy of ammunition and provisions into Schumla.

54. These disasters convinced Wittgenstein of the necessity of concentrating his troops, and evacuating the ground which he held around the Turkish position on the southern side. The redoubts on the Balkan side of Schumla were held for a few days after, to avoid the appearance of a defeat, but finally evacuated on the 6th August. The 7th corps, which had been stationed to the south of the town, was withdrawn, so as to be placed in close communication with the 3d, on the north of it, and both occupied positions on the roads to Jenibazar and Silistria. The communication of the troops at Schumla with both Adrianople and Constantinople was thus left open; not even the semblance of a blockade was kept up: the Russians merely occupied a position to the north, observing the place. The Turkish general profited by this opening to throw large supplies into it, which augmented the strength and audacity of the garrison so much, that, no longer confining themselves to operations on the Balkan side, they threw

out detachments on the road to Jenibazar, intercepted several Russian convoys, and daily made prisoners of great numbers of their foraging parties.

55. While affairs were beginning to wear this sombre aspect on the side of Schumla, the siege of Varna had come to be seriously prosecuted. The reinforcements from Russia began to come up in the end of August. They amounted to 35,000 men, and consisted of the Guards and 2d corps. The latter moved on Silistria; the former, numbering 16,000 of the best troops in the empire, were directed on Varna, and their arrival would enable the besiegers to assume the offensive in that quarter with every prospect of success. Previous to this, the investing force, including all forwarded from Schumla and landed from the fleet, amounted to 20,000. Admiral Greig, with eight sail of the line and as many frigates, kept up a close blockade by sea, and not only prevented any supplies from being thrown in, but destroyed a flotilla of twenty-eight Turkish gunboats in a bay in the vicinity. Prince Menschikoff unfortunately was severely wounded in the thigh by a cannon-ball in the commencement of the siege, which rendered it necessary to confer its direction on Count Woronzow, who immediately pushed it with vigour on the side next the sea, in order to obtain the advantage of the co-operation of the fleet. Foreseeing that important events were approaching, the Emperor returned in person to Varna, and took the command of the besieging army; while General Golownin was detached to Galata, on the other side of the bay, between the sea and the Lake of Dewno, to take the command of the covering force, 5000 strong.

56. It soon appeared how necessary the great reinforcements which were now coming up were to the invaders, and how serious were the dangers which threatened them on the side of Schumla. Vague reports had of late reached the Russian outposts of the arrival of the Grand Vizier with ten thousand men at Adrianople, and the concentration of daily increasing num-

bers in Schumla, and ere long Wittgenstein had convincing proof of their presence. Half an hour before day-break on the morning of the 8th September, three of the Russian redoubts on the left of the 3d corps were attacked by eight thousand Turkish foot, while nearly an equal force assailed the left of the 7th corps, under Prince Eugene. The Ottomans were vigorously resisted, for the Russians were forewarned and on their guard, and after a bloody combat they were obliged to retire; but the Russians having pursued with their attenuated horse, the spahis turned upon them fiercely and slew great numbers, so as entirely to stop the pursuit. Such was the exhaustion of the Muscovite horse, that sixteen in one brigade dropped down dead under their riders during the pursuit; and every day afterwards they lost one hundred or one hundred and fifty men in detached combats with the enemy. Seeing that it was now impossible to keep up even the semblance of a blockade, and that his army was daily melting away under the Osmanli sabres, Wittgenstein resolved on a general concentration of his troops in front of Jenibazar; but by a direct order from the Emperor he was obliged to retain his position before Schumla for the present.

57. Meanwhile the siege of Varna was slowly advancing; for the extraordinary intrepidity of the Turks greatly interrupted the operations, and their activity gave the Russians no respite night or day. In the night of the 31st August, the besieged made three sorties, and gained possession of an important post, which was only wrested from them the following night by a great expenditure of life. On the 8th September the Emperor arrived in person, and communicated new vigour to the besieging force, which was now reinforced by 16,000 men, with 72 guns. The two divisions of the guard, which were reviewed by his majesty, presented, after a march of 1700 miles, as magnificent an appearance as when they left St Petersburg four months before. The besieged, however, were 10,000 strong, had a powerful artil-

lery on the ramparts, and were animated by the best spirit. They made a vigorous sortie on the 1st September, captured the most advanced of the besiegers' works, and nearly destroyed two Russian regiments; but they were in the end driven back. By the 5th September the blockade was complete on the north side; where the approaches were most perfect, trenches had been opened on the 31st August; and on the 14th September the Russians sprang a mine, which brought down the north-east bastion of the place, and left a practicable breach. The Emperor immediately summoned it to surrender; and the Capitan Pacha, who commanded, repaired on board the *Ville de Paris* to treat for a capitulation. But as it was evident he was only feigning to gain time, the negotiations were broken off, and the fire resumed on the 15th; but although the breaching batteries kept up a continual and very heavy cannonade, little progress was made during the next ten days, and it was evident the means of defence of the besieged were very far from being exhausted.

58. The Turks on their side were not indifferent spectators of this strife, but were preparing a grand armament in the rear, to interrupt, and if possible raise, the siege. A corps of twenty thousand men had been brought together under the orders of Omer-Vrione, by means of the reinforcements which had been collected at Adrianople, and detachments from the army in Schumla; and it had advanced as far as the village of Hadgi-Hassan-lar, a little to the south of the Lake of Dewno, within a few miles of Varna, where it had taken a position in very strong ground, flanked on either side with impenetrable forests. As soon as the Russians received intelligence of their approach, they detached fifteen hundred men to make a reconnoissance, under the command of General Harting; but having fallen unexpectedly in with a large body of the enemy, he was totally defeated, with the loss of half his force, and driven back to the lines before the place, without having effected his object. Upon this success

the Turks advanced several miles forward in the forest, to a position in front of Kurteppe, which they strongly fortified with several posts connecting it with Hadgi-Hassan-lar. The greatest efforts were now made to collect a respectable force to oppose the enemy; and next day General Bistrom was despatched with five thousand men from the lines round Varna, to reinforce Golonin at Galata, while Wittgenstein received orders to detach as large a force as he could spare to attack them in rear. He sent Prince Eugene accordingly with nearly six thousand men, who directed his march on Hadgi-Hassan-lar, but found great difficulty in winding his way through the forest. Before he arrived, this very post, in the Turkish rear, was surprised by some troops that had come up from the lines before Varna and the post of Dewno, under the orders of General Sochozannet. On the 28th a general attack was made on the Turkish position at Kurteppe by General Bistrom in front, and General Sochozannet in rear; but although the Russians displayed their wonted valour in the attack, and two battalions of the guard were brought into action, they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, among whom were General Tregtay, and two colonels of the guard killed at the head of their troops. After the combat was over, Eugene came up with his men to Hadgi-Hassan-lar, united with Sochozannet, and assumed the general command of the troops operating on the Turkish rear.

59. Notwithstanding this check, the Russian generals prepared a grand attack on both sides on the following day. It met with no better success. At the first onset the Russians under Eugene made themselves masters of an advanced redoubt of the enemy at a distance from their works, and took a gun; but having arrived in front of the central camp, they were received by so terrible a fire of artillery that they were obliged to recoil. Finding that the position was unassailable in front, Prince Eugene divided his force, and placed the weight of his men in

the two wings; and some words of encouragement having been communicated to them from the Emperor, they returned to the assault with indescribable enthusiasm. A terrible conflict ensued, for the Turks fought with not less resolution than their antagonists, and the slaughter was dreadful. General Limanski was killed as he mounted the intrenchments; the two colonels of the regiment of Azof shared the same fate;—and the regiment itself, which burned with desire to wipe away a reproach received in one of the conflicts before Schumla, was almost entirely destroyed. On his side, General Bistrom with his little force did not venture to sally from his lines at Galata to aid the main attack, but merely engaged in a cannonade and skirmish, in which he lost several men. At length Prince Eugene was obliged also to draw off his shattered battalions, burning with shame at being forced to retire before the enemy, and found shelter in the surrounding forest, after having fourteen hundred killed and wounded around the foot of the intrenchments.*

60. Had Omer-Vrione, after this hard-fought success, possessed, in addition to his own, ten thousand English or French troops capable of encountering the Russians in the open field, he would have raised the siege of Varna, and the Muscovites, driven in all quarters across the Danube, would have been unable to effect anything material in the succeeding campaign. But the want of such a force rendered this impossible. The Turks, admirable in the defence of fortified posts, could not be trusted in combat with the Russian guards in the open country; and not deeming himself strong enough to force his way through, Omer-Vrione halted, and busied himself in fortifying his position, awaiting the opportunity of a sally from Varna to endeavour to throw supplies into the place. Such an opportunity, however, did not occur. The Russians also strengthened their position at Galata, and as the Turks were not in

* The headquarters of the 7th corps were now transferred from Schumla to Varna.

sufficient force to storm it, the operations of the siege were not interrupted; and the Russians, succeeding in their main object, reaped from their bloody repulse all the fruits of a brilliant victory. One of the last outworks of the place was stormed on the night of the 25th September; and two mines having been run under the ramparts, they were sprung on the night of the 3d October, and a large opening made; and another mine fired on the following night made a still larger breach. On the night of the 6th a column of Russian chasseurs succeeded in making their way into the blown-up bastion, and even got into the centre of the town; but, not being supported, they were obliged to retire, after sustaining a loss of one hundred men killed, and above a thousand wounded, being two-thirds of the whole number engaged.

61. This event, however, coupled with the obvious inability of Omer-Vrione to force his way into the fortress, opened the eyes of the governor to the hopeless nature of his situation, and the impossibility of longer continuing the defence. Accordingly, on the 8th, at mid-day, negotiations were commenced with Jussuf Pacha, the *second in command*, which, on the 10th, led to the surrender of the place unconditionally on the 11th, the garrison being prisoners of war. They were still 6800 strong; 162 pieces of cannon were taken on the ramparts, with considerable stores of ammunition and provisions. The Capitan Pacha, who was governor, was so indignant at these proceedings that he shut himself up with three hundred brave men in the citadel, when he threatened to blow himself up if he was not permitted to join the forces on the Kamtjik. The Emperor, respecting his courage or dreading his despair, acceded to the terms; and on the 12th he marched out and joined Omer-Vrione, who had, on hearing of the fall of the place, retired behind the Kamtjik, and thence to Aidos, without being seriously disquieted in his retreat. The Emperor Nicholas, with praiseworthy remembrance of former valour in misfortune,

sent twelve of the guns taken in the town to Warsaw, to form a monument to Wladislaus VI., King of Poland, slain under its walls by the Turks under Amurath II. in 1444. The times were far distant from those when the chivalry of France perished under the sabres of the janizaries of Bajazet, after their glorious and victorious charge before Nicopolis four hundred years before.

62. The Turks, as well they might, exclaimed "Treachery" at this discreditable capitulation. Contrasted with the defence of Brahamov, there is certainly too much room for the imputation, for that fortress repulsed a desperate assault, and capitulated on condition of the garrison being sent to Silistria, after having stood it; whereas Jussuf Pacha surrendered at discretion, without any assault at all having been delivered, and when still in possession of considerable means of defence. Whatever doubt might have been entertained on this point was soon removed by the conduct of Jussuf Pacha himself. Not content with repairing in person first on board the *Ville de Paris* in the roads, and then to the Emperor's tent ashore, to conduct the capitulation, he sailed away in a Russian frigate, when it was concluded, to Odessa, where he soon after received an *ample grant of lands in the Crimea from the Emperor*, in compensation, as it was alleged, of his extensive estates in Macedonia confiscated by orders of the Sultan! The Russians allege that his means of defence were exhausted; that the first assault would have proved fatal to the garrison and inhabitants; that the fate of the governor of Brahamov, who only escaped the bowstring by voluntary exile to Mitylene, demonstrated that the Grand Seignior did not know how to distinguish between misfortune and misconduct; and that Jussuf Pacha had no alternative between exile and death. "There can be no doubt that there is some truth in these observations; but every man of honour will feel that the good deeds of an enemy are always suspicious, and that he was not in reality reduced to the

dilemma which his advocates represented.

63. While these important events were determining the campaign in favour of the Russians on the shores of the Euxine, operations, subordinate indeed, but worthy from their heroism of being recorded, occurred at the other extremity of the line, where General Geismar, with an inferior force of five thousand men, observed the Pacha of Widdin in that fortress. In the middle of August, when the Russian general was making preparations for an inroad into Servia to raise the warlike inhabitants of that province, the Pacha suddenly issued from Kalafat, the *tête-du-pont* of Widdin on the north of the Danube, with fifteen thousand men, and moved upon Bucharest. Unable to resist forces so superior, Geismar retired as far as Krajowa, abandoning his whole magazines to the enemy; and the inhabitants of Little Wallachia in consternation fled into the adjoining provinces of Austria. At length, having received a reinforcement of two thousand men, the Russian general advanced to Ozory, where he was attacked by the Seraskier of Widdin with eighteen thousand men. The combat was obstinate, but the Russians had the worst of it, for they retired at nightfall to a position in rear, and the Turks remained masters of the field of battle. All seemed lost, for a retreat in presence of so superior a force through the level plains of Wallachia was utter ruin. But then was seen what can be effected by the resolution and conduct of one man. Foreseeing that he would be assailed and outflanked or surrounded on the following day, Geismar resolved to anticipate the enemy by a nocturnal attack. It completely succeeded. Surprised, and thinking they had to do with a fresh enemy, the Turks made very little resistance. In less than two hours they were entirely put to the rout, with the loss of seven hundred prisoners, seven guns, twenty-four standards, and their whole baggage and ammunition. In utter confusion they sought refuge under the cannon of Widdin; Wallachia was de-

livered from their incursions, and the whole right of the Russian line of operations secured from danger. Following up his success, Geismar, after a march of thirty miles, made a sudden attack on Kalafat, which he carried by escalade, the greater part of the garrison being drowned in attempting to make their way across to Widdin.

64. After the fall of Varna, the Russian generals were in hopes of being able to reduce Silistria before winter. This important fortress had hitherto been only blockaded by General Roth, with ten thousand men; but on the 15th September, the 2d corps, 18,000 strong, arrived, and undertook the labours of the siege, while Roth hastened up to the main army at Schumla. A severe action took place under its walls on the 11th October, which turned out to the advantage of the Russians, and the investment of the place had already commenced when the approach of the autumnal storms, and the alarming losses sustained from disease and fatigue, rendered it evident that it could not be undertaken with any prospect of success before the following spring. It was determined, therefore, to raise the blockade; and orders were sent to Wittgenstein to break up from before Schumla and retreat behind the Danube. The Emperor himself, seeing the campaign over, embarked on the 14th October on board the vessel *Empress Mother*, and made sail for Odessa. On the second night of their voyage they were assailed by a dreadful tempest, which drove them back almost to the mouth of the Bosphorus. So imminent was the danger that all on board gave themselves up for lost, and the Emperor alone preserved his presence of mind. The captain proposed running the vessel ashore; but Nicholas declared he would prefer death to falling into the Sultan's hands; and the wind having veered round a few points, he was saved either alternative. At length, on the night of the 19th October, after undergoing a thousand perils and hardships, they reached Odessa, the crew more dead than alive;

and not without furnishing to the journalists of Europe ample ground for comparison with the flight of Xerxes across the Hellespont after the defeat of Salamis, two thousand years before.

65. Wittgenstein commenced his retreat on the 16th October. His army broke up into two parts: Roth's corps falling back on Koslodschi, to reinforce the troops at Varna; and Rondzewitch's (the 3d) on Silistria. The movement was conducted with so much secrecy that the Turks, for some days, were not aware of what was going forward, and he at first sustained very little molestation. But this did not long continue. On the 19th, the rear-guard of the 3d corps, near the village of Aidogdu, at the entrance of a woody defile, was attacked by eight thousand Turkish horse; and though they kept their ground till the corps, which was defiling, had got through, this was only done at a very heavy loss. After this, as the weather every day became worse, the retrograde movement became eminently disastrous. Eyewitnesses of both compared it to the Moscow retreat. On reaching Silistria and uniting the 3d to the 2d corps, the Russian commander, before raising the siege, tried the effect of a forty-eight hours' bombardment. This failing, the investing lines were abandoned, and the march resumed. The Turkish roads, bad at all times, had been rendered all but impassable by the ceaseless passage of artillery and carriages over them during the summer and the heavy rains of autumn. Caissons and baggage were abandoned at every step; the stragglers nearly all fell into the enemy's hands, by whom they were instantly massacred; and Wittgenstein experienced in his turn the disasters which he had inflicted on Napoleon's army during the retreat from Witepsk to the Beresina in 1812. At length, after having undergone innumerable hardships, and sustained a very severe loss, his wearied columns reached the Danube, which they immediately crossed, and spread themselves in winter-quarters over Wallachia and Moldavia. The guard were cantoned in Bessarabia. Roth alone,

with the 6th and 7th corps, remained at Varna with posts at Davno, Pravadi, and Bazardjik. The Turks made preparations for an attack upon Varna in the beginning of December, and approached the fortress in considerable strength; but they found the Russians too strongly posted to hazard the attempt. Thus ended in Europe the campaign of 1828, in which the Russians, with the exception of the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were abandoned without resistance, and the reduction of Brahilov and Varna, had made no sensible progress. Both parties, after it was over, found themselves on the banks of the Danube, after being mutually exhausted by the greatest efforts. The Russians, by their own admission, had lost nearly half the troops engaged; for out of 102,000, which during the campaign had crossed the Pruth, not 60,000 remained in November in the fortresses they had subdued and in winter-quarters.* But the Ottomans, too, had sustained very great disasters; two of their frontier fortresses had been wrested from them, and of the force which had so gallantly defended Schumla above a half left their colours, after the Ottoman fashion, and returned home in the beginning of winter, so that the Grand Vizier could not muster above twenty thousand men in that important stronghold.

66. The campaign in Asia during the same year, though conducted on the part of the Russians with much smaller forces, was attended with much more glorious and decisive results, owing to the extraordinary talents of General Paskewitch, who directed it, and the warlike experience and heroic spirit of his troops. He had won, during his successful campaigns against the Persians, a solid base of operations

* Between May 1828 and February 1829, 28,000 unwounded men died in the hospitals. Add to these those slain in battle and who died from their wounds, and the total loss cannot be under 45,000. During this period 210,108 cases were treated in the field and permanent hospitals. In other words, *each* soldier must, during this time, have been *twice* in hospital.—MOLTK, ii. 208.

on the Araxes by the acquisition of Erivan and other fortresses, and from them he commenced the brilliant campaign which has immortalised his name. His force was very small: it consisted only of thirty battalions of infantry, two regiments of regular and eleven of Cossack cavalry, and 114 guns—in all, 20,854 infantry, 5514 cavalry. Of these, however, only 8561 infantry, 3346 cavalry, and 70 guns, were under the immediate command of the commander-in-chief, and achieved all the wonders of the campaign; the remainder were stationed in the two wings, and were destined to subordinate operations, intended chiefly to distract the attention of the enemy from the main object of attack in the centre.

67. The formation of the mountains and plains points out three lines of operation, and three only, to an enemy invading Asia Minor from the side of Tiflis and Georgia. The first runs by the shores of the Black Sea; but the road in that direction, bad in all places, stops entirely at Trebizond. The second is the central line by the chain of the Allaghez direct upon Erzeroum. It is the great road, used for thousands of years, from Tiflis to Constantinople; but it traverses several mountain-ridges of great height and difficulty in its course, of which the Saganlugh chain, traversed by the pass of Milli-Dwz, lay athwart the road to Erzeroum, and presented many strong positions of defence. The third is the line of Ararat. After mature consideration, Paskevitch became convinced that the central was the preferable line, chiefly in consequence of its presenting fewer difficulties of a physical nature than the other two. It is true that an invasion by this line would be sure to be opposed by the whole military strength of Anatolia while penetrating by the passes of Milli-Dwz, and of Kaini across the Saganlugh range; but even this opposition appeared to him less formidable than the natural difficulties of the other roads. He made his dispositions accordingly. Six battalions, with a Cossack regiment and sixteen guns, under General Hesse,

were directed to move through Imetria upon the mountains of Guriel and the shores of the Black Sea; three battalions, with a Cossack regiment and eight guns, were disposed in Armenia to form the left wing, and connected by two battalions in echelon with the centre; while the centre, under the general-in-chief, consisting of eighteen battalions, nine regular squadrons, seven regiments of Cossacks, and fifty-six guns, was to penetrate by the middle road, and make itself master of Erzeroum, the capital city, and centre of the Turkish power in Asia Minor.

68. Gumri was the place where the main body of the Russians was concentrated, and from whence Paskevitch commenced his operations. His first movement was directed upon Kars, a fortress of strength, which lay directly upon the road to Erzeroum. The difficulty of the passage and the sterile nature of the country may be judged of by the fact that eighteen hundred and forty-eight chariots, and two thousand two hundred and fifty horses of burden, accompanied the army, though the entire combatants did not exceed twelve thousand men! This little army moved in a very peculiar order, adopted by Paskevitch in all his campaigns, and to the constant use of which great part of his unbroken success was owing. The parks of artillery and luggage were arranged in the centre, in two divisions, each escorted by a brigade of infantry; the remainder of the regular infantry, the cavalry, and artillery, moved on the flanks: a Cossack brigade and pioneer battalion formed the advanced-guard: a small body of regular infantry and Cossacks closed the rear. In this order the army passed the frontier, and moved upon Kars. The Turks, on their side, had made the most vigorous preparations for defence. The Pacha of Erzeroum, with sixty thousand men, was to advance on Kars to raise the siege, should the Muscovites venture to undertake it; while the Pacha of Akhalzikh, a strong fortress on the Russian right, was to threaten their flank. The Pacha of Erzeroum confi-

dently relied on the strength of Kars, to enable it to hold out till the promised succour arrived. He wrote to the governor of that fortress—"Your soldiers are brave, your fortress is impregnable. Persuade your people that the Russians are few in number and destitute of courage, and make good your post till my arrival."

69. But all these anticipations were disappointed by the activity of the Russian general. Before the Ottoman militia could be collected at Erzeroum, his troops were before Kars. Neither the badness of the roads, nor the intervening ridges, nor the mountain torrents, swollen with heavy rains, could arrest their march. On the 15th they were encamped at Tikhnip, on plains celebrated for a victory of their countrymen in 1807; and on the 19th the little army, mustering, of those come up, only eight thousand combatants, came in sight of the place, and a headlong charge of eight hundred horse drove the enemy back within the walls. On the day following the artillery was brought up, and operations in form were commenced. The fortress, built by Amurath III. during the Turkish war, between 1578 and 1589, is one of the most formidable in Asia. Besides a double circuit of walls, it has, at its north-western angle, three citadels enclosed the one within the other, each surrounded by strong walls and several outworks. In addition to its artificial means of defence, the citadel is inaccessible on the side of the river on which it stands, by reason of a series of perpendicular cliffs, and on the side of the town by numerous batteries placed on its walls. The fortress was celebrated over all Asia, from having, in 1735, repulsed all the efforts of the famous Nadir Shah, at the head of ninety thousand Persians, after he had defeated a hundred thousand Turks in its vicinity. Thence it passed throughout the East for impregnable. The garrison was ten thousand strong, including four thousand armed citizens, second to none in the defence of their hearths, and not a doubt was entertained that they would repel all the assaults of the enemy.

70. But they were soon undeceived, and taught that they had a very different enemy to deal with from the desultory bands of the Persians. Trenches were opened on the 22d, false attacks being directed to the two opposite extremities: the first, under General Raïevski, being against the fortified post on the mountain of Karadagh on the extreme right; the second, under Colonel Borodino, against some heights on the extreme left. While the attention of the Turks was thus drawn away to the two extremities, great efforts were making in secret to push forward approaches against the south-east angle of the town, the real point of attack, in the centre. A furious conflict ensued, on the 23d June, when a fortified camp and the suburbs, protected by bastions, were attacked; and for the whole day it was a continual succession of bloody combats, from outwork to outwork, and from house to house, until at length the enemy were expelled, and driven over the ramparts and into the citadel. There the garrison endeavoured to obtain terms; but Paskewitch would only give them an hour to surrender at discretion. At the expiration of that time, seeing the Russian columns of assault formed, the governor surrendered at discretion; and this strong fortress, one of the most formidable in Asia, with a hundred and twenty-nine pieces of cannon, twenty-two mortars, thirty-three standards, and great stores of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. The garrison, seven thousand strong, were made prisoners; and the Russians enhanced the lustre of their triumph by protecting the town, and subjecting it to none of the horrors usual in places taken by assault.

71. Immediately after this brilliant success, the advanced posts of Mahomet Pacha appeared in sight, who was advancing with a large body from the heights of the Saganlugh, to raise the siege. Finding the place taken, he retraced his steps to the mountains; and Paskewitch was preparing to follow, when it was discovered that the advancing army had brought from Erzeroum a more formidable enemy than

its own bayonets. The plague broke out in the ranks of the prisoners taken, and some Muscovites were seized with it in the regiment of Georgia, and died in a few hours. In this crisis the measures of the general-in-chief were prompt and decided. Not attempting to disguise from the troops the nature of the malady, he set himself in the most vigorous manner to combat it. The sick were immediately separated from the rest of the troops, hospitals prepared for their reception, round which a cordon was established and rigidly maintained; all infected articles, or those which had been near the sick, were burnt, and the utmost care taken to prevent *contact* with those affected, or anything belonging to them. By these measures, enforced with inflexible severity, the malady was in three weeks arrested, but not before it had seized above five hundred persons, of whom only two hundred and sixty-three were cured and restored to the ranks.

72. Delivered from this danger, which threatened to stop him in the very outset of his career of conquest, Paskewitch directed his little army towards Akhalkikh, a strong fortress to the northward, between Kars and the Black Sea, the possession of which was necessary to give him a solid base for future operations, and put a stop to incursions which had commenced from thence on the Russian territory. Preparatory to this it was necessary to reduce the forts of Akhalkalaki and Hertwitz, which lay upon the road. No sooner, therefore, was the plague stayed than by a rapid march to the right, parallel to the frontier, he approached Akhalkalaki, the white towers of which appeared at first to be deserted; but on being summoned to surrender, the garrison replied, "We are not warriors like those of Erivan and Kars: we are the warriors of Akhalkalaki! We have here neither wives nor children: we will die on the walls of our fortress, but we will not do so without a struggle. An old proverb says, 'An inhabitant of Kars is worth three of Erivan, and two of Kars are only worth one of

Akhalkalaki!' We shall not belie that proverb." Notwithstanding this bold answer, the garrison did not make a very gallant defence. The approaches were conducted by Colonel Borodino with great rapidity; and the garrison, despairing of success, endeavoured to escape by letting themselves down by cords. Borodino, however, overtook the fugitives and cut them to pieces; and the Russians, returning to the ramparts, mounted them by the scaling-ladders by which they had been let down. The fort was then taken, and fourteen guns, thirty-three standards, and three hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the Russians. From thence they moved upon Hertwitz, which soon yielded with fourteen pieces of cannon.

73. The attack of Akhalkikh was now resolved on; and as it was a place of the greatest strength, Paskewitch ordered up his reserves and whole resources for its reduction. Mahomet Pacha, at the head of thirty thousand men and fifteen guns, lay on the Saganlugh, ready to interrupt the approaches. A severe cavalry action took place between the contending armies on the 17th, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that the Russian horse extricated themselves from the Ottoman cavaliers. Ground was broken in the night of the 19th, and then the formidable nature of its defences became at once apparent. Situated on a spur of the mountains of Kaia-Dagh, and flanked by the rocky banks of the Poskhof-Tchai, it was strongly fortified, and strengthened by all the resources of art and nature. The inhabitants, about twenty thousand, were in the highest state of prosperity, and resolute in the defence of their hearths and homes. The houses, like those of Saragossa, are strongly built of stone, generally of two storeys, with a balcony in front, presenting the appearance each of a little fortress, capable of containing a garrison of from fifty to one hundred men. The defences of the place consisted in an exterior wall, flanked with towers, after the Turkish fashion, and the

citadel, which is an irregular polygon, the bastions of which were almost contiguous to the nearest houses of the town. Forty guns were mounted on the citadel, which commanded every part of the city except that built on the Kaia-Dagh. The inhabitants, however, placed their principal reliance on the exterior defences of the town, which consisted of a huge tower, on which four guns were mounted, and four bastions, armed with heavy guns, and connected by strong palisades of fir, twelve feet high, and three thick. Within this exterior line was the wall of the town, consisting of an irregular nonagon, armed with twenty-two pieces of cannon. Thus, a triple line of defences surrounded Akhalzikh—the outer palisades, the walls, and the bastions of the citadel. But, most of all, it was defended by the warlike and indomitable spirit of its inhabitants, who were proud of their ancient renown, and had sworn to bury themselves in the ruins of the place rather than surrender it to the ancient enemies of their country and their faith. The spirits of the garrison had been greatly raised by the recent arrival, in an intrenched camp round the town, of Kiossa Mahomet Pacha, with a reinforcement of ten thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry—a force more than double that which the Russian general could bring against it.

74. To attack such a force in such a position, with an army so inferior, was a very bold attempt; but Paskewitch had sufficient confidence in his own resources, and the courage of his troops, to hazard it. General Popoff came up, on the 19th August, with two thousand additional troops, and, thus reinforced, he determined to make a sudden attack on the Turkish intrenched camp adjoining the town. It was indispensable to do this without delay, as the Ottomans were daily in expectation of reinforcements, which would have tripled their numerical strength. After mature consideration, the Russian general resolved to distract the enemy's attention by an attack on the quarter where their principal depots were placed, near the village

of Tskhout, and meanwhile make the real assault on the heights of the intrenched camp to the north, which was justly regarded as the key of the position. The Turks were in four intrenched camps; but the strongest, against which the attack was first directed, was on the rocky heights close to the northern angle of the town. The cross march to Tskhout was to be made in the night, and the attack made before daylight, it being well known that the Osmanlis, like all irregular troops, were peculiarly liable to a panic during a nocturnal attack. So strongly did this plan bear the marks of genius, and so ably was it calculated in all its details, that it commanded the unanimous assent of all the generals assembled in council to determine on its adoption.

75. Notwithstanding all this, the attack had wellnigh failed from the unforeseen difficulties which occurred in its execution. The Russian column of attack, consisting of seven thousand combatants and twenty-five guns, set out at two hours before dark, and marched the whole night with the utmost expedition. But despite all their efforts, such were the difficulties of the passage through the narrow valleys, intersected with water-courses, through which their route lay, that at sunrise they were still two miles from the enemy's position which was to be first assailed, and already descried, and the Turkish horse crowned all the heights in sight. Surprise was now out of the question; but Paskewitch, with the decision of a great general, saw that there was more risk in retreating than in advancing, and determined to persevere in the attack. It was a bold step, however, for the alarm was now given in the whole Turkish camp; their troops crowded in from all quarters; and thirty thousand Ottomans, of whom nearly half were cavalry, crowned the intrenched heights, which were the first object of the intrepid Russians' assault. The pacha no sooner discovered the small number of his antagonists, not a quarter of his own, than he resolved to anticipate the attack; and, assembling

his best infantry in the centre, he ordered an immediate advance out of the intrenchment, and a huge body of Turks, rending the air with their cries, came pouring down upon the leading Russian column of attack, while their numerous cavalry assailed it on either flank.

76. The Russians had need of all their firmness, for the onset was terrible. A frightful *mêlée* ensued. Hand to hand, breast to breast, knee to knee, the Turks and Muscovites contended with the most undaunted resolution. There was no time to load their pieces; but, seizing each other by the arms, or striking with the but-ends of their muskets, they fought, like the *athletæ* of old, with the rude weapons of nature. But this desperate resistance gave time for two other Russian battalions to come up, which drove back the cavalry, and restored the equality of the combat. Soon after a Russian tumbril blew up, and the Turks, encouraged by this incident, renewed the attack; but the assailants, intimidated by the steady bearing of their adversaries, were at length repulsed; and both parties, exhausted by fatigue and the heat of the day, sank into repose as at Talavera, close to each other, and remained peaceable for several hours. Paskewitch took advantage of this interval of repose to let his troops get their dinner, and the horses be watered at the adjoining stream; and at two in the afternoon, the men being thoroughly refreshed, he gave the signal to renew the conflict.

77. Skilfully concealing his real design, which was to dislodge the enemy from the heights they occupied on their right, and deprive them of the immense advantage they derived from the guns of the fortress, Paskewitch grouped all his cavalry on his own right, and, drawing it up in battle array, seemed prepared to assault the enemy's left, and so menace their depots in that quarter. Deceived by this, the Turks moved their principal masses of infantry and cavalry in that direction, so as, in a great measure, to strip the heights on their right, the real key to the whole position. As

soon as the Russian general saw this, he ordered a vigorous attack on the heights with his main force, while several lesser assaults were directed against other points to distract the enemy's attention. These movements were entirely successful. Surprised, when destitute of part of their artillery, and great part of their defenders, the Turkish intrenchments on the heights were menaced by a vigorous assault of the Muscovite grenadiers. But the defence was not less vigorous than the attack. General Korolkoff fell, at the head of his troops, by a grape-shot, and the assaulting column, pierced by the Turkish fire, recoiled in disorder, while a violent thunder-storm, the peals of which were heard above all the roar of the artillery, added to the horrors of this terrific conflict. The Muscovites staggered, recoiled in disorder; and the Turks, with loud cries, leaping out of the intrenchments with their yatagans in their hands, pursued them a considerable distance with great slaughter.

78. But this disorder was momentary only. At length the hardihood and intrepidity of the Russians prevailed over all the enthusiasm of the Turks. The regiment of Chirvan, led by Colonel Borodino, in the middle of the tumult, and when the redoubt, the object of such fierce contention, was in part stript of its defenders, assailed it in flank, and, without firing a shot, forced its way in at the point of the bayonet. Encouraged by the sight of the Russian standards in the work, the broken regiments returned on all sides; a *hourra* got up, in the midst of which the intrenchments were carried, with all their guns and seven standards; and the Turks on that point were driven back, with immense slaughter, within the palisades of the town. Of fifteen hundred men who occupied the redoubt only five hundred escaped. This great success was decisive. The Russian column, masters of the fortified heights on the north, which connected the Turkish camp with the fortress, made dispositions to cut them off from it, while the cavalry on the Russian right in the hollow

prepared to charge. At this sight the Turks, passing at once from the enthusiasm of courage to the depth of despair, took to flight on all sides. Kiossa Mahomet Pacha, who had been wounded in the thigh, endeavoured in vain to rally them. He himself, with five thousand men, seeing the battle lost, took refuge in the fortress; but the remainder of the army fled in disorder towards Ardagan, and in great part dispersed. The whole intrenched camps fell into the hands of the Russians, with ten guns, thirteen standards, and thirteen hundred prisoners; and of the vast array which had recently crowded round the ramparts of Ak-halikh, not a vestige was to be seen on the following day.

79. Delivered from this band of enemies, Paskewitch prosecuted the siege with redoubled activity; and, trusting to the discouragement produced by their recent defeat, summoned the Turks to surrender. Relying, however, on the strength of the place, and a garrison now fifteen thousand strong, they returned an indignant refusal. The fire of the breaching batteries was immediately resumed, and the approaches pushed with the utmost activity. On the 15th, as a sufficient breach appeared to have been made, the columns of assault were formed, and the attack took place at four in the afternoon. The regiment of Chirvan, destined to lead the assault, received the sacrament with great solemnity, after which they partook of a rude repast, and advanced courageously to the breach, with colours flying and music playing. Colonel Borodino was at their head, and the regiment, passing without hesitation through a severe fire of grape and musketry which opened upon them, got into the bastion in which the breach had been made, which they took with all its guns. But the Turks, who had been in some measure taken by surprise, as the hour chosen for the assault was that usually dedicated to repose, now thoroughly alarmed, soon crowded in on all sides, and the victorious regiment found itself assailed by above four thousand Ottomans,

with their formidable scimitars in their hands, before they had time to strengthen themselves in the adjacent houses.

80. A desperate conflict now ensued; for the Turks, rushing towards the breach from all quarters, had a vast superiority of force; and the Russians, surrounded in the bastion, were on the point of being overwhelmed. Such was the fury of the besieged that the women even took part in the conflict, and with their yatagans in their hands were to be seen in the front of the conflict. Colonel Borodino evinced the most heroic intrepidity; but, in spite of all his efforts, he would have been destroyed had he not thought of the expedient of bringing up two guns, which, with infinite difficulty, were got through the ditch, and over the breach. At the first cannon-shot a loud hurrah broke from the Muscovite ranks, and, rushing forward with the bayonet, they carried the churchyard in which the Turks were placed, and got close to the church, where Borodino fell, pierced through the heart by a musket-ball. Colonel Burtsdorff immediately took the command, and succeeded in getting some more guns over the breach; and Paskewitch, informed of the danger of the assaulting column, sent some battalions to its support. By their aid the cemetery was secured, the church carried, almost choked with dead bodies; and the assailants, pressing forward, engaged the Turks in a hand-to-hand conflict in every quarter. So obstinate was the defence, so infuriated the resistance, that it was only by setting fire to the houses that the Russians were able to expel the besieged from them. Steadily they advanced, however, the flames preceding, the artillery following them; and at length discipline and steadiness prevailed over rude valour. Four hundred of the besieged perished in a mosque; and the flames, spreading in all directions, involved the greater part of the city in conflagration. The conflict continued through the whole night by the light of the burning houses; and a church, in which a great number of the besieged had taken post, with large stores of

powder, blew up at midnight with a frightful explosion. At length, after a desperate conflict of thirteen hours' duration, the whole palisades and outer walls were conquered by the Russians, and the besieged driven into the citadel. There they soon after capitulated, on condition of being allowed to retire to Erzeroum; and they soon after marched out in two columns, the regular soldiers with the proud air which the consciousness of a noble defence inspired, the armed inhabitants with the dejection consequent on the abandonment of their homes.

81. This great conquest gave the Russians a solid base of operations within the Turkish territory; and the defeated Turks, unable to keep the field, were driven to take post on the lofty ridge of the Saganlugh, where they hoped to be able still to interrupt the enemy in his advance upon Erzeroum. This undertaking, however, appeared to the Russian general too extensive in the close of the campaign, and with an army weakened by so many glorious achievements. He contented himself, therefore, with the reduction of the intermediate forts of Alskhur and Ardagan, which capitulated in the beginning of September, and gave him the command of the entire country to the foot of the Saganlugh, and prepared everything for the advance on Erzeroum in the following campaign. Meanwhile the bulk of his forces was advanced to Ardagan, which completed the communication with Kars, and established the Muscovites in the most secure manner in a triangle, of which the latter town was the apex, threatening the capital of Asia Minor.

82. Operations of minor magnitude, but still material for future operations, took place on the flanks of the Russian army before the winter set in. After the fall of Akhalzikh, Paskewitch received several offers of submission and alliance from the chiefs in the neighbourhood, who, like all Asiatics, lost no time in ranging themselves on the side of success. These offers were accepted; the towns of Ossasghiti and Askani, on the right flank, were occupied, and the whole of the province of Guriel on the

sea-coast ranged itself on the side of Russia; while on the left, a Russian division, under Prince Tchevtsevadze, had subdued the whole pachalic of Bajazeth, and stormed its principal fortresses. Relieved by these successes of all disquietude concerning his flanks, Paskewitch distributed his troops in winter-quarters, the excessive rains of autumn having rendered all farther operations in the field impossible. He placed 2600 men in Akhalzikh, under Prince Bebutoff, and 2700 in Kars, under General Bergman. The rest of the troops repassed the frontier, and took up their quarters around Teflis, the capital of Georgia, where the general-in-chief fixed his headquarters. They had good reason to be proud of their exploits, for they had conquered three pachalics—those of Kars, Akhalzikh, and Bajazeth; stormed the three fortresses of these names; and taken—besides three strong castles, with 313 pieces of cannon—195 standards, and 8000 prisoners! These successes had been gained by the main body, which never had more than 12,000 combatants, and the two wings, whose united force did not exceed 6000! Never had the superiority of the Europeans to the Asiatics been more clearly evinced; and it is still more surprising that the entire loss of the Russians in this most active campaign, by disease as well as the sword, was only 3200.

83. Notwithstanding the small amount of these losses, the forces at the disposal of Paskewitch were obviously inadequate to the extensive operations which the next campaign in Asia Minor would require. Although he had been reinforced by 4000 men during the winter, and the Emperor had ordered 20,000 conscripts to the Caucasus, yet they could not arrive before the middle of summer; and for the opening operations he could reckon only on 13,000 infantry and 3500 horse. In this dilemma, he resolved to embrace a measure which seemed bold, considering the religious character which the wars between the Russians and the Turks have always borne, but which the event entirely justified. This was to organise several Mohammedan corps

of cavalry out of the nomad tribes in the provinces he had subdued, and lead them at once against the Mussulmans. This plan was immediately put into execution, and with the most entire success. Several corps of admirable horsemen were formed; and so popular did the service become, that the Pacha of Mush, a powerful chieftain, who had furnished twelve thousand irregular cavalry to the Porte, put his forces at the disposal of the Russian general. The required regiments were immediately completed, and their conduct, when led to battle against their co-religionists, proves that, except in periods of extraordinary fanatical excitement, the military spirit and sense of honour of the Asiatics prevail over their religious sympathies. The Mohammedan regiments were perfectly steady to the Russian colours; they proved valuable auxiliaries through the remainder of the war; they won for themselves a lasting place in the Emperor's service, and it was among them that the adroit horsemen were found, whose equestrian feats excited the astonishment of all the cavalry officers of Europe at the camp of Kalice, many years afterwards.

84. Thoroughly alarmed by the progress of the Muscovite general in Asia, the Sultan during the winter not only made the most vigorous defensive preparations, but set on foot measures calculated to recover some of his lost possessions. The Seraskier, Halil Pacha, and his lieutenant, Kiossa Mahomet Pacha, were both disgraced, and Hadgi-Saleh Pacha of Maidan, and Hagkhi Pacha of Sivaz, both men of tried vigour and courage, appointed in their stead. Saleh Pacha, inspired with the Sultan's vigour, commenced his government by a proclamation, in which he called on all true believers to take up arms in defence of the Crescent, and considerable sums of money sent from Constantinople enabled him to organise the tumultuary bands in a regular manner. Large depots of ammunition and provisions were formed at Erzeroum and Hassan-Kale, at the foot of the Saganlugh, and the fortifications of the former were greatly

strengthened, while two hundred pieces of cannon lined its ramparts. The new levies were raised, drilled, and equipped with the utmost expedition, and out of the remains of the former army a corps of ten thousand regular troops was formed, to which an equal number of the new levies was joined. It was calculated that before the end of spring, including irregulars, eighty thousand men, with sixty-six pieces of cannon, would be assembled at the foot of the Saganlugh, to bar the road to Erzeroum, and even penetrate into the Russian province of Georgia, while the Pachas of Van and Mush, with fifty thousand men and fifty pieces of cannon, operated on their right flank against the pachalic of Bajazeth and Armenia. Great as these forces appear to be, the immense resources of the Turkish Government in Asia, and the warlike spirit of its inhabitants, left little doubt that their hopes would be realised.

85. An atrocious event in Persia precipitated events before the preparations on the part of the Ottomans were complete. This was the assassination of the Russian minister at Teheran, which took place on February 12, 1829. As this melancholy catastrophe appeared to prognosticate an immediate resumption of hostilities by Persia, it excited an immense sensation on both sides, and complicated in a most serious manner the position of the Russians to the south of the Caucasus. What might be expected if the whole military resources of Persia and Asia Minor, capable of mustering two hundred thousand combatants, were arrayed against the diminutive army of the Muscovites, which could not bring above twenty thousand effective men into the field? Reports were soon prevalent that an alliance, offensive and defensive, against their common enemy, was about to be concluded between the Courts of Teheran and Constantinople. Influenced by these dangers, Paskewitch concentrated the bulk of his forces in the province of Erivan, and in those districts of Georgia which could be first menaced by Persia, on the left bank of the Araxes, having only slender garrisons in the fortresses

conquered from the Turks. Symptoms of disaffection and rebellion appeared in the pachalics which had recently joined the Russian alliance. The Seraskier deemed this a favourable opportunity to strike a blow at Akhalkikh, the recovery of which would completely derange the Russian plans for the succeeding campaign; and accordingly, having suddenly collected twenty thousand men, in the end of February he moved towards that place, and entered its suburbs on the 4th of March. The inhabitants, who were chiefly Mussulmans, with loud cries and indescribable enthusiasm united themselves to their co-religionists, and both together advanced to the attack of the town, defended only by the regiment of Chirvan and some companies of that of Kherson, not in all above two thousand combatants.

86. But this little garrison was a band of heroes, and they were under the command of Prince Bebutoff, who was worthy to lead them. Such was the enthusiasm of the Mussulmans, that they ventured on a storm by escalade the moment the army entered the suburbs; and it was only after a severe conflict of an hour's duration that they were repulsed. The rage of the Mussulmans upon this exhaled in every species of ferocity against the unhappy Christians and Jews in the suburbs, who were brought out on the roofs of the houses, and barbarously murdered in sight of the Russian garrison, who were unable to render them any assistance. But the Turks had gained one important advantage, which wellnigh proved fatal to the besieged during the tumult of this assault. They had got possession of several houses adjoining the rampart and overhanging it, which the humanity of the governor had prevented him from previously destroying, and which were almost the only ones which had escaped the conflagration in the first siege. Here the Ottomans took post in great numbers, and not only defied all attempts to dislodge them, but kept up an incessant fire of musketry on the rampart, against which the besieged had no protection. Meanwhile

repeated attempts to penetrate into the place in this way were made; and the Turkish general, following in the traces of the Russians in the first siege, began to push approaches as much in the European style as their rude state of information would admit.

87. In this extremity Prince Bebutoff proposed a sortie to carry and destroy the houses; but this was deemed too hazardous with their slender means, and it was resolved to elevate the parapet by sacks of earth, raised so high as to ward off the fire from the houses, and guard against an irruption of assailants from them by double guards and increased vigilance. In spite of all their efforts, however, the situation of the garrison became every day more perilous. Hardly in sufficient force to guard the wide circuit of the walls from the assaults of the enemy, they were kept night and day on the watch, and worn out with incessant toil, combating at all points, amidst a season of extraordinary severity even in that rigorous climate. Ahmed Bey, who directed the besiegers, succeeded in commanding the approach to water, which afterwards they could only reach during the night. So rigorous was the blockade, that of the numerous messengers sent from Ardagan, Kars, and Akhalkalaki, not one reached the besieged, who saw themselves cut off apparently from all hope of succour, and hourly threatened with an assault from an enemy whom they had no adequate means of resisting. To add to their dangers, the melting of the snows swelled the torrent of the Kura to such a degree as to render it extremely difficult for the Russians to approach to raise the siege; and orders had been sent to the Turks who were besieging Alskhur to seize the defiles of Bordjom, by which alone the fortress could be reached.

88. The besieged, worn out by incessant toil and fighting during fourteen days, and after having bravely repulsed an assault through a practicable breach which had been made, still repudiated all thoughts of a surrender. Such was the spirit with which they were animated, that there were no sick;

the wounded insisted on being brought out to the ramparts, and, lying on their mattresses with their muskets by their side, took part in moments of danger in the fusilade. Such heroism at length met its reward. General Burtzdorff, who with a considerable detachment was intrusted with intercepting a large body of the enemy which was advancing to seize the defiles of Bordjom, disposed his troops so skilfully that he repulsed them, kept possession of that important defile, and drove them back to the neighbourhood of Alskhur. The importance of this success was soon apparent. On the morning of the 16th, immediately after Prince Bebutoff had rejected a summons to surrender, on the assurance that the Russian force advancing to raise the siege had been destroyed, an unusual stir was observed in the Turkish lines; soon after the outposts were withdrawn, and it was evident that a general retreat had commenced. Bebutoff immediately sallied out with five companies and two guns to attack the retreating foe, and this was done with complete success. Before the Russians reached them, the Turks took to flight, and soon after dispersed. With difficulty Ahmed Bey rallied five hundred men and five guns as a rearguard, which were immediately charged and taken by Bebutoff, and soon after not a vestige of the enemy was to be seen save in his devastations. The cause of this sudden flight was soon apparent. At two in the afternoon the heads of Burtzdorff's columns were seen on the heights on the road to Alskhur; soon after they passed with drums beating and colours flying through the yet smoking ruins of Akhalzikh, and, entering the gates of the fortress, threw themselves into the arms of their comrades.

89. During these glorious and interesting events, Paskewitch, with the bulk of his forces, kept a vigilant eye upon the Persians, from whom hostility was hourly to be apprehended. Persia had derived no advantage from the peace with Russia except the guarantee of Abbas Mirza's succession to the throne;

and this had only rendered him an object of increased jealousy to his younger brother, by whom intrigues for his overthrow were fomented. The hostility of the Persians became ere long so decided, that the Russian consul at Tabriz without orders quitted his post, and interrupted the diplomatic relations of the Courts of St Petersburg and Teheran. But Paskewitch had struck the decisive blow by the relief of Akhalzikh. No sooner did the Persian Government receive intelligence of that event than they changed their policy. Paskewitch addressed an energetic letter to Abbas Mirza, in which the innate jealousy of the Russians at the English in the East revealed itself;* and a successful repulse of a fresh attempt upon Akhalzikh by General Burtzdorff at length terminated the indecision of the Persians. Their armaments were disbanded, and amicable relations restored with the Court of St Petersburg.

90. Relieved of all anxiety on the side of Persia, and having at length received considerable reinforcements despatched by sea from Sevastopol, the Russian general made preparations for an active campaign against the Turks, with an army of 25,000 men and 76 guns, among whom were four admirable regiments of Mussulman horse recently raised in the service of Russia. The army of the Seraskier, 50,000 strong, was assembled at Hassan-Kale, at the foot of the southern slope of the Saganlugh, with an advanced-guard in the intrenched camp on that mountain. The weather was still cold, the tops of the hills were covered with snow, and heavy rains impeded the movements of the troops in the valleys; but the circumstances were so urgent

* "Ne comptez ni sur les promesses des Anglais ni sur les assertions des Turcs. Les Anglais ne vous défendront pas; leur politique n'a en vue que les intérêts de leurs possessions dans les Indes. Nous pouvons en Asie conquérir un royaume et personne ne s'en inquiètera. En Europe chaque pouce de terrain peut donner lieu à des guerres sanglantes; la Turquie est nécessaire à l'équilibre Européen; mais les puissances de l'Europe ne regardent pas qui gouverne la Perse." —Général PASKEWITCH à ABBAS MIRZA, 16 April 1829; FONTON, 406, 407.

as to impose upon the Russian general the necessity of immediate operations. The enemy's plan was obviously to advance on Kars, or to attack the Russians when entangled in the defiles of the mountains. To counteract these designs, Paskewitch established his left wing under Pankratieff, three miles in front of Kars; the centre under his immediate command, advanced to Ardagan, and encamped in the neighbourhood of that place, which was strongly fortified, while the right, under Burtsdorff, rested on Akhalzikh. Everything indicated that the Seraskier, with his vast army, meditated an attack on Kars; while Hadgi Pacha, with 15,000 men and 20 pieces of cannon, menaced Akhalzikh. Deeming the position of Pankratieff under the cannon of Kars unassailable, the Russian general wisely resolved to concentrate his forces on Hadgi Pacha's corps. With this view, orders were sent to Burtsdorff to march from Akhalzikh direct against him, while Mouravieff, detached from the centre with four battalions, 850 horse, and 14 guns, moved from Ardagan to threaten his flanks. The opposing parties came in sight on the 12th June. The two Russian divisions had only 5250 infantry, 1200 horse, and 22 guns; but notwithstanding the inferiority of force, they resolved to attack the enemy.

91. Burtsdorff's division was first engaged, and he had a rude conflict to maintain with the enemy's horse, in the course of which the Russian squares were charged to the teeth by six thousand Turkish cavalry, and one was penetrated. At length, while they were with difficulty maintaining their ground against the increasing masses of the enemy, the guns of Mouravieff were heard on their flank, and the Turks, immediately desisting from the attack, shut themselves up in their intrenched camp at Tchaborie. There they were attacked at daybreak on the following day, and after a vigorous resistance the intrenchments were forced, and the enemy totally routed. The whole artillery of the Turks, with five standards, fell into the hands of the Russians, who only lost ninety men,

while their opponents were weakened by twelve hundred in killed and prisoners, and their corps of fifteen thousand men was entirely dispersed. This success relieved Paskewitch from all anxiety concerning his right, and left him at liberty to concentrate his principal forces for the attack of the main army of the Ottomans, fifty thousand strong, under the Seraskier, which was strongly posted on the Saganlugh, barring all approach to Erzeroum.

92. Paskewitch's men were divided into three columns—the right, under Mouravieff, consisted of 7160 infantry, 1140 cavalry, and 28 guns; the left, under Pankratieff, of 5175 infantry and 1145 cavalry, with 30 guns; the reserve of 3495 infantry, and 12 guns;—in all about 18,000 men, including the artillerymen. With a force so inferior to the vast Mussulman host, it was no easy matter to force the passage of the Saganlugh. Two roads only traversed that lofty chain, which unite on their southern side at a bridge over the Araxes. The first, which is fifty miles in length, passes by the pass of Milli-Duz, on the summit of the range; the second, which is called the road of Zevinn, is of greater length, being sixty-five miles long. The mountain range which these roads traverse is above six thousand feet high, so that the snow lies on its summits till far in summer; and the approaches to it present innumerable positions of the utmost strength, where a stand may be made against an invading enemy. The whole lower sides of the mountains are covered with thick woods of pine and larch, intersected by deep and rocky ravines, which rendered all attempts at passage, except by one or other of these routes, utterly impracticable. The Seraskier, who had the command in chief, had stationed Hadgi Pacha, with twenty thousand men, in the first of these passes, which goes by Milli-Duz, while he himself, with thirty thousand, was moving up from Erzeroum to occupy the longer route by Zevinn and Kainly. From the magnitude of the Mussulman force in both passes, the fame of the generals who commanded it, and the great strength

of the positions they occupied, not a doubt was entertained that any attempt to force them would terminate in the destruction of the Russian army.

93. Everything depended upon Paskewitch succeeding in attacking the enemy's corps separately, because if they were united, or acting in co-operation, the magnitude of their forces and the strength of their positions precluded all hopes of success. To accomplish this object he determined upon an immediate attack on Hadgi Pacha, not by the road of Milli-Duz, which, from its comparative shortness, seemed to offer the greatest chance of effecting the object, but by a circuitous march by the valley of Kainly, on Zevinn. It was attended with no small danger, as, by making the march in that direction, he abandoned his communications with Kars, and his whole base of operations; but it promised such advantages that the Russian general did not hesitate to adopt it. As he had abandoned his communications, he made every soldier carry with him bread for five days, and each piece of cannon was only allowed one caisson. The better to conceal his real design, he made great demonstrations against the enemy's camp at Milli-Duz, and even ordered a simulate attack on it by four thousand men, under General Burtsdorff. While the attention of the Turks was entirely occupied with the assault which they hourly expected in that direction, the general-in-chief, with the main body and the reserve, fourteen thousand strong, with fifty guns, defiled at nightfall in silence by the right, in the direction of Zevinn. Ten half battalions, with the whole baggage-waggons, three thousand in number, covered this movement, and concealed it from the enemy, whose attention was entirely occupied with a nocturnal attack made on them with the utmost skill by Burtsdorff. With such expedition did the troops march, that they went over a distance of thirty-two miles, and crossed two snowy ridges, before they called a halt! But the object was achieved—the pass was gained before the Seraskier came up

to occupy it; and at nine o'clock on the following morning the Russians were established in force on the southern slope of the mountain, between the camp of Hadgi Pacha and Erzeroum.

94. The ridge of the Saganlugh was now surmounted; but the intrenched camp of Hadgi Pacha was not yet forced, nor the army of the Seraskier defeated; and till one or other or both of these things were done, it was impossible to advance against Erzeroum. The camp of Milli-Duz was as strong in flank as in front; it was impossible to assault it before the heavy artillery and reserve parks came up, and meanwhile an attack might daily be expected from the Seraskier, with thirty thousand men, coming up from the south aided by a sally of Hadgi Pacha with twenty thousand from the intrenched camp. In these critical circumstances, Paskewitch adopted the same resolution which Frederick the Great or Napoleon would have done in a similar situation; he resolved to direct his forces in the first instance against the most formidable of his opponents, and take advantage of his central position between them, to destroy first one and then the other of the corps opposed to him. To do this, however, it was necessary to secure the passage of the mountains by his baggage and parks, which had necessarily fallen behind during the excessive rapidity of the preceding march; and for some days his whole attention was directed to this object. Hadgi Pacha detached twelve hundred men under Osman Pacha to occupy the defile through which they had to pass; and a bloody conflict ensued between them and a Russian detachment, under Colonel Fridrichs, which was intrusted with covering the march. The Turks, however, were at length defeated, and driven headlong down the precipices into the raging torrents by which the road was bordered; and the train having been all got through and joined the main body, Burtsdorff was also called in; and the whole Russian army, entirely abandoning its communications, was concentrated on the southern slope of the Sagan-

lugh, under the general-in-chief in person.

95. Having now surmounted the chain, and concentrated his troops, Paskewitch lost no time in leading them against the Seraskier, who was approaching from the south. It was high time he should do so, for the two Turkish armies, now not more than thirty-five miles from each other, were rapidly approaching a junction, which they could easily effect by a concentric movement upon the chateau of Zag-hinn on the Zevinn road. If the attack was delayed even a day, he was liable, while contending with the Seraskier in front, to be assailed in flank by Hadgi Pacha with the forces in the intrenched camp, now become entirely disposable by Burtsdorff having been called in. Accordingly, everything was prepared for an attack on the Seraskier on the morning of the 1st of July. The advance took place by the right, headed by Mouravieff, with four battalions, a brigade of cavalry, and twenty guns; behind him came the immense baggage-train, flanked by two battalions on one side, on the other covered by an impassable ravine; in the rear of them was the main body, consisting of seven battalions, two Cossack regiments, and twenty-four guns; three battalions closed the march and brought up the rear. This was just the order of march observed by Cæsar, when near the enemy, in the wars in Gaul.* The times were changed since Korsakoff, in the retreat of the Russians from Zurich in 1799, placed the infantry in solid squares in front, the cavalry in the centre, *and the artillery and baggage in the rear.*

96. At ten in the morning the Russian outposts first descried some bodies of Turkish horsemen on the road to Erzeroun. Paskewitch immediately reinforced his advanced-guard by three battalions and ten guns; and as this gave him a momentary superiority on

* "Quum ad hostes appropinquabat, constructudine sua, Cæsar sex legiones expeditas ducibat; post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat; inde duæ legiones quæ promixæ conscripta erant totum agmen claudabant, præsidioque impedimentis erant."—CÆSAR, *De Bello Gallico*, li. 19.

the great road over the enemy, he resolved to hazard an instant attack before Hadgi Pacha, from the intrenched camp, had time to assail his flank. The baggage-trains and parks, accordingly, were left on the summit of the Tchakhir-Baba, strongly barricaded, and guarded by three thousand men, with eight guns. The remainder of the troops descended into the plain, where they were drawn up in two columns in order of battle, at the distance of two miles from the foot of the mountains. The men were arranged, in the usual order adopted by the Russian general, in squares of half battalions, with the artillery in the intervals of the infantry, and the cavalry on the flanks or rear. The Turks soon approached in immense masses, and with loud cries threw themselves on the Russian squares opposed to them; and no sooner was the conflict in front seriously engaged than the horsemen of Hadgi Pacha, six thousand strong, were seen descending from a hollow in the heights of Milli-Duz, and they immediately commenced a furious attack on the Russian left, under the orders of Burtsdorff. So vigorous was the onset that it required all the firmness of his veterans in their squares to repel, by a rolling fire and with fixed bayonets, the dreadful charge. "In an instant," says Paskewitch, "the Turks charged us with inconceivable audacity; their tirailleurs at every instant penetrated into the line of ours, who were obliged to resist them with the bayonet: they threw themselves on the battalions in squares, and were only repulsed by a ceaseless rolling fire which issued from their ranks."

97. To support this vigorous onset, and entirely destroy the Russian left, the Turks successively withdrew several battalions from their centre. The eagle eye of Paskewitch, like that of Wellington at Salamanca, immediately discovered this false movement, and he prepared to take advantage of it. He ordered a general attack of infantry, supported by eight guns and the Cossack horse, on the enemy's now weakened centre, and entirely broke

it. But while this great success was gained there, Burtsdorff had the utmost difficulty in maintaining himself against the masses of the Turkish cavalry on the left, which, despite the rolling fire of the squares, broke into the intervals between them, and cut down the Russian gunners at the side of their pieces, which were immediately silenced. All seemed lost in that quarter; but fortunately Pankratieff, seeing, from the heights of Tchakhir-Baba, where he was barricaded behind the baggage-waggon, the imminent danger of Burtsdorff, detached a brigade of irregular cavalry along the crest of the ridge to descend on the Turkish rear. In spite of the rugged nature of the ground, this movement was executed by these hardy horsemen with entire success. Concealed for the greater part of the way by intervening rocks, the Russian horse got unperceived close into the Turkish rear, and then with a loud hurrah suddenly broke in upon them. At the same time General Sacken, with the regular cavalry, turned the left flank of the same division, and threatened to cut them off from Milli-Duz. A sudden panic immediately seized the whole Turkish right and centre, which fled and dispersed, leaving the field in possession of the Russians, who took advantage of this success to bring down the baggage and train under Pankratieff to the valley beside the main body of the troops.

98. The work of the Russian general, however, was only half done. The corps with which he had contended were only a small portion of the infantry, and the cavalry of the Seraskier, and the corps of Hadgi Pacha; the infantry and main body of the former's forces were yet to fight. Eighteen thousand foot were to arrive during the night; and the Seraskier, little anticipating any further attack, took up a strong position with the troops that were yet unbroken a little in the rear, to await their arrival, and give battle on the following day. But Paskewitch, having learned the approach of reinforcements to the enemy so considerable, which would render

their forces quadruple of his own, had no intention of waiting till he was overwhelmed, but resolved to attack before they came up, *that very night*. Having given his troops a few hours' rest, accordingly, he again led them out to the attack at four in the afternoon; and, as the Russian left was now entirely secured against any assault from the side of the intrenched camp, he was able to bring a preponderating force against the Seraskier's position. At a signal given, the troops, now arranged in dense masses, with the bands of all the regiments playing, advanced to the attack. On this occasion, though their guns kept up a vigorous fire on the columns as they approached, the Turkish infantry made very little resistance. Paskewitch himself, at the head of all the cavalry, appeared on their flank, and, riding over the intrenchments, which were only begun to be blown up, broke into the camp. Upon this a general rout took place. The Turks broke, dispersed, and fled on all sides. Paskewitch, having stationed a body of men at the entrance of the defiles leading down from Milli-Duz, to prevent any diversion from that quarter, continued the pursuit with the utmost vigour till it was dark. Twelve guns, the whole baggage and ammunition of the army, and five hundred prisoners, were taken during the pursuit; and such was the consternation of the Seraskier, that he was the third man who brought to Hassan-Kale, the headquarters in the rear, the intelligence of his own defeat.

99. Still there remained the intrenched camp at Milli-Duz to storm, where Hadgi Pacha had collected eighteen thousand men after his repulse, in a position as strong as art and nature could make it. But Paskewitch, who, like Cæsar, deemed nothing done while anything remained to do, determined to attack it before the Seraskier's corps had recovered from the consternation of their defeat, and could give him any annoyance. Accordingly, at seven next morning the troops were led back to the assault of the intrenched camp. After toiling up the steep ravines which led to it,

the Russians, when they reached the plateau on the summit, beheld the intrenchments bristling with guns, and defended by a numerous mass of infantry and cavalry, whose bayonets and turbans appeared above the embrasures. The Russians had 6743 foot, 4750 horse, and thirty-six guns. When they first appeared on the plateau, the Turks were ignorant of the defeat of the Seraskier; but Paskewitch took care that they should be informed of it by means of a deserter, while he was waiting the arrival of his heavy artillery, which was toiling up the steep. As soon as they learned it, the utmost discouragement seized upon them; they began to disband and leave the camp; and Hadgi Pacha, seeing himself cut off from all succour, proposed to capitulate. The Russian general, however, insisted on a surrender at discretion, which being refused, the assault was ordered. The assailants were divided into four columns, headed by the general-in-chief in person, Paukratieff, Mouravieff, and Sacken. They all proved successful. The assault was made with such vigour, by Paskewitch and Mouravieff, that the Turks, after discharging their pieces, turned about and fled, leaving the other columns nothing but the pursuit. The camp, with nineteen pieces of cannon, eighteen standards, and twelve hundred prisoners, were taken on the spot, two thousand slain, and the army entirely dispersed. Hadgi Pacha himself, with his whole suite, was among the captives. Being brought before the Russian general, he said, in a noble spirit, "The fate of arms is inconstant; a few hours ago I commanded an army of twenty thousand men—now, to my shame, I am your prisoner; but your name is revered amongst us because of your great qualities; and it is said if you know how to conquer, you know also how to forgive. I trust myself to your magnanimity." Paskewitch showed himself not unworthy of the appeal. He treated him with distinction, and assured him of the protection of the Emperor.

100. Thus in less than twenty-five

hours the Russian army had marched thirty-five miles, beaten and entirely dispersed two Turkish armies, each of which was more than double its own strength; taken one of the generals, two pachas, both camps, twenty-eight guns, nineteen standards, three thousand prisoners, and their whole ammunition and provisions, with the loss of less than two hundred men. History furnishes few examples of success so brilliant and decisive, and so obviously the result of superiority in generalship and tactics. It reminds us of the days of Alexander the Great and Pompey, when small European corps, admirably led and disciplined, and inured to war, overthrew forces five times more numerous of the Asiatic monarchies. The campaigns of Napoleon in Italy in 1796, and France in 1814, which they very much resemble from the skilful use made of a central position, and the wonderful effects of rapidity of movement, present no results more striking or more demonstrative of the talents of the general-in-chief.

101. Paskewitch had profoundly studied ancient history, and his own experience in the wars of Persia had taught him that the character of the Asiatic people was unchanged; that still, as in the days of Cyrus or Mithridates, they passed rapidly from one extreme to another; and that entire nations were ready, on decisive events, to range themselves in willing multitudes around the banner of the victor. He set himself, accordingly, in the most vigorous manner, to improve his success, and strike a decisive blow, before the excitable minds of the Asiatics had recovered from their consternation. The position of the Seraskier had become desperate. Of his late immense host only ten thousand horse could be assembled at Hassan-Kale, all in the deepest state of dejection; and with these he despaired of defending its walls against his enterprising enemy. Accordingly, when the Russian outposts under General Burtsdorff approached the fortress, he made his dispositions to evacuate it, and withdraw to Erzeroum. When they descended the valleys on the southern side

of the Saganlugh, towards the Araxes, they speedily felt the change of climate, and the troops, which had recently shivered on the edge of perennial snows, now were melting under the rays of a burning sun. On their approach the soldiers of the Seraskier mutinied, and, disbanding, fled in all directions. The Russians crossed the Araxes by a noble bridge of seven arches, still entire, constructed by Darius Hystaspes, and speedily took possession of the abandoned fortress, where they found twenty-nine guns, and immense stores enclosed within the walls, which dated from the days of the Romans. Situated on a lofty rock, which commands the whole valley of the Araxes, it is the key of that valley, and may be considered as the principal outwork of Erzeroum.

102. The advance of the Russians and capture of Hassan-Kale spread the utmost consternation in that capital. The populace loudly clamoured for immediate submission; but the troops still stood firm, and the walls were lined with numerous defenders, apparently bent on a resolute defence. Paskewitch, however, rapidly approached; on the 19th his advanced-guard appeared before the capital, and on the day following he himself arrived, with the guns and bulk of his forces. Conferences soon began for the surrender of the place; but as the enemy seemed to be only striving to gain time, he ordered an immediate attack on the Top-Dagh, a fortified rocky eminence, commanding both the citadel and the entire town. The Russians advanced to the assault with drums beating and colours flying, and the Turks were so intimidated by their aspect that, without attempting any resistance, they abandoned the post, and fled into the city. This success was decisive of the fate of Erzeroum; further resistance was impossible, for the guns from the Top-Dagh commanded every part of the town. A capitulation, accordingly, was agreed on, and the Russian troops entered the capital of Asia Minor on the anniversary of the battle of Pultowa. A hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, six standards, the Seraskier's

baton, and immense stores of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors, and the Russian standards waved on the ramparts of the capital of the Turkish empire in Asia.

103. The Russians, however, were not allowed to remain long in the quiet possession of their conquest. The pachalic of Bajazeth, as a glance at the map will demonstrate, was extrinsic to the line of operations, and being pushed far into the enemy's territories, lay exposed to his attacks, the more especially as the garrison, of fifteen hundred Russian and a thousand Armenian levies, was hardly adequate to its defence. Encouraged by these circumstances, and anticipating an easy conquest, the Pacha of Van, in the beginning of June, collected ten thousand men, with which he laid siege to the town. The Turks at first gained such success that the fall of the place appeared certain. They penetrated, after several assaults, into the works, and made themselves masters of two bastions and several guns. General Popoff, the governor, deeming further resistance useless, proposed to evacuate it; but General Panatine, the second in command, though wounded, combated this proposal so strongly, that it was resolved to continue the defence. They concentrated the garrison, accordingly, in the strongest points of the town, which still remained to them, and there made so vigorous a defence that the Turks, after having been repulsed with great slaughter in several assaults, were compelled to raise the siege, after having lost two thousand men before the place; but one-third of the heroic garrison had fallen during the defence.

104. So rapid had been the advance upon Erzeroum, and so immediate the success, that the Russian reserves were still far in the rear when the place fell, and Paskewitch was obliged to suspend his operations till their arrival. He turned this necessary delay to good account, by strengthening his position in that capital, and establishing there a central government, under the protection of Russia, which might turn the resources of the conquered provin-

ces to good account. His administrative measures were so judicious that they gave universal satisfaction, and won for him the confidence of all classes of citizens. So widespread was the reputation of his probity and just administration, that it soon procured for him the submission of distant provinces, which had never yet been visited by the Russian arms. Among the rest, the Pacha of Mush gave in his adhesion, and withdrew his troops from the Turkish service; and the inhabitants of Baibout, a town situated seventy miles from the Russian headquarters, made offers of submission. Paskewitch at first hesitated to accept them, owing to the distance; but having received intelligence that the Seraskier was levying troops there, he changed his resolution, and sent General Burtzdorff, with two thousand men, to occupy the place. At his approach the Turks, five thousand strong, dispersed, and evacuated the fortress, which was occupied without resistance. This acquisition was of importance, both from its intrinsic strength, and as opening the road to Trebizond and the shores of the Black Sea.

105. The reserves having at length arrived, Paskewitch, after three weeks' rest given to his troops, resolved to recommence operations. His advance was accelerated by a severe check, which Burtzdorff's division received in an attack upon the fortress of Khart, which was repulsed with the loss of sixty killed and two hundred and seventy wounded—among the latter of which was Burtzdorff himself, who was struck in the breast by a pistol-shot as he was seizing a standard. This disaster opened the eyes of Paskewitch to the danger of any further extension of his operations with the limited force at his disposal; but at the same time he saw the necessity of a vigorous stroke to re-establish the lustre of the Russian arms, which in all wars, but especially those of Asia, is so important an element in success. No sooner, accordingly, did he hear of the disaster of his lieutenant, than, collecting all the disposable forces at his command, he set out himself against Khart. The

Lazes, twelve thousand strong, who formed the militia of the country, collected in great force at his approach, and, flushed with their former victory, prepared to defend the place to the last extremity. They were posted in an intrenched camp resting on the town; but notwithstanding the strength of the position, and the valour of the Mussulmans, they were utterly routed and dispersed, and the town taken. This important victory insured the immediate submission of all the neighbouring tribes, and opened to the Russians the roads to the important town of Sivas and harbour of Trebizond.

106. Notwithstanding this success, and the brilliant prospect of getting the command of the whole sea-coast from Trebizond to Batoum thus opened to him, which would have established his communication with the sea, of which the Russians were masters, Paskewitch felt the necessity of checking his advance, and securing the conquests he had made, before attempting fresh ones. The better to conceal his design, he detached two columns towards the sea-coast, which were entirely successful, and drove the Turks in confusion before them. The fortress of Ghumicol-Kane was occupied without firing a shot, and the light horse were pushed on through the mountains towards Trebizond. But the road was found impracticable for artillery, and the attack on that place could not have been hazarded without at least five thousand men, and such a force could not be spared in the present divided state of the army. The general-in-chief, therefore, withdrew the bulk of his forces to Erzeroum, and evacuated Baibout, after having blown up its fortifications.

107. While Paskewitch was adopting this wise resolution, General Pankratief had resumed operations with vigour in Guriel, and on the shores of the Black Sea. Surmounting precipices and passing by roads deemed impracticable, he attacked and totally defeated eight thousand Turks in the defiles of Mukha-Estatt, taking sixty-eight guns and five hundred prisoners. At the news of this defeat, all resist-

ance ceased in Guriel, and the armed bands in that quarter dispersed. But an expedition, undertaken by General Sacken, the governor of Akhalzikh, against another mountain chief of the Adjars, failed from the insurmountable difficulties of the rocky heights in which the enemy had taken post; and soon after another expedition against Tsikhedjeri, an important hill-fort near Batoum, was repulsed with the loss of seven hundred men.

108. These checks, and the commencement of the autumnal rains, which set in early and with great severity that year, induced the Russian general to make preparations for withdrawing to his winter-quarters in Georgia, leaving only garrisons in the towns which had been conquered. No sooner did this become known than the Seraskier announced the immediate retreat of the Russians from Erzeroum, and the abandonment of all their conquests. He succeeded in this way in again rousing the Lazes and Kurds to take up arms, who, like other Asiatics, pass easily from one extreme to another, and are as rapidly elevated by success as they are depressed by defeat; and Osman Pacha was soon at the head of ten thousand men at Baibout, and six thousand more were assembled at Tchifflick, while on his other flank a large force was collecting under the orders of the Pacha of Van. Informed of these preparations, and desirous of striking a decisive blow before he withdrew into Georgia, and left the conquered fortresses to their own resources, Paskewitch continued his preparations as for a general retreat, while he was in reality concentrating his troops for a final blow. At length, having got a sufficient body in hand, and deeming the enemy so far assembled that the moment for action had arrived, he despatched a small covering force to keep in check the Pacha of Van on his left flank, and marched himself with the bulk of his forces, consisting of six thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, and thirty guns, in two columns, against Baibout. Having skilfully interposed one of his columns between the forces posted at Baibout and those

at Tchifflick, he conducted the attacks in person on the former of these places. It was garrisoned by twelve thousand men, strongly posted in an intrenched camp, armed with redoubts, and amply provided with artillery.

109. Relying on their decided superiority of numbers, which was above two to one, the Turks, on the approach of the Russians, sallied out of their intrenchments, and themselves commenced the attack. Paskewitch instantly saw his advantage, and turned it to the best account. Forming his troops into two columns, he led them in double-quick time against the enemy. The Ottomans no sooner saw the intrepid countenance of the Russians, than, without awaiting the shock, they took to flight, and rushed back in confusion to their intrenchments, so closely followed by the Muscovites that they could not fire the guns on them for fear of striking down their own men. Thus victors and vanquished entered the redoubts together, which, with all their artillery, remained in the hands of the Russians. The whole army upon this took to flight, closely followed by the cavalry and Cossacks of Paskewitch, who continued the pursuit till they were entirely dispersed. In this brilliant affair the Turks lost seven hundred killed, twelve hundred prisoners, six guns, and twelve standards; while the total casualties of the Russians did not exceed a hundred men. After the battle was over, the Seraskier came up with the reserve, ten thousand strong; but seeing the entire destruction of the corps first engaged, he hastily withdrew to Balakhor. Baibout remained in the hands of the Russians; but it was little more than a heap of ruins, for the inhabitants fled with the Turks, and their houses, which took fire during the conflict, were almost entirely consumed before the entrance of Paskewitch's men.

110. This was the last action of the campaign. Immediately afterwards, despatches were received by both parties announcing the conclusion of a convention between General Diebitch

and the Grand Vizier, with a view to the conclusion of a peace, at Adrianople. Hostilities immediately ceased on both sides; and Paskewitch, after leaving garrisons in the conquered towns, led back the remainder of his forces to their winter-quarters in Georgia. In recrossing the Saganlugh, on the 17th October, he met the courier of the Emperor, who brought him the baton of a field-marshal. Never was the honour more worthily bestowed. In the space of four months he had, with a force which never could muster twenty thousand combatants in the field, marched two hundred and fifty German miles, beaten and dispersed three Turkish armies, each double the strength of his own, carried by storm several intrenched camps and four strong fortresses, conquered the capital of Asia Minor and two entire pachalics, taken two hundred and sixty-two pieces of cannon and sixty-five standards, and made prisoner a Turkish general-in-chief, and three thousand soldiers! These brilliant successes had been achieved with the loss only of four thousand men in killed, wounded, prisoners, and by sickness—a number singularly small, when it is recollected that, during the whole course of the campaign, the plague raged in several of the towns which were taken. These great results were gained entirely by the admirable strategetical skill of the general, and the courage and perseverance of his followers. The annals of Rome in ancient, of the British conquests in India in modern times, contain no more memorable story illustrative of the ascendancy of mind over matter, of intelligence, combination, and genius, over a vast superiority of physical strength.

111. While Asia Minor was the theatre of these glorious exploits, events, perhaps less distinguished by military talent, but still more momentous in their consequences, took place in European Turkey. The forces of either party had there been much weakened by the losses of the preceding cam-

paign; but great efforts were made on both sides to recruit during the winter. The Turks were so much reduced by the departure of their troops to visit their homes, according to their usual custom in winter, that scarce ten thousand men remained in Schumla; and an expedition which the Grand Vizier undertook, with six thousand, against Pravadi, in the end of November, led to no result. The Mussulmans returned in crowds to their standards, however, when spring came back; the Grand Vizier, in the beginning of March, had forty thousand men in the intrenched camp around Schumla; and the most pressing orders were sent to the Pachas of Widdin, Janina, Adrianople, and Scodra, to hasten to the scene of action with all their forces. Had they duly obeyed the summons, and brought their contingents into the field, there would have been two hundred thousand Ottomans to defend the line of the Balkan, and the Russians would have attempted in vain to cross it. But some held back from disaffection, part from the indelible tardiness of the Ottoman character. The Pacha of Widdin delayed obviously from treachery; and the Pacha of Scodra, who should have appeared with thirty thousand men, did not come up till the campaign was over. It was too evident that, in Europe as in Asia, the deadly feud with the janizaries had paralysed great part of the strength of the empire. The result was, that the Turks had not above a hundred thousand men altogether in arms in Europe to meet the first shock of war, and above half of this force was absorbed in the fortresses on the Danube. Of the forty thousand in Schumla a great part were new levies, who had never seen service, and had been broke into it by a discipline which they detested. Many of them, instead of the honourable wounds received in war, bore on their faces and shoulders the marks of the blows recently inflicted by the drill-sergeants in the course of instructing them in the rudiments of the military art—an indignity which an old janizary or spahi

would have instantly resented with the death of his tormentor.

112. The Russians turned the breathing-time afforded them by the cessation of hostilities in winter to much better account; and the length of time which the war had now lasted had enabled them to bring up their distant forces and reserves to the theatre of war. The vast array of a hundred thousand men, which had crossed the Danube in the course of the preceding campaign, had melted away to half that number before its close, by fatigue, sickness, and the sword. Of these, twenty thousand, under General Roth, lay between Hirchova, Pravadi, and Varna; ten thousand, under General Geismar, were in Little Wallachia; and the remainder in observation before the fortresses still held by the Turks on the Danube, or in keeping up the communications. This force was obviously inadequate to attempt any offensive movement against an enemy so strongly posted as the Turks were on the Danube and the Balkan; but before the winter was over they received very great reinforcements, drawn from the army of the south, under General Sacken, and many hardy Cossacks who came up from Bessarabia. Deducting the losses from sickness and fatigue, it may fairly be concluded that the Russian army began the campaign with about seventy thousand effective men in Bulgaria and on the line of the Danube—a formidable force, considering its discipline and experience, the command of the sea which it possessed, and the prestige derived from a long series of victories it enjoyed. It had with it three hundred guns, and provisions for the

immense host for two months were stored on the Danube. Add to this, that its generals had become acquainted, by the experience of the preceding campaign, with the tactics and mode of combating the Turks, and that the army was incomparably better provided with camels, horses, magazines, stores, and implements requisite for the war, than it had ever been on any former occasion.*

113. Encouraged by the efficient state of their force, the Russian generals were tempted during the winter to undertake some minor operations on the coast, which were not without their influence on the general issue of the campaign, and might have revealed to the Turkish generals the quarter in which the most serious effort against them was to be expected. Count Langeron, so well known in the last war between Russia and France, having collected eight thousand men in the end of January, made an attack on the Turkish intrenched posts at Kale and Turna, on the left bank of the Danube, nearly opposite Nicopolis, between Roudschuck and Widdin. The first was taken with thirty guns in the first assault; the second held out, but was at length reduced by regular approaches on the 11th February. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon fell into their hands on the walls; the garrison, two thousand five hundred strong, was permitted to retire to Roudschuck. This success led to the capture of a flotilla of thirty gunboats on the Danube, near Nicopolis, a few days after, which gave them the entire command of that portion of the river. A still more important acquisition was the castle of

* Diebitch's army consisted of four corps, numbering ten divisions of infantry, five of cavalry, and thirty-seven batteries of artillery. Its effective force in the field was nearly as follows :—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Total.	Guns.
2d Corps, General Pahlen, . .	9,600	2,100	864	12,564	64
3d Corps, General Krasowsky, . .	19,200	4,200	1,620	25,020	120
6th Corps, General Roth, . .	9,600	2,100	758	12,458	58
7th Corps, General Rudiger, .	9,600	2,100	758	12,458	58
Cossacks,	—	5,500	—	5,500	—
	48,000	16,000	4,000	68,000	300

Sizepolis, a stronghold situated on a rock projecting into the Black Sea, a little to the south of the Bay of Bourgas, at the eastern end of the Balkan. It yielded in a few hours to the simple cannonade of some Russian vessels of war, the garrison, consisting of one thousand Albanians, having evacuated the place. The Russians immediately landed, took possession of the fort, and strengthened its works, too happy to become so easily masters of a little Gibraltar on the sea-coast, *within* the vaunted line of the Balkan.

114. The success of Wittgenstein in the preceding campaign against the Turks in Europe had not been such as to justify his being retained in the command. He was allowed to retire accordingly, a step rested on his age and infirmities; and he received for his successor COUNT DIEBITCH, the chief of his staff, whose great abilities and success in the succeeding campaign fully justified the Emperor's choice.*

* Like so many of the generals in the Russian service, Diebitch is a foreigner. He was born on 13th May 1785, at Grossleippe, in Prussian Silesia, of an ancient family, and received his military education at the school of cadets in Berlin. In 1805, at the age of twenty, he entered the Russian service as ensign in the grenadier guards, where his talents and courage attracted the notice of the Emperor Alexander. He was engaged in the battle of Austerlitz, and, being wounded in the right hand, he did not leave the field, but took his sword in his left, for which he was rewarded by a sabre of honour from the Czar. He signalised himself also at the battles of Eylau and Friedland, for his conduct on which occasions he received a company, and was decorated by the orders of St George of Russia and of Merit in Prussia. After the peace of Tilsit, he profited by his leisure to study the military art, especially strategy, in which he soon made such progress as procured for him a situation on the staff. In the war of 1812 he was attached to Wittgenstein's corps, and distinguished himself on the 18th October in the defence of a bridge, which preserved from destruction an entire corps, and won for him the rank of major-general. In the retreat he followed the Prussian general D'York with eighteen hundred horse, and by his prudent conduct contributed much to the important defection of that general with his corps, which ensued. In 1813 he was made chief of the staff to Wittgenstein, then in command of the grand allied army, a situation of the very highest importance; and he was one of those who conducted the secret treaty of Reichenbach, concluded on 14th June 1813 between the allied powers. He evinced great talents

Wittgenstein retired in February, with the thanks of the Emperor for "his distinguished services in the career of glory, and for those which he had rendered in the preceding winter, by organising the army in such a manner as to insure victory in the succeeding campaign." Diebitch, in an order of the day, at the same time, in announcing his taking the command, expressed himself in flattering terms to his respectable predecessor, "whose advanced years deprived him of the pleasure of again combating the enemy; but nothing is impossible to the Russian warriors, when they combat for their faith, their honour, and their country."

115. The decisive superiority of the Russians at sea, both in the Mediterranean and the Euxine, gave them a at the battle of Dresden, where he had a horse shot under him; and distinguished himself so much at the battle of Leipsic, that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general by the Emperor Alexander in person on the field of battle. In the campaign of 1814, when the memorable conference took place to consider whether the Allies should advance to Paris, when Napoleon moved on Arcis-sur-Aube, he was one of those who most strenuously supported the advance to the French capital which led to such important results. Arrived on the heights of Montmartre, Alexander publicly embraced him, and decorated him with the order of St Alexander Newski. After the peace of 1814 he returned to St Petersburg, where he married a niece of Barclay de Tolly, and was soon after summoned to the Congress of Vienna, and appointed chief of the staff of the first army. After this he became so great a favourite with Alexander that he accompanied him on all his travels, and attended his deathbed at Taganrog in 1825. He was, from his devotion to the imperial family, singled out for the peculiar vengeance of the conspirators at that time, and was to have been carried off or despatched with the Emperor and Grand-duke. On occasion of the revolt of the guards at St Petersburg, he exhibited a rare combination of talent and prudence; and he was despatched afterwards to Moscow, to attend the remains of the Emperor Alexander to St Petersburg. When the war broke out in 1828, he was appointed chief of the staff to Wittgenstein's army; and in February 1829 to succeed him in the chief command. His strategical talents were very great, and have won for him a lasting place in European fame; and his coolness and courage were *à toute épreuve*. But his disposition was warm, and his temper irritable, which sometimes led him into excesses; and in the end, as will appear in the sequel, occasioned his death in the prime of life.—See *Biographie Universelle, Supplément*, lxii. 470, 471 (DIEBITCH).

very great advantage, which threatened to starve Constantinople itself into an early submission, and deprived the Turks of all possibility of transporting their troops or magazines by water; a difficulty of the very greatest magnitude in a country so destitute of practicable roads as Turkey, both in Europe and Asia. Admiral Greig, with nine sail of the line, five frigates, and twenty-eight corvettes, carrying 1556 guns, blockaded the Bosphorus; while Admiral Hamelin, with eight sail of the line, seven frigates, and seventeen corvettes, shut in the Dardanelles. The Turks and Egyptians, whose marine had been totally ruined by the battle of Navarino, had no force capable of meeting these fleets; the whole ships remaining in the harbour of Constantinople in the spring of 1829 were four sail of the line, two frigates, and six corvettes; and the Egyptian fleet, consisting of one ship of the line, six frigates, and nine corvettes, was cut off from them by the blockade of the Dardanelles, and rendered no service whatever during the campaign. Thus the entire command of the sea, with all its inestimable consequences, fell to the Russians during the whole remainder of the war.

116. The Russian plan of the campaign, based on the possession of Varna and the command of the Black Sea, was to besiege Silistria and blockade Schumla, and having made themselves masters of the former place, to push across the Balkan by the eastern valleys between the latter fortress and the sea. The fort of Sizopolis was of great value in this view, as it was a stronghold *within* the Balkan range, and by means of its harbour enabled the Russians to communicate with their fleet in the Black Sea, and receive supplies from Galatz and Odessa. The Turkish generals, impressed with the importance of Schumla in all preceding campaigns, were persuaded that it would be of equal value in the one which was approaching, and used all their efforts to concentrate as large a force as possible within its walls. They thus stripped the eastern defiles of the Balkan of nearly all its defenders; and only

three thousand men were left in charge of the passes leading from Varna and Pravadi across the mountains. They were aware, however, of the value of Sizopolis, and fitted out an expedition to recover it. By a sudden assault at daybreak on the 9th April, they succeeded in breaking into the fort, and surprising part of the garrison. But a portion of it rallied with such vigour that the Turks in their turn were expelled from the works, with the loss of two hundred and fifty. Encouraged by this success, the garrison of Sizopolis made an attack on Antiochia, which was repulsed with equal loss; but the Russians, notwithstanding, maintained themselves in the former important post, which they held till the end of the campaign. Irritated beyond endurance by the establishment of a Muscovite post within twenty-five leagues of the capital, the Sultan ordered the Turkish fleet, consisting of four ships of the line, five frigates, and a few corvettes, to issue from the Bosphorus and endeavour to retake it. They fell in with a Russian frigate, the *Raphael*, of forty-five guns, which they took, and brought back in triumph to Constantinople. The unwonted spectacle of a naval triumph excited the utmost enthusiasm in the capital, which was increased a few days after by the arrival, during the suspension of the blockade, of a valuable convoy of wheat from Natolia, for the use of its inhabitants. But these transports were of short duration; for, having ventured upon a second sortie a few days after, Admiral Greig met them with his squadron of eight line-of-battle ships, forced them to retire within the Bosphorus, and re-established the blockade on that side, which was continued till the conclusion of the war.

117. The violence of the equinoctial gales and storms, and the floods of the Danube, rendered it impossible to commence the campaign till the beginning of May, by which time the forces were fully brought up on both sides; it then began in good earnest, and soon became of great importance. The Russians on their side advanced in two huge columns to the Danube, which

they began to pass at Hirchova and Kalavatsch, immediately below Silistria. The passage was completed in imposing style on the 10th, and the right column approached that fortress, the siege of which was the first object of the campaign. A warm action of cavalry ensued on the 17th, which ended in the Turks being driven under the cannon of the place, and the investment was commenced, General Kreutz being stationed at Koargu with seven thousand men, to cover the siege and keep up the communication of the forces under General Roth, near Varna, with those which were directed against Silistria. Redschid Pacha, who had recently been called from Greece to the important station of Grand Vizier, had collected forty thousand men in Schumla; and he resolved to commence the campaign by an attack on Pravadi, preparatory to an attempt to regain Varna. He issued, accordingly, with ten thousand foot and five thousand horse to commence operations; but before assailing that place it was deemed expedient to attack a post the Russians had established and fortified with redoubts at Eski-Arnautlar, three miles east of Pravadi, where six battalions were posted under General Roth in person.

118. The attack was commenced by the Turkish troops with great resolution, and such success that victory appeared certain, when they were assailed in flank by General Wachter, who came up with three thousand foot and eight hundred Cossacks from the side of Dewno, thrown into confusion, and driven back towards Pravadi. But the Grand Vizier on his side also had summoned up reinforcements from Schumla; and they met the victorious Russians as they were pursuing the Turks from Eski-Arnautlar. Instantly three thousand Ottoman horse, in splendid condition, having as yet experienced none of the fatigues of the campaign, threw themselves, with loud cries, on two Russian battalions which headed the pursuit. The Muscovites were assailed before they had time to form square; the rush was irresistible, and they were almost all cut to pieces,

with their brave commander, General Rynden. The four remaining Russian battalions seemed lost; and so they would have been, if it had been possible to keep the Turks better in hand. But, intoxicated by their success, they dispersed to plunder and behead the slain, and this gave a breathing-time to the battalions in rear, who retreated to a rising ground, where they succeeded in maintaining themselves till General Kouprianoff, with part of the garrison of Pravadi, came up, and by a flank movement, which threatened to cut them off from Schumla, obliged them to retire. In this desperate affair the loss on both sides was nearly equal, amounting to about two thousand men to each party, and each had some standards to exhibit, wrested from their antagonists in fair fight; but the Russians, upon the whole, justly claimed the advantage, as they had succeeded in maintaining the position of Eski-Arnautlar, and compelling their opponents to withdraw.

119. On the same day on which these bloody conflicts took place between Schumla and Pravadi, the investment of Silistria was effected. This town, which is situated on the right bank of the Danube, near the commencement of its delta, contained, in 1829, twenty-nine thousand inhabitants, of whom nearly six thousand were enrolled among the armed defenders of the place. It is imperfectly fortified, and is commanded by some heights on the outside, especially to the south-west. There are ten fronts, each of which has an extremely long curtain and two small bastions, which give a flanking fire to the ditch. The scarp and counterscarp have scarcely a perpendicular of fifteen feet, but the former is surmounted by a hurdle parapet, with a strong row of palisades rising above its crest on the inner side. There is a low and very imperfect glacis, but no covered-way or outworks, excepting three exterior redoubts on the land side and two towards the river, which cover the vessels anchored under the walls. Such had been the supineness of the Turks during the winter, that they had made

no attempt to demolish or injure the approaches made by the Russians during the preceding campaign, so that when they returned on this occasion they marched into the old works and trenches as if they had only evacuated them on the preceding day. It may readily be conceived how this marvellous negligence on the part of the Ottomans facilitated the operations of the next siege. The besieging force under Diebitch was twenty-seven thousand strong, and Kreutz was at the head of a covering army of seven thousand at Koargu in advance towards Schumla. The garrison, exclusive of the armed inhabitants, was nearly ten thousand, commanded by Achmet Pacha, a man of determined resolution and tried ability.

120. Diebitch prosecuted the siege of this fortress with the utmost vigour, while a powerful flotilla, issuing from the upper part of the river, cut the besieged off from all communication by water on the west. His approaches were at first directed chiefly against a hornwork which the Turks had constructed on the margin of the stream, and the east front to which it was attached. Afterwards this line of attack was changed to the south front, but the besieged made a vigorous resistance. Recourse was of necessity had to the tedious processes of sap and mine; and the inundations of the Danube rendered the progress of both during the first week of the siege extremely slow. This circumstance, joined to the checkered success which had attended the Ottoman arms in the combats of the 17th at Eski-Arnaular, induced the Grand Vizier to conceive a grand plan, which might, if successful, be attended with decisive effects upon the issue of the campaign. This was nothing less than to move out of Schumla, with nearly the whole troops assembled there, against Pravadi, where only three thousand men were left in garrison, who, it was thought, might with ease be overcome by the superior force brought against them. Impressed with this project, which he hoped would effectually divert the enemy's attention from the

siege of Silistria, and probably lead to its abandonment, Redschiid Pacha issued from Schumla on the 28th May, at the head of forty thousand men, and, directing his steps across the hills, he reached the rugged and narrow valley in which Pravadi stands, and established himself in front of the western works of that place on the 1st June. General Roth reinforced the garrison by two battalions, and retired with the bulk of his forces, about ten thousand strong, to Koslodschi, twenty miles to the northward, despatching at the same time an officer with the intelligence to Diebitch. This officer had orders to ride as for life and death; and with such fidelity did he execute his mission that he reached the headquarters of the general-in-chief, a distance of *eighty miles*, in twelve hours, without changing his horse.

121. Diebitch no sooner heard of this movement of the Grand Vizier against Pravadi, than he conceived, and instantly carried into execution, the brilliant stroke which decided the campaign, and has deservedly given him a very high place in the archives of military fame. This was, to break up with the bulk of the covering army from the neighbourhood of Silistria, and to move direct by forced marches, not on the Grand Vizier's force in front of Pravadi, but on his line of communication with Schumla. By this means he would compel the Turks either to abandon the latter fortress entirely to its feeble garrison, in which case it could make no defence, or to fight their way back to it through the Russian army—a contingency more likely than any other to lead to decisive success, as the Turkish troops, however zealous and brave, had not yet acquired the consistency requisite to enable them to perform complicated movements under fire in the open field. This decision was no sooner formed by the Russian general than it was acted upon; and on the 5th June, accordingly, he set out from the shores of the Danube at the head of fifteen thousand men, leaving General Krasowsky to continue the siege of Silistria, with twelve thousand. On the 7th he

joined Kreutz at Koargu, which raised his force to twenty-one thousand.

122. Pravadi stands in a deep and narrow valley, shut in on either side by mountain ridges about two thousand feet in height, the offshoots of the Balkan, and which run nearly south and north, the stream in its bottom flowing to the Black Sea from that ridge. It forms the base of a triangle of valleys, of which the one side is the valley of Kalugre or Newtscha, and the other that of Markowtscha, the apex being at Madara, a little beyond Kouleptscha. Thus Madara was the point through which an army, taking either of the valleys between Pravadi and Schumla, must pass in moving from the one to the other. Thither, accordingly, Diebitch directed his footsteps; and with such expedition did he march that Count Pahlen, with the advanced-guard, established himself there on the 10th June. The same day General Roth, who had, by skilfully drawing a curtain of light troops between the Ottomans and the line of the Russian advance, entirely concealed their movements from the enemy, by a rapid forced march effected his junction with Diebitch, thereby raising the force under the command of the latter to thirty-one thousand men, and one hundred and forty-six guns. The Muscovite force now occupied the entrance of all the valleys leading from Pravadi to Schumla, so as entirely to cut off the Turks from their retreat to that fortress, which was observed by four battalions. But the Russian army, which was raised by the junction of Roth with his own and Rudiger's corps to forty-four battalions and fifty squadrons, was very much scattered, extending from Boulanik by Madara to near Pravadi, a distance of twenty-five miles.

123. A line of such extent, in a country where the roads were so bad and the communications so difficult, presented a favourable opportunity for striking a decisive blow to a concentrated enemy; and had Diebitch been in presence of Napoleon or Wellington, it is probable he would have paid dear for his temerity. But no danger

was to be apprehended from the Turkish commanders, who, entirely ignorant of what was going forward on their line of communication, remained quiet before Pravadi, intent only on insignificant skirmishes with the garrison. A combat between the advanced-guard of Diebitch, under General Kreutz, and a body of Turkish cavalry, on the evening of the 10th, near Jenibazar, first made the Grand Vizier aware of his danger; and from some prisoners taken he learned the astounding news that his communications with Schumla were entirely cut off. Three lines of retreat to that fortress alone existed—that by the great road through Madara, which was in the hands of the enemy, and could not be forced without a general battle; one on the right, by the valley of Newtscha, on Jenibazar; or one on the left, by Kawarna and Marash. The two last offered the greatest chances of passing without serious molestation from the enemy. But the roads by these routes were mere mountain paths, very difficult for the Turkish artillery, which was all drawn by bullocks. The central road, therefore, by Madara, was preferred; and as the Grand Vizier persisted in the belief that he had only the corps of Roth and Rudiger to deal with in his line of retreat, he anticipated very little difficulty in destroying them, and re-entering Schumla by the great road, with the trophies of victory in his train.*

124. The retreating masses of the Turks first came in contact with the Russian advanced-guard at the de-

* "Il faut toujours aux Turcs des chemins larges, parce que leur artillerie, attelée de buffles, n'en saurait suivre d'étroits. Il paraît que des préjugés nationaux enracinés s'opposent à toute espèce d'amélioration. Ils croient avilir le noble cheval en l'attelant. On sait qu'il est du naturel du Turc d'avoir plus d'égard pour les animaux de prédilection que pour les hommes. Il n'est point de leur usage de faire ce qui est nécessaire pour faciliter le transport, de graisser leurs roues ou leurs essieux; car, dit la loi du Prophète, 'I. n'y a que des voleurs et des malfaiteurs qui rôdent dans le silence et en secret, sur des chemins défendus, tandis qu'un vrai Musulman va toujours sans crainte, avec un bruit convenable, et partout avec des essieux criants, quand il est en voiture.'"—VALENTINI, 425.

bouch of the defile of Tchirkvona. It consisted of five battalions, four squadrons, and twelve guns, under General Otrotschenko, which had been ordered to make a reconnoissance on the Russian right to discover the enemy. Instantly a battery of five guns was brought up by the Ottomans, and masked, while a body of three thousand horse prepared to charge the moment the masked battery was opened. When the enemy came within canister range, accordingly, the guns opened, the cavalry charged, and the Russian horse were completely routed, with the loss of four hundred killed and five pieces of cannon. Following up their charge, the Turkish horse next threw themselves on the squares of infantry, each composed of a battalion. Two were broken and cut to pieces, one of them sixteen hundred strong, as the men stood in their ranks, where they perished under the Turkish scimitars.* Five more guns were also taken. The three remaining squares with difficulty made their way back to the valley of KOULEFTSCHA, where the pursuit of the Ottomans, who, after carrying the villages of Kouleftscha and Tschirkvona, were rushing through the valley with loud shouts, was at length checked by the cross fire of several Russian batteries posted on the heights on the opposite side, and the firm countenance of two brigades of infantry, who were suddenly brought up to the scene of danger under General Pahlen. By their united efforts the pursuit of the Turks, who by this time had become a disorderly swarm, was at length checked, and time given for the infantry which had escaped to re-form. Finding themselves overmatched, the Turkish horse retired as rapidly as they had advanced; but in their retreat they were attacked by a brigade of Pahlen's hussars, and thrown into utter confusion. They re-

gained the position they had left in the morning with heavy loss, but after having won a success which, if properly supported by the Grand Vizier's reserve, would not only have entirely cleared the road to Schumla, but achieved a glorious victory.

125. The battle had now lasted four hours, and both parties, exhausted with fatigue, took a short repose during the burning noon of the dog-days. The Turkish troops, resting under the shade of their thickets, remained motionless, as did the Russian which had been engaged. But Diebitch, perceiving he had the whole Turkish army in his front, with their backs to Pravadi and their faces to Schumla, resolved to bring on a decisive battle. He accordingly, without losing an instant, drew together every disposable man and gun to strengthen the centre, which was *à cheval* on the highroad, a little in front of Madara, between Kouleftscha and Salpija. Twenty-four battalions and a body of hussars, consisting of Roth's and Rudiger's corps, were kept in reserve, to be at hand in case of disaster, and observe the garrison of Schumla, which might possibly attempt a sally during the action. The remainder of the army, consisting of Pahlen's corps and two battalions of Roth's, forming twenty battalions and forty squadrons, with the whole artillery, numbering a hundred and ten guns, all under the command of General Toll, was ordered to advance against the enemy's front. The column destined to lead the attack was formed of four battalions of infantry, supported by a brigade of hussars. In front of all was the horse-artillery of Arnoldi, consisting of twenty-four pieces, supported by Pahlen's guns, thirty-five in number, which opened a terrible fire of round shot, and then canister, on the enemy's position, and deservedly earned a historic name on this memorable occasion.

126. The Turkish artillery consisted in all of fifty-six pieces; and being entirely *drawn by oxen*, it was little better than batteries of position, and wholly unable to reply with effect to the concentrated fire which the Rus-

* "According to the account given to the author by a Russian officer who was in the battle (Lieutenant Schaufup), two of the squares were broken, and one of them, sixteen hundred in number, of Murom's regiment, was entirely cut to pieces as the men stood in their ranks. Six guns were also taken."—CHESNEY, 219.

sian guns, all drawn by horses, brought to bear on the decisive point. Accordingly, the Ottomans suffered very severely from the fire of the Russian guns, which at length, to the number of a hundred, were brought to the front, and were sending round shot and canister among their lines. The young soldiers, of whom there were a great number on the Turkish side, at length began to grow nervous with the incessant crash of the branches above their heads, as well as the fearful chasms which the balls made in their own ranks. But, notwithstanding this, they made good the position till five o'clock, when three Turkish caissons having accidentally exploded in the centre of their line, a sudden panic arose, and the whole army fled in confusion. Entangled in the rocks and thickets among which it was placed, the artillery could not be brought off, and forty pieces, with three mortars, were taken in the first charge of the victorious Russians, who, with loud shouts, now broke in on all sides, and pursued the fugitives with the utmost vigour. Five thousand were slain in the battle and pursuit, fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and more than half the fugitives threw away their arms, and never were seen again. But the victory was by no means bloodless to the Russians; for they had to lament the loss of one thousand five hundred killed and a thousand wounded, chiefly in the early part of the action.

127. Had Diebitch been aware of the extent of the disaster which had been sustained by the Turks, or, even without knowing it, had he possessed the energy of Napoleon or Paskewitch, he would have put himself at the head of his reserve, which had not been engaged, that very night, and moved direct upon Schumla, which would, in that event, have proved an easy conquest. The garrison had made a sally during the battle, which had at first been attended with some success; but it was at length repulsed with heavy loss. It was probable, therefore, that that important fortress would have fallen in the first tumult of victory; the more especially as the garrison, in

its hurried retreat, abandoned some of the exterior redoubts, which had proved such serious impediments in the preceding campaign. But the Russian general, though profoundly versed in strategy, as his recent march from the Danube evinced, was not equally master of tactics; and, above all, he was not sufficiently aware of the value of time in war, and the importance of the utmost vigour in carrying into execution the able designs which he had formed. He contented himself, therefore, with simply driving the garrison back into the inner works, and despatched Roth, on the 12th, to Marash, and Rudiger to Eski-Stamboul, in order to intercept the retreating Ottomans. General Matadoff, who commanded the advanced-guard, fell in, near the latter place, with fifteen hundred Turkish cavalry, who were supported by the fire of three redoubts constructed in 1828. They held the post till the arrival of the Russian artillery obliged them to evacuate it, which they did not do till the greater part of them had been put to the sword. Their defence, however, gave time for the Grand Vizier to pass with six thousand horse, and he reached Schumla, by a circuitous route, on the morning of the 13th. The infantry, who had been joined by the troops left in the lines before Pravadi, came in on that and the succeeding day, by scrambling through the rocks and woods; but then appeared the magnitude of the loss they had sustained. The Grand Vizier could only muster twelve thousand foot-soldiers and six thousand horse, with twelve guns—the poor remains of forty thousand men and fifty-six guns, which had issued from the place, in fine order, a few days before.

128. This brilliant expedition of the commander-in-chief retarded, but did not suspend, the siege of Silistria. By the end of May all the outworks had been carried; and on the 11th June the third parallel was completed, and the fire of the breaching batteries was so effective that they completely silenced that of the enemy opposed to them. On the following night the

sap was run up close to the covered-way, and mines were worked out under to blow it into the ditch. Still the Turks made a most gallant defence, notwithstanding the discouragement produced by the victory of Kouleftscha; and at daybreak on the 19th they made a general sortie, which was in the outset attended with such success that the Russians were everywhere driven back to their batteries, and the ground lost was not regained till noon on the following day. On the next night the besiegers threw a number of rockets into the town, which, setting it on fire in several places, diffused general consternation. The arrival of Diebitch at the besiegers' lines, on the day following, augmented their vigour; and the inhabitants of the fortress, seeing no chance of being relieved, besieged the governor with petitions for a capitulation. Their entreaties, however, were sternly refused, until the 30th June, when a great mine under the rampart having been exploded, made a yawning breach in it, which, by the concentric fire of the Russian artillery, was soon rendered practicable. Seeing further resistance hopeless, the two pachas who commanded in the town agreed to surrender. The troops were made prisoners of war, and to the number of nine thousand laid down their arms. There were found on the ramparts two hundred and thirty-eight pieces of cannon, besides thirty-one on board the flotilla in the harbour; and thirty-eight standards fell into the hands of the victors. The armed inhabitants were allowed to retire, without their weapons, to any place they chose; but none of them availed themselves of the permission; and the Russians entered the fortress by the breach, with colours flying, on the 1st July.

129. So little use had the Turks in Schumla made of the breathing-time afforded them by the resistance of Silistria, which had stood thirty-seven days of open trenches, that in the beginning of August, when the place fell, there were still only 18,000 troops in that fortress, and the eastern passes of the Balkan, between it and the sea,

were only occupied by 6000 men! There are twelve or fifteen mountain-paths over that celebrated range, but only six which deserve the name of roads, or are at all practicable for carriages or artillery. These are—the old Roman road from Sophia to Tarter-Bazadgik, which is the present way from Constantinople to Belgrade and Vienna—two from Ternova, by Kusanlik and Silemno—one from Schumla, by Karnabat—one from Pravadi, by Aidos—and one from Varna, along the sea-coast, by Bourgas. Of these the two from Ternova are the most difficult, as they pass over the highest and most inaccessible part of the Balkan range; and that by Aidos is the most frequented, as a chasm in the hill renders the ascent slight and comparatively easy. It goes first by the valley of the Kamtjik, from the northern side, and crosses the ridge between Kouprikiou and Aidos. The mountains there are not above three thousand feet in height; and the summit-level of the road, which is a very good one, is not above half that height. The hills are chiefly conical, and generally clothed with oak and beech trees of a very large size; the valleys are bold, shut in with steep precipices, and largely covered with evergreens. The abutments on the southern side, which are higher than those on the northern, are chiefly of limestone, terminating in walls of rock from fifty to two hundred feet in height. Numerous streams and thick underwood abound in the northern slopes; and owing to these impediments, the elevated plateaus on the summit of the mountains cannot be reached without very great difficulty.

130. It may readily be conceived what facilities for defence a mountain ridge of this description was calculated to afford, especially to an army possessing the numerous and admirable marksmen which the Turkish possessed. But the Grand Vizier, preoccupied with the idea that Schumla was the real object of attack, and that it would prove the vital point in this, as it had done in all preceding campaigns, was intent only on its preser-

vation, and neglected the eastern pass, although the direction of the enemy's attack on Varna, Pravadi, and Sizopolis, clearly indicated that the serious attempt was to be made in that direction. The better to confirm him in his error, Diebitch no sooner found himself at the head of a large disposable force by the fall of Silistria, than he made the most ostentatious show of preparation for a grand attack on Schumla with his whole forces. Detachments during the day incessantly arrived in the camp before that fortress, with banners flying and music playing; but in the night, and carefully concealed by a chain of outposts, other detachments of an equal or larger amount defiled in silence to the left, to reinforce the corps of Roth and Rudiger, which had entered the valley of the Kamtjik with the view of passing the Balkan by the Aidos pass. These precautions so entirely succeeded in deceiving the enemy, that while Roth, Rudiger, and Pahlen, with 25,000 men, were at the northern entrance of the pass, nothing had been done to defend it, except throwing up a few trifling intrenchments, and stationing 3000, with 12 guns, at Kouprikioi, at the foot of the northern slope of the central ridge of the mountain, and an equal force at Podbachi, on the lower Kamtjik.

131. Having ascertained that the passes were still in this defenceless state, Diebitch determined immediately to force the passage. His plan was, that Roth should penetrate along the sea-coast to Bourgas; Rudiger march from Pravadi, by Kouprikioi, on Aidos; Pahlen and the headquarters follow the former; and Krasowsky be left before Schumla. Having, like Cæsar in his Gallic campaigns, given each soldier four days' provisions, and put ten days' more in the wagons which followed each regiment, the march began on the 17th July. General Roth, with 8000 men, advanced by the sea-coast to Missivri, which he reached after forcing the passage of the Kamtjik above Podbachi, and defeating small bodies of the enemy in several encounters, and he there

entered into communication with the Russian fleet in the Bay of Bourgas. At the same time Rudiger, with 9000 men, entered the valley of the Kamtjik, carried the slight works erected there, threw a bridge over the stream, and moved against the 3000 men stationed at Kouprikioi. While some regiments advanced, with music playing and colours flying, against the front of the Turks, a still larger body turned their flank and threatened their retreat. Instantly, on seeing the latter on the heights, the Ottomans took to flight, leaving all their guns and 500 prisoners in the hands of the Russians, who did not lose a single man. To avoid the strong defile between the Kamtjik and Aidos, Rudiger now turned to his left, and descended the right bank of the river till he came to a cross-road much lower down, which led by a long circuit, but through a more practicable country, to the latter place. No obstacle now opposed the passage of the mountain, which he ascended and crossed without further resistance. At the summit the Russian troops obtained a view of the whole southern slopes of the Balkan, declining in height till they melted into the plain, with the Bay of Bourgas lying embosomed in the wood-clad hills, which formed the eastern extremity of the ridge. Turkey seemed lost; its mountain barrier was passed, and the cheers of the troops as they reached the summit announced their joy at having surmounted the barrier hitherto deemed impassable, and beholding the bay at their feet covered with their sails. Pursuing their march without any further serious opposition, the corps of Roth, on the left, occupied Bourgas, and entered into communication with the garrison of Sizopolis; while that of Rudiger, on the right, two days after, entered Aidos at the southern foot of the mountains, after defeating a body of 10,000 Turks, who endeavoured to dispute the passage. There Diebitch concentrated his whole army on the 27th, to the number of 25,000 men, with 96 guns.

132. When the Grand Vizier, at Schumla, at length obtained intelli-

gence of what was going forward on his right, towards the sea, he in haste detached ten thousand men to guard the passes above Kouprikiöi and on the Kamtjik, never supposing that they could have been already won. But they arrived too late, and after sustaining the defeat just mentioned in front of Aidos, brought back the mournful intelligence that the mountains had been passed by an army which, with Oriental exaggeration, was described as more numerous than the leaves of the forest and the sand of the sea. In truth, however, it was neither the one nor the other; and Diebitch's position, however brilliant in appearance, was in reality fraught with danger. His posts occupied the immense line from Bourgas, on the Black Sea, to Selimno, in the heart of Mount Hæmus, a distance of above eighty miles, as well as from Silistria to Aidos, a distance of a hundred and fifty; and such was the dispersion of force occasioned by the necessity of keeping detachments on the principal points of these immense lines, that the disposable body to the south of the Balkan did not exceed twenty-one thousand men. In front of these were twenty thousand Turks, who had fallen back from the passes, and been swelled by the whole armed Mussulman population in the towns through which they retired. On their right flank was the Pacha of Scodra, who might ere long be expected on the scene of action with twenty-five thousand Arnauts and Albanians; and in their rear was the Grand Vizier with eighteen thousand, in the intrenched camp at Schumla. Impressed with these dangers, Diebitch wisely halted at Aidos, and sent forward detachments, by the route of Karnabat and Kazan, to open a communication with General Krasowsky, who commanded the blockading force before Schumla. This was effected without difficulty, and the important post of Jamboli, on the Toudjia, seized by eight hundred light cavalry, although held by twelve thousand Turks, who evacuated it in a panic. But still the situation of the Russian general was full of danger,

and it was evident there was no middle course between dictating a glorious peace or total ruin. Like Napoleon at Moscow, or at Vienna after Aspern, he had got into a situation in which the first step in retreat was the commencement of ruin; and such was the anxiety felt at St Petersburg on the subject, that the Emperor ordered a fresh levy of ninety thousand men in his dominions, and contracted a loan of 42,000,000 florins (£2,000,000) in Holland, for the prosecution of the war.

133. In these critical circumstances, the resolution and firmness of General Diebitch triumphed over all obstacles, and, by concealing the weakness of his position, extricated him from its real dangers, and brought about a glorious peace. A considerable body of Turks had collected at Selimno, a town on the southern slope of the Balkan, and from whence a flank attack might be made on the Russian line of communication, in the advance from Aidos to Adrianople. He resolved, accordingly, after giving his troops ten days' rest at the former place, during which he had opened his communications with Krasowsky, to recommence his forward movement by an attack on this body of the enemy, which was eight thousand strong. The assault took place on the 11th August, and was conducted with such secrecy and skill that it proved a complete surprise. Though intrenched, according to their usual custom, the Turks, who were taken unawares, made scarcely any resistance. The whole took to flight and dispersed, leaving their guns, nine in number, in the hands of the enemy, who entered Selimno next day, amidst the cheers of an immense concourse of spectators, and preceded by the Greek clergy, with the Cross in their hands, who offered the victors bread and salt, and testified the utmost joy at being delivered from their oppressors.

134. This success was of great importance to Diebitch, for it entirely cleared his right flank on the march to Adrianople, made him master of the chief central passes over the Balkan,

and opened the direct communication with Krasowsky before Schumla. The extreme left of the Russian army soon after made several important acquisitions on the shores of the Black Sea. By these means the communication with the fleet, and all the supplies which it bore, was rendered secure. The Turkish army of reserve, twenty thousand strong, deceived by the exaggerated reports which had been spread of Diebitch's force, did not advance beyond the ridge of low hills, twenty-five miles in front of Constantinople, which had so often in ancient times served as a barrier against the northern barbarians. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Russian general determined on advancing to Adrianople. After giving his troops a day's rest accordingly at Jamboli, he advanced by forced marches down the course of the river Tondjia, towards that city. Neither the ardent rays of the sun, which shone forth with uncommon brilliancy, nor the length of the marches, generally twenty miles a-day, nor the rugged nature of the roads, which were far worse than those over the Balkan, could retard the progress of the troops. On they pressed with ceaseless vigour, animated to the highest degree by the prospect of their approaching conquest. When the guns stuck fast, or the horses were unable to drag them up the ascents, the soldiers harnessed themselves in, and got them through, in which they were joyfully assisted by the peasants of the country, who beheld with transport, after an absence of four hundred years, the standards of the Cross waving in their valleys. A word from Diebitch would have excited a general insurrection against the Ottomans; but, guided by the humane orders of the Emperor, he restrained it, and approached the ancient capital of the empire, attended only by a joyful and friendly crowd. Twelve thousand Turkish regulars made a show of resistance, but it was but a show; a capitulation was entered into, by which the soldiers gave up their arms and artillery, consisting of fifty-six guns, and the armed inhabitants returned to their homes. Next day the magistrates brought the keys of the

city, which they laid at Diebitch's feet; the people rushed in crowds to meet their deliverers; the Russian general passed the gates of the town in triumph, and took up his residence in the palace, recently prepared for Sultan Mahmoud; and the entry of the Muscovites into the ancient capital of their hereditary enemies, "resembled," says Diebitch, "rather a popular fête, than the military conquest of a hostile capital."

135. The better to augment the report of the magnitude of his forces, and keep up the prestige of their invincibility, as well as to provide them with the means of subsistence, the Russian general, after this splendid success, made a great dispersion of his forces. Like Napoleon, after the battle of Jena, and with similar success, he spread them out from the centre at Adrianople like a fan, in every direction. While the advanced guards of the centre, composed of Roth's corps, were pushed on the highroad to Constantinople as far as Loule-Bourgas, only eighty miles from the capital, the left wing, under Pahlen, advanced and took Midiah, within sixty-five miles from the entrance of the Bosphorus, where it entered into communication with Admiral Greig's squadron; and the right, consisting of a strong detachment under General Siewers, moved forward by Trajanopolis on Enos, in the Mediterranean, which it reached on the same day, and met the fleet of Admiral Heiden, which was at anchor, expecting them in the bay. At Adrianople, in the centre, there remained only Rudiger's corps in reserve, not numbering 5000 bayonets. At the same time Krasowsky, by repeated attacks, so imposed upon the garrison of Schumla, that, so far from thinking of disquieting these movements, they deemed themselves fortunate to be able to preserve their own redoubts. Thus the Russian army extended its mighty arms from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, across the entire breadth of Turkey, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, and was supported by a powerful fleet at the extremity of either flank; while at the same time its reserve blockaded eighteen thousand men in Schumla, and its advanced-guard me-

naced Constantinople. But its strength was not equal to so great an expansion of its force, and in reality it was on the verge of the most terrible catastrophe. In the middle of September the force under Diebitch at Adrianople did not exceed *fifteen thousand men*; and a British officer, who saw them all mustered for a grand review on 8th November, has recorded, in his interesting work on the campaign, "that there were scarcely thirteen thousand men of all arms in the field."*

136. Immense was the impression produced by these decisive events, both at Constantinople and over Europe. The terror in the Turkish capital was extreme; for the Christians apprehended an immediate massacre from the infuriated Mussulmans, and the latter were not less apprehensive of extermination from the avenging swords of the victorious Muscovites. The Sultan was besieged at one time by deputations from the violent Ottomans, urging the immediate arming of all the followers of the Prophet, and the most severe measures against the Christians; at another, with the most urgent entreaties from the latter, supported by the earnest representations of the ambassadors of the Western powers, to yield to necessity, and avert the threatening dangers by an immediate concession of the demands of Russia. The English ambassador, Sir Robert Gordon, and the Austrian, were in an especial manner active in their efforts to bring about an accommodation by moderating the demands of Russia on the one hand, and overcoming the obstinacy of the Sultan on the other. It is no wonder they were so; for the statesmen at the head of both countries, the Duke of Wellington and Prince Metternich, were equally impressed with the necessity of preventing the destruction of the balance of power which would result from the conquest of Turkey. A secret convention had been entered into between them to avert such a catastrophe by force of arms; and the English admiral in the Mediterranean had orders, if the

Russian proved obdurate, to attack the fleet of Admiral Heiden in the Greek waters, and conduct it as a pledge to Malta. The efforts of these able diplomatists, joined to the exaggerated reports of Diebitch's force, who was represented as being at the gates of the capital at the head of sixty thousand men, at length overcame the firmness of Sultan Mahmoud, and, with tears in his eyes, he agreed to the TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE, one of the most glorious in the Russian, one of the most disastrous in the Turkish, annals.

137. By this celebrated treaty the Emperor of Russia restored to the Sublime Porte the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the places in Bulgaria and Roumelia conquered by his arms, with the exception of the islands at the mouth of the Danube, which were reserved to Russia. All conquests in Asia Minor were in like manner restored to Turkey, with the exception of the fortresses of Anapa, Poti, Akhalzikh, Atskhur, and Akhalkalaki, which, with a considerable territory round them, were ceded to Russia, and, in a military point of view, constituted most important acquisitions. All the privileges and immunities secured by the former treaties (those of Ackerman, Bucharest, and Kainardji), as well as the conventions relative to Servia, were ratified in their fullest extent by articles 5 and 6. An entire and unqualified amnesty was provided for all political offenders in every part of the Turkish dominions. The passage of the Dardanelles was declared open to all Russian merchant vessels, as well as those of all vessels at peace with the Sublime Porte, with all guarantees requisite to secure to Russia the undisturbed navigation of the Black Sea. The indemnity to be awarded to Russian subjects complaining of arbitrary acts on the part of the Turkish Government was fixed at 1,500,000 Dutch ducats, or £750,000, payable in eighteen months; and that to the Russian Government, for the expenses of the war, at 10,000,000 ducats, or about £5,000,000 sterling. The evacuation of the Turkish territories was to take place progressively as the in-

* At this moment there lay in the hospitals at Adrianople no less than 4691 sick men.—MOLTK, ii. 215.

demnity was discharged, and not to be completed till it was entirely paid up.

138. Another convention, signed the same day, of still greater eventual importance, determined the respective rights of the parties to Wallachia and Moldavia. It provided that the hospodars of these provinces should be elected for life, and not, as heretofore, for seven years; that the pachas and officers of the Porte in the adjoining provinces were not to be at liberty to intermingle in any respect in their concerns; that the middle of the Danube was to be the boundary between them to the junction of that river with the Pruth; and, "the better to secure the future inviolability of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Sublime Porte engaged not to maintain *any fortified post or any Mussulman establishment on the north of the Danube*; that the towns situated on the left bank, including Giurgevo, should be restored to Wallachia, *and their fortifications never restored*; and all Mussulmans holding possessions on the left bank were to be bound to *sell them to the natives* in the space of eighteen months. The government of the hospodars was to be entirely independent of Turkey; and they were to be liberated from the quota of provisions they had hitherto been bound to furnish to Constantinople and the fortresses on the Danube. They were to be occupied by the Russian troops *till the indemnity was fully paid up, for which ten years were allowed*; and to be relieved of all tribute to the Porte during their occupation, and for two years after it had ceased."

139. Before this treaty was signed by the Emperor of Russia, the negotiations were on the point of being broken off by a rude third party, who threatened to intervene between the contracting parties. This was no other than the Pacha of Scodra, who, in the end of September, appeared at Philippoli with twenty-five thousand men, and declared his intention of breaking off the proposed peace. It may readily be conceived what alarm this extraordinary and unexpected apparition occasioned to the Russian commander-in-

chief. He instantly ordered Generals Geismar and Kisselef to hasten with all the troops they could collect from Wallachia, and menace the Turkish leader's communications. Geismar, with twelve thousand men, made his way across the Danube, and, getting through the pass of Vrayza, in the Balkan, he succeeded in getting into the rear of the pacha near Sophia. The latter, however, continued to advance, declaring that he would be in Adrianople in eight days; and he had already got to Hermanli, half-way from Philippoli to that city, when he was met by the messengers of the Sultan with the ratification of the treaty. This stopped his singular hostile movement, and he withdrew to the position he occupied before it commenced. But it revealed the dangerous position of the Russians, and the depth of the abyss from which they had been rescued by the fortunate audacity of Diebitch, and the want of co-operation in the Turkish commanders; for if the Pacha had advanced a month sooner, nothing could have saved the Russians from a disaster similar to the Moscow retreat. The truth was, he belonged to the old party of the janizaries; and his object was to hang back till the necessities of the Sultan enabled him to make terms for the restoration of that body with his sovereign, and he lost his opportunity by delaying too long.

140. The contest of Greece became a matter of such secondary importance, after its independence was secured by the convention of 6th July 1827, and the battle of Navarino, and when the Russians and Turks were dealing such weighty blows to each other on the banks of the Danube, that a few words will suffice to give a summary of its progress during the years 1828 and 1829. Threatened with a formidable invasion from the north, and with their navy ruined, and Egypt cut off from sending its formidable succours, the Ottomans were in no condition to resume offensive operations. But as Ibrahim Pacha had received positive orders from the Sultan to hold out to the last extremity, and he refused to quit his hold of Navarino, and the

other fortresses in his possession in the Morea, an expedition was sent from France, with the concurrence of the British Government, to compel him to evacuate them. It consisted of fifteen thousand men, under the command of Marshal Maison, and landed in the Morea on the 25th August 1828. They were received with transports by the Greeks, who had been informed by the President, Capo d'Istria, that they came to complete their deliverance. Ibrahim was in no condition to resist so formidable a mediator; and, accordingly, a convention was concluded on the 7th September, in virtue of which the whole Egyptian troops were embarked, and conveyed to Alexandria, in English and French vessels. The Turkish garrison in Navarino and Modon made some show of resistance, but it was soon overcome, and the places surrendered to the English sea forces and the French troops; while the castle of the Morea, which stood a siege, was speedily reduced by the scientific skill of the French engineers. Before the end of autumn, the whole of the Morea was cleared of the Ottomans; but it was not deemed expedient to push the conquest of the Allies farther at that time, as it was not then determined whether more than the Morea should form part of the infant state.

141. Relieved, however, of the enormous load which had so long oppressed them, and against which they had so heroically struggled, the Greeks soon showed that they were in a condition to recover their independence without external aid. When the disciplined battalions of Egypt were withdrawn, they had no difficulty in making head against their Ottoman enemies. Candia was, after a severe struggle, almost entirely recovered by the Christians, and the Turks shut up in Canea and a few other strongholds. An expedition under Colonel Fabvier against Chios failed; but a nest of pirates in Carabuso, the refuge of that species of malefactors ever since the days of Pompey, was rooted out by the British fleet. The appointment of Count Capo d'Istria to the presidency of the state had

a surprising effect in stilling the internal discord which had so long paralysed its strength; for it was known that he was supported by the influence of Russia, and it seemed hopeless to struggle against such a power. Chief after chief sent in their adhesion to the new government; and so much was the military strength of the infant kingdom increased by this unanimity, that the government was enabled to undertake and carry through with success several enterprises which materially enlarged its bounds. Ten thousand Turks were still in Attica, which forbade any attempt to regain that province, but in western Greece the progress of the Christians was uninterrupted. Deeming them supported by the French army, the Ottomans considered it hopeless to attempt any resistance. Salona, with its garrison of eight hundred men, capitulated; Lepanto and Anatolicon followed the example; and at length the standards of the Cross again waved on the blood-stained ramparts of Missolonghi. An invasion of five thousand Albanians was repulsed, and the invaders compelled to capitulate to the Greeks at Pietra, and all the Turkish garrisons in that quarter were withdrawn. The families which had withdrawn from the Morea to the shelter of the islands returned after the withdrawal of the Egyptians, in such numbers that the sounds of industry and the voice of gladness were again heard in the land. Finally, the revenue of the state was so much increased with its altered fortunes, that Capo d'Istria was able to announce to the legislature, assembled at Argos on the 13th July, that the ways and means were equal to the expenditure, each amounting to 25,000,000 Turkish piastres, or £700,000. In the receipts, however, were included a loan of 8,000,000 piastres from France, and one of 4,000,000 from Russia, being just half of the entire revenue.

142. The limits of Greece were fixed by a protocol, signed by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, England, and France, at London, on March 22, 1829, to which Russia and Turkey gave their adhesion by article 10 of the treaty of

Adrianople. By this treaty Greece was to include the whole mainland of Turkey to the south of a line from Arta in the Adriatic to Volo in the Archipelago. It was to embrace also the whole islands of the *Ægean* Sea known under the name of the *Cyclades*, with Eubœa or Negropont, but neither Candia nor Cyprus. The islands embraced in these limits contained three hundred and thirty-nine thousand souls, of which only two thousand were even then to be found in the unhappy Chios, instead of its former population of eighty-five thousand; and the whole inhabitants of the state were about six hundred thousand. Greece was to remain tributary to Turkey, and to pay an annual sum of 1,500,000 piastres (£100,000), but it was to be governed entirely by its own inhabitants and laws; and the infant nation was placed under the guarantee of Russia, France, and England. The state was to be monarchical, but no sovereign was to be placed on the throne belonging to the reigning families of any of the powers which signed the treaty of July 6, 1827; a complete amnesty was to be proclaimed by the *Porte* in favour of all persons, without exception, who had been concerned in the Greek revolution; and a year was to be accorded reciprocally to the Greeks to sell their property in Turkey, and the Turks to dispose of their property in Greece. The limits thus assigned were subsequently contracted, and the line drawn on the continent, not from Volo to Arta, but from Arta to Cape Armiro, in the Gulf of Volo, in consideration of which the tribute was remitted, and the sovereignty of the *Porte* entirely excluded. These limits included Missolonghi and Thessaly, but they excluded Ipsara, Chios, and Samos, and left the beautiful islands of Crete and Cyprus to languish still under the tyrannical government of the Ottomans.

143. There were extraordinary difficulties in the way of an amicable settlement of the Greek question, in consequence of the jealousies of the powers which had signed the treaty of

6th July; and this must always be taken into account, in considering the merits or demerits of the statesmen who were parties to its arrangement. But considered with reference to the interests of religion, humanity, or European independence, there never was a greater mistake committed than in making the limits of Greece so contracted. Nature had pointed out what they should have been; they should have embraced the whole countries where the *Greek* race was still predominant. A line drawn from Cattaro on the Adriatic to Salonica on the *Ægean* would have included this region; leaving out Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, and the Trans-Danubian provinces, where, though hostility to the Mussulmans is as strong, different races of northern conquerors have settled, and greatly preponderate over the original inhabitants. Above all, the *whole* islands of the Archipelago, including Candia, Cyprus, Samos, Mitylene, Lemnos, Tenedos, and Ipsara, should have been included in the limits of the new state. In a kingdom so constituted, the maritime and commercial interests would have been predominant; and in such a community it need not be said with whom the real alliance of people as well as government would have been formed. Private interest, identity of feelings and pursuits, would have made both lean on England. Constituted as the Greek state actually was by the convention of 22d March, it of necessity looked to Russia. Too weak for independence, too large for neglect, it presented a tempting prize to Muscovite ambition, to the government of which, from identity of religion, the people on the mainland at least were naturally inclined. It was a great thing, doubtless, for the interest of humanity, to have rescued even a portion of the Christians in Turkey from the Ottoman gripe, and the heroic efforts of the Greeks to secure their independence well deserved such a reward; but in a political point of view, and with reference to the interests of Europe, it has been detrimental rather than

the reverse. It has *weakened the Mussulman barrier against Russia, and not created a Christian one*. Such has been the consequence of doing things by halves—of not regarding, in prospective arrangements, the obvious tendency of human affairs, and seeking to prop up existing influences, without seeing that the time has come when they must be swept away. The alarm now so generally, and with so much reason, felt in Europe at Russian predominance in the East, would have been avoided, if the obvious step of establishing Greece on a respectable and efficient footing had been adopted, after the opportunity of entirely restoring a Christian monarchy at Constantinople had been lost. What is the circumstance which has now rendered the Eastern question so complicated, has caused the Western powers to make such vast efforts to resist the encroachments of Russia, and brought France and England for the first time in history into a sincere and generous alliance? It is not merely the strength of Russia, great as it undoubtedly is, and formidable in every respect to the liberties of Europe. It is the weakness of Turkey which is the real difficulty; and that arises from the circumstance that, in its European dominions, two millions and a half of indolent Mussulmans, with the sword in their hands, have obtained by wielding it the dominion over seven millions and a half of Christians, who hold the plough, the loom, and the sail in their grasp. All the military strength of the state is vested in the brave, barbarous, and tyrannical minority; all the civil resources, nearly all the knowledge and industry of the community, in the unarmed and pacific, but querulous majority. How is such a state of things to be long kept up in the finest portion of Europe, and in which, from extending intercourse with the Western powers, the seeds of knowledge and civilisation are every day more widely spread, and their blessings more generally appreciated? The thing is evidently impossible; and if any doubt could exist upon it, it would be re-

moved by the fact that the Mussulman race is everywhere declining, the Christian is everywhere increasing; and that while the former is chiefly to be found in the proud and lazy inhabitants of towns, the latter constitutes the great bulk of the robust cultivators of the country. Yet how is this anomalous and perilous state of things to be terminated, when the Ottomans are in possession of the government, and form the war-caste and military strength of the state, and it is *with them* that the Western powers are in alliance, and whose dominion their national faith is bound to uphold?

144. The Emperor Nicholas said to Sir G. H. Seymour, the English ambassador at St Petersburg, on February 22, 1853: "There are several things which I never will tolerate: I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians; and it shall never be held by the English, French, or any other great nation. Again, I will *never permit any attempt at the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state*: still less will I permit the breaking-up of Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kosuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe. Rather than submit to any of these arrangements, I would go to war; and as long as I have a man or a musket, I would carry it on." These memorable words at once accuse the past policy, and throw a steady light on the future course which should be pursued by the Western powers on the Turkish question. All admit that a barrier must be erected against Russia; the only question is, How is that barrier to be constructed? The Czar has taught us how that is to be done, for he has told us what he will spend his last man and musket to prevent. It is evident that what he would spend his last shilling and musket to prevent, the rest of Europe should spend their last shilling and musket to effect; and this can only be done by restoring the Byzantine Empire in Europe, under the rule of a *Christian government*, or a gov-

ernment in which the rights of the Christians are effectually secured, with the guarantee of England, France, and Austria. This, however, is the remote and *ultimate* result: the one thing needful in the mean time is to rescue the Turkish dominions from the withering grasp of Russia: not less inimical to real Christianity than the oppressive rule of the Mussulman.

145. Much has been said of the regeneration of the Turkish empire within the last thirty years, since the period to which the preceding history refers; and great are the expectations formed by a certain class of politicians of the social and political improvement of its inhabitants and institutions by the intermixture of European ideas. Experience has not yet enabled us to determine whether these anticipations are well founded, and it would be premature to give any decided opinion on the subject. It is doubtless possible to give to Asiatic *troops* and police the discipline and efficiency of European, and that is what has taken place in Hindostan, Egypt, and Russia; and by working out the resources of Asiatic wealth by the machinery of European civilisation, a great degree of temporary power and vigour may be given to a state. Whether it is feasible to unite with it, in like manner, the institutions and habits of a different race and quarter of the globe, and whether it is possible to erect the fabric of European freedom on the basis of Asiatic servitude, is a question not yet determined; but on which it can only be said, that, if it does take place, it will be contrary to the experience of six hundred millions of men during six thousand years.

146. The treaty of Adrianople affords a striking instance of that astute but ceaselessly encroaching policy which has so long characterised the court of St Petersburg. They disclaimed all idea of territorial aggrandisement at the commencement of the war; but they closed it by requiring the cession of a valuable territory on the Black Sea and in Georgia, including the strongest frontier fortresses of Turkey in Asia Minor. They did not

openly claim the command of the navigation of the Danube; but they compelled the cession of the islands at its mouth, which effectually gave it them. They made a great show of moderation in consenting to relinquish the Principalities which they had overrun; but they agreed to do so only on payment of £5,000,000 public, and £750,000 of private indemnities—a sum equal to five-sixths of the whole revenue of Turkey, and which it seemed impossible it could ever defray. In the mean time, they stipulated the destruction of all the fortresses the Turks held on the left bank of the river, including Giurgevo and Brahilov, and the sale of all the Mussulman property in the two provinces within eighteen months—steps obviously pointing to their transference to a Christian government. They professed to respect the independence of Turkey; but they compelled its Government to recognise a right of interference in behalf of its Christian subjects, especially in Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, inconsistent with anything like independence in a sovereign state, and the internal government of which provinces was made quite independent of Turkish rule. These clauses might at any time give them the means of renewing the war on plausible prettexts. Finally, by stipulating for an absolute and universal amnesty for all the subjects of the Porte who had been engaged in rebellion, they openly proclaimed to all the world that they were the protectors of the disaffected in the Sultan's dominions, and that they were to look to St Petersburg for a shield against the violence or injustice of their own Government.

147. The campaigns of 1828 and 1829, though they terminated to the disadvantage of Turkey, are yet eminently calculated to modify the ideas generally entertained as to the great power of Russia in aggressive warfare, as well as to evince the means of defence, in a military point of view, which the Ottoman dominions possess. The Turks began the war under the greatest possible disadvantages. Their land forces had been exhausted by

seven bloody campaigns with the Greeks; their marine ruined in the battle of Navarino; their enemies had the command of the Euxine and the Ægean, the interior lines of communication in their empire; the janizaries, the military strength of the state, had been in part destroyed, in part alienated; and only twenty thousand of the regular troops, intended to replace them, were as yet clustered round the standards of the Prophet. On the other hand, the Russians had been making their preparations for six years; they had enjoyed fourteen years of European peace; and a hundred thousand armed men awaited on the Pruth the signal to march to Constantinople. Yet with all these disadvantages, the scales hung all but even between the contending parties. Varna was only taken in the first campaign in consequence of the Russians having the command of the sea; the Balkan passed in the second, from the Grand Vizier having been outgeneraled by the superior skill of Diebitch. Even as it was, it was owing to treachery and disaffection that the daring march to Adrianople did not terminate in a disaster second only to the Moscow retreat. Had the Pacha of Scodra come up three weeks earlier with his twenty-five thousand men, and united with the twenty thousand who retired towards Constantinople, where would Diebitch with his twenty thousand have been? Had ten thousand English auxiliaries been by their side, the Muscovite standards would never have crossed the Balkan; had twenty thousand French also been there, they would have been hurled with disgrace beyond the Danube.

148. It is not to be supposed, however, that these startling results are to be ascribed to any weakness in military strength on the part of Russia, or any extraordinary warlike resources which the Turks possess, independent of their geographical position. The strength which Russia put forth in the war was immense. A hundred and two thousand men crossed the Danube in the course of the first campaign; fifty thousand were brought up to

reinforce them in the course of the second. Yet, with all this, they could only produce thirty-one thousand men at the decisive battle of Kouleftscha; and when their victorious march was stopped, only fifteen thousand were assembled at Adrianople! Above a hundred thousand men had perished in the two campaigns; and that, accordingly, is the estimate formed by the ablest military historian of the war. A very small part of this immense force died by the sword; fatigue, sickness, desertion, produced the greatest proportion of the dreadful chasm. The long march of twelve hundred miles from Moscow to Poland, the pestilential plains of Wallachia, the hardships of two campaigns in the inhospitable hills or valleys of Bulgaria, did the rest. As Turkey is the portion of Europe most exposed to the incursions of the Asiatics, so it is the one to which Providence has given the most ample means of defence; for the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia present a perilous glaxis, which must be passed before the body of the fortress is reached; the Danube is a vast wet ditch, which covers the interior defences; the Balkan a rampart impassable when defended by gallant and faithful defenders. Sterility and desolation, the work of human tyranny, add to the defences of nature. Of no country may it be so truly said, in Henry IV.'s words, "If you make war with a small army, you are beaten; if with a large one, starved."

149. The strength of Russia in a defensive is owing to the same cause as its weakness in offensive war. Its prodigious distances are the cause of both. A third of Napoleon's army disappeared before it reached Smolensko, or had been engaged in any serious battle: three-fourths had perished before a flake of snow fell. One-third of the troops which invaded Turkey in 1828 and 1829 sank under the fatigues of the march, another third under the diseases and hardships of the campaign which followed. It is the same with the English in India, and from the same cause. With the re-

sources of a hundred millions of men at their command, they underwent a catastrophe, which rivalled the fate of Varus's legions, at the hands of the mountaineers of Afghanistan; they were soon after outnumbered, and brought to the verge of ruin by the Sikhs, who had only the resources of six millions to rely on. One-third of the invaders of Russia perish before they reach the country they are to assail; one-third of the Russians perish before they get out of it to begin the career of conquest, from the simple effect of the distances. It is no exaggeration, but the simple truth, to affirm that fifty thousand English and French troops disembarked at Varna, and beginning their fatigues there, are equal to a hundred and fifty thousand Russians, who have commenced their march from St Petersburg, Moscow, and Warsaw. And so it proved to the very letter in the Crimean war.

150. The position of the Russians in Moldavia and Wallachia is singularly open to serious disaster. Spread out over an extent of three hundred miles in breadth, from the Euxine to the frontiers of Austria, it is accessible to attack, from a concentrated enemy, along the whole course of the Danube; and if defeated by a powerful army crossed over near Brahilov, a disaster as great as that at Marengo would await the Russian forces. A blow directed at Focksana, the vital point of their communications with Bessarabia, would compel them to fight their way back to the Pruth, with their faces to Moscow, and ruin, if worsted, in their rear. The Crimea, with the Russian naval establishment at Sevastopol, lies also open to attack by a power having command of the sea—for thirty thousand men could hold the neck of the peninsula against any force which would in all probability be brought against it; while twenty thousand, with the aid of a fleet, would with ease reduce the fortress

itself, which, though impregnable on the sea, is by no means equally defended on the land side. The real danger of Turkey arises, not from the strength of its enemies, but its internal weakness; and the proofs of it are to be found, not in the triumphant march of Diebitch across the Balkan, but in the annals of the Greek revolution.

151. Human thought can scarcely discern what is the probable issue of the contest now commencing in the East, in reference to the belligerent powers; but Providence is wiser than man, and can educe good out of the most apparently inextricable elements of confusion and discord. Whatever the result of the contest may be, the triumph of Christianity is secure, and the days of Ottoman dominion in Europe are numbered. If the Russians prevail, the ancient prophecy recorded in Gibbon will be realised, and the Cross will be replaced on the dome of St Sophia; if the Western Powers are successful, and wrench the protectorate of the Christians in Turkey from the Czar, the triumph of the religion they profess is equally secure, and the government at Constantinople must pass ultimately into the hands of the great majority of the inhabitants of European Turkey. Unable to defend itself, the Ottoman empire must fall under the rule of one or other of the potentates which have entered the lists for its defence or subjugation. Power in the end must centre in the portion of mankind which is advancing, and pass from that which is receding; and the fact attested by all travellers, that the Christians are rapidly increasing in Turkey, and the Osmanlis as rapidly diminishing, points to the future destiny of those realms as clearly as the handwriting on the wall did to the fate of the King of Babylon.*

* Written in July 1854, at the commencement of the Crimean war.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCE FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII. TO THE ACCESSION OF
THE POLIGNAC ADMINISTRATION.

1. NEVER did a monarch ascend a throne with fairer prospects and greater advantages than Charles X.; never was one precipitated from it under circumstances of greater disaster. Everything at first seemed to smile on the new sovereign, and to prognosticate a reign of concord, peace, and happiness. The great contests which had distracted the Government of his predecessor seemed to be over. The Spanish revolution had exhausted itself; it had shaken, without overturning, the monarchies of France and England, and led to a campaign glorious to the French, which on the Peninsula, so long the theatre of defeat and disaster, had restored the credit of their arms and the lustre of their influence. In Italy, the efforts of the revolutionists, for a brief season successful, had terminated in defeat and ignominy. After infinite difficulty, and no small danger, the composition of the Chamber of Deputies had been put on a practicable footing, and Government was assured of a majority sufficient for all purposes, in harmony with the great body of the peers, and the principles of a constitutional monarchy. Internal prosperity prevailed to an unprecedented degree; every branch of industry was flourishing, and ten years of peace had both healed the wounds of war, and enabled the nation to discharge, with honourable fidelity, the heavy burdens imposed on it at its termination. After an arduous reign and a long struggle, Louis had reaped the reward of his wisdom and perseverance; he had steered the vessel of the state through many dark storms and shoals of perilous intricacy; but he had at length got into harbour; by

the success with which his measures, externally and internally, had been attended, he had both restored the lustre of the throne, and in a great degree dissipated the prejudices which, at the commencement of his reign, prevailed against the Bourbon family. He had bequeathed to his successor a throne to appearance firmly established, a realm undoubtedly prosperous, and an external influence which seemed adequate to the wishes of the most ardent patriots in the country.

2. The character and personal qualities of Charles X. were in many respects such as were well calculated to improve and cultivate to the utmost these advantages. Burke had said, at the very outset of the French Revolution, that if the deposed race was ever to be restored, it must be by a sovereign who could sit eight hours a-day on horseback. No sovereign could be so far removed from this requisite as Louis XVIII., whose figure was so unwieldy, and his infirmities so great, that, for some years before his death, he had to be wheeled about his apartments in an arm-chair. But the case was very different with his successor. No captain in his guards managed his charger with more skill and address, or exhibited in greater perfection the noble art of horsemanship; no courtier in his saloons was more perfect in all the graces which dignify manners, and cause the inequalities of rank to be forgotten, in the courtesy with which their distinctions are thrown aside. He had little reflection, and had never in his life thought seriously on any subject save religion, with the truths of which he was deeply impressed. He was the

creature of impulse, and yielded alternately, like a woman, to many different and seemingly contradictory external influences. But that very circumstance gave, as it does to a graceful enchantress, an indescribable charm to his manner. He was princely courtesy personified. None could withstand the fascination of his manner; his bitterest enemies yielded to its influence, or were drawn by its seductions into at least a temporary acquiescence in his designs. He was a warm and faithful friend; in early youth he had been an ardent though volatile lover, but the misfortunes of middle life had trained him to more serious and manly duties. His heart was warm, his benevolence great, his charity unbounded. He sincerely desired the good of his people, and had the greatest wish for their affection, which, by encouraging the love of popularity, led him sometimes into many doubtful or dangerous acts.

3. A pretty fable was told of the Regent Orleans at his birth, that all the fairies were invited to his christening, and each brought a gift of some mental quality to adorn his future life. One brought courage, one genius, a third the graces, and so on. To one old fairy, however, no invitation had been sent, and in anger she came, and in spite brought a gift which should annul all those the others had bestowed; and that was, that he should be unable to make any use of them. Following out this fable, a very powerful old fairy had been left out of the invitation at the christening of Charles X. His abilities were considerable; he had good natural parts, and great quickness in the apprehension of ideas in conversation, and an extraordinary turn for felicitous colloquy. Many of the sayings he made use of, in the most important crises of his life, became historical; repeated from one end of Europe to the other, they rivalled the most celebrated of Henry IV. in warmth of heart, and the most felicitous of Louis XIV. in terseness of expression. But, with all these valuable qualities, which, under other circumstances, might have rendered him one of the most popular monarchs

that ever sat upon the throne of France, he was subject to several weaknesses still more prejudicial, which, in the end, precipitated himself and his family from the throne. He was extremely fond of the chase, and rivalled any of his royal ancestors in the passion for hunting; but with him it was not a recreation to amuse his mind amidst more serious cares, but, as with the Spanish and Neapolitan princes of the house of Bourbon, a serious occupation, which absorbed both the time and the strength that should have been devoted to affairs of State. A still more dangerous weakness was the blind submission, which increased with his advancing years, that he yielded to the Roman Catholic priesthood. He had been in former times passionately attached to a very charming lady, Madame de Polastron; and on her deathbed he had vowed that he would never yield to a fresh passion, but devote to the Most High the fidelity which he had sworn to her in this world. He did so: but the resolution, however respectable in its principle, induced a change in his character more fatal than any female influence could by possibility have been; for it brought him under the direction, not of the changeful caprices of beauty, the very volatility of which often prevents their being attended with any serious danger, but of a firm and consistent priesthood, whose undying influence was unceasingly directed, wholly regardless of consequences, to the augmentation of the power and authority of their own body.

4. The first care of the new monarch on coming to the throne was to secure the order of succession in favour of his son. He was too well aware of the scarcely concealed pretensions of the Orleans family to the crown, not to be aware of the danger of a contest for it, and of the importance of taking every possible step which might secure its descent in the direct line of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. The saying of Louis XVIII. in regard to the Duke of Orleans, "He is near enough the throne already; I shall take care he does not approach it more nearly," was constantly present to his mind.

There was a certain awkwardness in declaring a prince long past the prime of life Dauphin for the first time—an appellation usually bestowed, like that of the Prince of Wales, on the heir-apparent to the throne at his birth—and it might be construed into an open declaration of war against the Orleans family. But in the insecure state of the Crown, it was important during the lifetime of the reigning monarch to declare his successor, and the advantages of such a step appeared to overbalance the dangers with which it was attended. The Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, accordingly, were declared Dauphin and Dauphiness of France; but at the same time, to conciliate the rival family, the title of "Your Royal Highness" was bestowed on the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, and a regiment in the Guards bestowed on their eldest son, the Duke of Chartres. To these marks of favour he added the substantial benefit of a gift in fee under the feudal title of *appanage* of the immense domains of the house of Orleans, which, reft from it in 1791 by the Revolution which it had supported, had been bestowed on the family in liferent by Louis XVIII. It was now restored by the Crown against which it had conspired. In his anxiety to secure the grandeur of the house of Orleans, he caused this magnificent grant, which rendered them the richest family in Europe, to be confirmed by the Chambers by the same act which settled the provision on the Crown. He judged of others by the generosity of his own heart: he thought he could stifle rivalry by kindness; he only kindled ambition by gratification.

5. No change was made by the new Sovereign in the Ministers of State, who indeed were as favourable to the royal cause as any that he could well have selected. But from the very outset of his reign there was a *Camarilla*, or secret court, composed entirely of ecclesiastics, who had more real influence than any of the ostensible ministers, and to whose ascendancy in the royal councils the misfortunes in which his reign terminated are mainly to be ascribed. The most important of these were, the Cardinal Latil, Archbishop of Rheims,

who had been the King's confessor during the time he was in exile, and earnestly recommended to him by Madame de Pollastron, and who possessed the greatest influence over his mind; the Pope's legate, Lambruschini, a subtle and dangerous ecclesiastical diplomatist; and M. Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, a man of probity and worth, but full of ambition, and ardently devoted to the interests of his order. To these, who formed, as it were, the secret cabinet that directed the King, and of which he took counsel in all cases, was added the whole chiefs of the ultra-Royalist and ultra-Catholic party, who, like a more numerous privy council, were summoned on important emergencies. The most important of these were the Duke de Rivière and Prince Polignac, who had both given proofs of their ardent devotion to the throne; M. de Vaublanc, long an intimate counsellor of the new monarch, and whose advanced years had not diminished either his ambition or spirit of intrigue; and M. de Vitrolles, who had taken so important a part in the first Restoration. The last possessed qualities which at once made it probable that he would gain the lead in such a secret council, and power eminently dangerous in its direction. Bold but yet courteous, ambitious but insinuating, knowing much of individual men, but little of the course of events, without the responsibility of ostensible office, but with the influence of secret direction, he was the very man to recommend dangerous measures, of which others, in the event of failure, would bear the responsibility, and he, in the event of success, would reap the fruits. Such was the secret council by which Charles from the first was almost entirely directed, and the history of his reign is little more than the annals of the consequences of their administration.

6. The King made his public entry into Paris on the 27th September. The day was cloudy, and the rain fell in torrents as he moved through the streets, surrounded by a brilliant cortège; but nothing could damp the ardour of the people. Mounted on an

Arab steed of mottled silver colour, which he managed with perfect skill, the monarch traversed the whole distance between St Cloud and the palace, bowing to the people in acknowledgment of their salutations with that inimitable grace which proclaimed him at once, like the Prince-Regent in England, the first gentleman in his dominions. His answers on his way to and when he arrived at the palace were not less felicitous than his manner. When asked if he did not feel fatigued, he replied, "No; joy never feels weariness." "No halberts between my people and me," cried he to some of his attendants, who were repelling the crowd which pressed in too rudely upon his passage—an expression which recalled his famous saying on April 12, 1814, "There is but one Frenchman the more." Never had a monarch been received with such universal joy by his subjects. "He is charming as hope," said one of the numerous ladies who were enchanted by his manner. Some of his courtiers had suggested the propriety of taking some precautions against the ball of an assassin in the course of his entry. "Why so?" said he: "they cannot hate me without knowing me; and when they know me, I am sure they will not hate me." Everything in his manner and expressions towards those by whom his family had been opposed, seemed to breathe the words, "I have forgotten." Marshal Grouchy, who had made the Duke d'Angoulême prisoner in 1815, was restored to favour. To General Excelmans he said, "I have forgotten the past, but I feel assured I may rely upon you for the future."

7. The first act of Charles was one eminently calculated to realise the expectations excited by these felicitous expressions, and to tinge the opening of his reign with the brightest colours. On the very evening before his entry into Paris, he proposed, in a council of his ministers, to abolish the censorship of the press. The Ministers acquiesced in the proposal, though not without secret misgivings as to the result; and next morning a decree appeared in the *Moniteur*, formally abo-

lishing the restrictions on the press.* It need not be said with what transports this resolution was received by the journalists, who had been severely galled by the restrictions, and were proportionally enchanted at their removal. Even the papers heretofore most strongly opposed to the Bourbons were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and their professions of loyalty. "A new reign," said the *Courrier Français*, the most violent of the Liberal journals, "has commenced: the King wishes the general good, but he has need to be taught how it is to be attained. In restoring liberty to the journals, his wisdom has torn asunder that cloud of deception with which his Ministers would willingly envelop him; what more assuring pledge can the nation desire? what more efficacious guarantee can it obtain for the future?" A review of the National Guard, held the next day, and at which the King rode through the ranks on horseback, afforded an opportunity for giving vent to their sentiments in a way of all others the most reassuring—from the voice of the armed force of the capital. Never, not even in the palmy days of Napoleon and the Empire, had the monarch been received with louder and more unanimous demonstrations of affection.

8. In proportion as this great concession to public freedom was calculated to insure the present popularity of the monarch, did it augment his future dangers, if the measures of his government did not in all respects keep pace with the ambition of the journals and the expectations of the people. Like many other similar measures, it purchased present tranquillity at the expense of future disturbance. But this peril, sufficiently great at all times, and under all circumstances, was augmented in a most serious degree in the case of Charles from the ultra-Romish principles by which he was actuated, and the influence of the

* "No jugeant pas nécessaire de maintenir plus longtemps la mesure qui a été prise dans des circonstances différentes contre les abus de la Liberté des Journaux, l'ordonnance du 15 Août dernier cessera d'avoir son effet."
—*Moniteur*, 23 Sept. 1824.

secret conclave of Jesuits and priests by which the determinations of the monarch were ruled. The principles of this party were in direct opposition to those of the Revolution, for they tended to extinguish the freedom of thought, and re-establish that sacerdotal despotism which, even more than the oppression of the Crown, it had been the object of that convulsion to remove. Yet so little were the chiefs of this religious party aware of this, that they were zealous in wishing the restoration of the freedom of the press, and were the chief instigators of the measure. They recollected how powerfully the pen of M. de Chateaubriand and the columns of the *Conservateur* had aided their cause in the days of M. Decazes and the Duke de Richelieu, and anticipated a corresponding support, now that it was freed from its fetters; forgetting, or never having learned, that Romanism, in the days of its misfortune, will sometimes ally itself with Liberalism, but never fails to become its bitterest enemy in those of its power.

9. Before the new reign had continued many weeks, appearances began to indicate what was deemed an undue preponderance of the *Parti-prêtre* in the palace, and to create uneasiness as to its coming ascendancy in the Cabinet. On all sides there was a talk of establishing new colleges for the Jesuits, and some were actually set on foot, with a munificence which showed that their funds came from no ordinary sources. Montrouge, their chief religious seminary, became the centre to which they drew the youth of the highest distinction about the court. Wise in their generation, they passed by the middle-aged and confirmed in opinion, and bent their whole efforts to influence the thoughts and win the affections of the young. A perpetual file of splendid equipages was to be seen at the doors of their seminary, indicating the elevated connections of their pupils. The court itself assumed an entirely new aspect: masses, vespers, fasts, processions, sermons, prayers, became the order of the day; an air of extraordinary sanctity the best avenue

to promotion. So numerous, however, were the observances, so austere the practices, so rigid the fasts prescribed for the devotees, that many thought the favour of the court was dearly purchased at such a price. Great efforts were made to spread religious fervour among the soldiers: the Minister at War, M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, nephew of the Archbishop of Toulouse, one of the most enthusiastic of the prelates, and who shared all his uncle's zeal, was indefatigable in his endeavours to electrify the troops, a task of difficulty and obloquy in a scoffing and irreligious generation, but which, from the religious feelings of several of the regiments raised in rural districts, sometimes met with surprising success. A regular system of catechising was established in many regiments; the Royalist journals were filled with accounts, ostentatiously paraded, of military communions among soldiers by hundreds at a time. Incessant processions, in which the priests were to be seen arrayed in unheard-of luxury of ecclesiastical splendour, were to be seen in the streets of the capital and the chief provincial towns. The people looked on sometimes with reverence, sometimes with indifference, often with contempt. In all this the Jesuits and leaders of the *congregation*, as this party was called, mistook the signs of the times, and injured rather than advanced the progress of real devotion. They were right in supposing that it was by the influence of religious feeling that it was alone possible to combat the progress of revolutionary ideas; but they were wrong in imagining that it was on the throne that the fountain from which they were to spread was to be opened. It was not from the temple of Jerusalem, but the fishermen of Galilee, that the faith sprang which changed the face of the world.

10. The extreme religious party, however, were very powerful, both in the Chamber of Deputies and the administration; and it is not surprising that, seeing their strength at once in the legislature and the court, they were sanguine in their hopes of being

able to reconstruct society on an entirely new basis. They could boast of one hundred and thirty members of the Chamber of Deputies who were entirely in their interest—so great was the change which the alterations in the Electoral Law, in 1821, had made in the composition of the representative part of the legislature. In the Peers they were less powerful, the numbers on whom they could there rely being not more than thirty; but this was not of much importance, as the court was known to be with them, and it was not likely that, except on a very anxious crisis, the Peers would thwart the wishes of the Government. The highest offices in the palace were filled by their adherents; M. de Latil disposed of the whole patronage there; and MM. de Montmorency, de Blacas, and de Rivière, who held the situations of importance around the prince, were in their interest. M. Fraysinons, the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, was a zealous and powerful supporter, by whom all the instructions and ceremonies at Montrouge were directed; and they had succeeded in getting a creature of their own either into every important office under Government, or into the confidence of the persons who actually held it. M. de Renneville, a young man of remarkable abilities, was intrusted with the surveillance of M. de Villèle, the President of the Council; M. Tronchet, with that of the Minister of the Interior; M. Delavan, of the Minister of Police; M. Doudeauville, of the King's Household; M. de Dumas, of Foreign Affairs; M. de Vaulchier, of the Post-office. By the unseen but ceaseless agency of these zealous and able partisans, who were all in the interest of the Jesuits, it was hoped that the object of their leaders would be attained without the public becoming aware of what was going forward, or the jealousy of the press or the tribune being awakened, as the ostensible holders of the great offices of state had undergone no alteration since the demise of the late King.

11. It was no easy matter, however, to conceal this secret agency altogether

from the vigilant eyes of the press, for its leaders were both able and clear-sighted. At the head of the party who, from the very first, detected and denounced the movements of the Jesuits, was the Count de Montlouis, a veteran of the Right in the Constituent Assembly, but who anticipated nothing but evil from the zealous efforts of the ultra-religious party in the present time. The Viscount de Chateaubriand also, though an ardent and devoted Royalist, united his efforts to those who opposed the ultramontane party; he was too sagacious not to see that the age was not one in which the press could be fettered or thought confined in bonds. The Abbé de Pradt also gave the aid of his ready pen and envenomed wit to the same side; while in the daily press PAUL COURIER was already giving tokens of those great abilities on the Liberal side which afterwards rendered his name so celebrated; and Hoffman, the most powerful writer in the *Journal des Débats*, proved that the weapon of Pascal could pass into the hands of those who were not so sincerely attached to the cause of religion.

12. The good sense and delicate tact of the King prevented the opposite parties coming into collision before the Chambers met; and the answers he made to the various constituted authorities and bodies which presented him with addresses on his accession to the throne, breathed the most liberal and conciliatory spirit.* The uncom-

* To the Papal Nuncio, who congratulated him on his accession, the King replied, "*Mon cœur est trop déchiré pour que je puisse vous exprimer mes sentiments. Je n'ai qu'une ambition, et j'espère que Dieu me l'accordera, c'est de continuer avec zèle ce que mon vertueux frère a si bien fait; mon règne ne sera que la continuation du sien, tant pour le bonheur de la France que pour la paix et l'union de l'Europe.*" To the French Academy he answered, "*Les sciences et les lettres ont perdu un protecteur, qui les a cultivées dès sa plus tendre jeunesse; je l'imiterai, non pas avec le même talent, mais avec le même zèle, et je suis persuadé que l'Académie me secondera.*" To the Minister of Public and Ecclesiastical Instruction he said, "*J'ai besoin de grands secours: que le clergé joigne ses prières aux miennes; l'instruction publique est la chose la plus importante, non-seulement pour nous, mais pour nos successeurs. Je compte sur*

mon prosperity which prevailed in the kingdom, added to the satisfaction which these declarations created, and diffused a universal feeling of contentment and security. The harvests since 1818 had all been good; with the armies of the stranger, and the odious tributes paid to them, the inclemencies of the season, the storms of autumn, seemed to have passed away. Manufacturers, mainly dependent in France on the home market, had prospered with the prosperity of the agricultural classes, to whom they sold their produce; and the general cheapness of provisions, the happy result of abundance in them, not scarcity in the money by which they were represented, had extended among all classes the means of purchasing the comforts and luxuries of life. Steamboats had multiplied immensely in the principal rivers, and more than doubled the coasting trade. The silk manufacturers of Lyons, Rouen, St Etienne, were in a state of prosperity superior to any they had ever enjoyed; and the cotton manufacturers rivalled those of England in everything but the extent of their capital and the length of the credit they were enabled to give. The affluence which had in consequence accrued to the proprietors of these establishments, enabled them to surround the manufacturing towns with a circle of elegant villas, vying with those of Great Britain in elegance and splendour. The capital more than shared in the general prosperity of the kingdom; the equipages, the liveries, the balls, recalled the most prosperous days of the monarchy; the hotels were crowded with strangers, and the ample gains derived from their expenditure consoled the French for what had been extorted from them by their conquests.

13. The first circumstance which broke in upon this pleasing dream of

vos efforts pour continuer le règne de mon vertueux frère." To the President of the General Assembly of the French Protestants he said, "Soyez sûr de ma protection, comme vous l'étiez de celle de mon frère: tous les Français sont égaux à mes yeux; ils ont tous les mêmes droits à mon amour, à ma protection, et à ma bienveillance."—*CAPEFIGUE*, ix. 16, 18.

unbounded prosperity, was an injudicious measure of the Government regarding the army. A royal ordonnance put on half-pay all those who, having a right to the maximum of their retired allowances, had not been employed since 1st January 1823; and those who were entitled to less than the maximum and had not been employed since 1st January 1816. The effect of this ordonnance, which for its object was very skilfully devised, was to throw out of active service fifty lieutenant-generals, and above a hundred marshals of the camp. Among the number were Generals Grouchy, Vandamme, Gazan, Drouot, Ornano, Excelmans, Harispe, and nearly the whole celebrities of the Empire. It may be supposed what a sensation an ordonnance of such general application and sweeping severity made in a country still moved by the passions of the Empire, and so passionately desirous of military glory as France was. The King was not aware of the effect of the measure when he gave his consent to it. It had been arbitrarily decreed by the Minister at War, who was entirely in the interest of the Camarilla, to exclude from the army all those who might prove hostile to the measures they had in contemplation. Such as it was, however, the measure was so unpopular, and so far in advance of what the nation was prepared for, that the King was from the outset obliged to accord exemptions to certain persons from its operation; and they ere long became so numerous that the ordonnance remained without any other practical effect but the calamitous one of exciting doubts and apprehensions as to the real intentions of the Government. General Foy expressed the general feeling when he said the ordonnance was "a cannon-shot charged at Waterloo, fired ten years after the battle, and pointed direct at its mark."

14. The Chambers were opened by the King in person with great pomp on the 22d December, and the speech from the throne, which was very cautiously and temperately expressed, and received with unbounded applause, still, when attentively considered, foreshadowed some changes pointing to a de-

sire to recur to the old régime of the monarchy.* It was not obscurely intimated that a great measure of indemnity to the sufferers by the Revolution was in preparation; and how violent soever might be the opposition to such a measure, both in the Chambers and the country, the state of parties in the legislature presented the fairest prospects of carrying it into execution with success. When the votes for the President of the Chamber of Deputies were taken, M. Ravez had 215 voices, M. Chilaud de la Rigaudie 199, the Prince de Montmorency 177, and the Marquis de Bailly, who was supported by the whole strength of the Liberal party, only 142. M. Ravez was selected by the King, this being the seventh time he had enjoyed that honour.

15. Much had been said in his last days of the debts of the late King, his prodigality to his favourites, the immense sums with which Madame Du Cayla had been enriched at the expense of the nation. The event disproved all these assertions: it was found that Louis had left no debts; the accounts of his household were in the best possible order, and the rare feature in royal exchequers was exhibited, of a constant excess of some hundred thousand francs a-year over the expenditure. All his kind acts to friends, which were very numerous, all his public and private charities, which were immense, had been provided for by the economy and good order of his private establishment. The public finances were in a not less prosperous condition, and promised to realise the hopes held forth in the speech from the

throne, that the indemnity to the emigrants, how great soever, might be provided for without injuring public credit, or materially adding to the burdens of the nation. The cessation of the enormous war-payments to the Allies, and the preservation of peace now for a period of ten years, had so restored the finances of France that not only was the sinking fund maintained inviolate, and the public debt undergoing a sensible diminution, but the agreeable feature of an excess of income above expenditure had been exhibited in the public accounts. The Five per Cents had risen to one hundred and two in the beginning of 1825, and the price of grain fallen to fifteen francs the hectolitre—rates still more indicative of the general prosperity which prevailed.†

16. Four laws, alike characteristic of the principles on which the government of Charles X. was to be conducted, were brought forward in the Chamber on January 3. The first was the law on the civil list, or settlement of the revenue of the crown, which was fixed at 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) for the King during his life, besides 7,000,000 francs (£280,000) for the service of his family, and 6,000,000 (£240,000) for the obsequies of the late King and the coronation of his successor. This law was chiefly remarkable from the noble grant which it contained of the whole territorial possessions of the Orléans family to the present possessors of its honours. These immense estates had been annexed to the state in 1791; and Louis XVIII. had only accorded a temporary usufruct of their rents and profits to the family.

* "Nous avons perdu un roi sage et bon. La gloire de son règne ne s'effacera jamais. Non-seulement il a relevé le trône de mes ancêtres, mais il l'a consolidé par des institutions qui, en rapprochant et réunissant le passé et le présent, ont rendu à la France le repos et le bonheur. Le Roi mon frère trouvait une grande consolation à préparer les moyens de fermer les plans de la Révolution; le moment est venu d'exécuter les sages desseins qu'il avait conçus. La situation de nos finances permettra d'accomplir ce grand acte de justice et de politique, sans accroître les impôts, sans nuire au crédit. Je veux que la cérémonie de mon sacre termine la première session de mon règne. Vous assisterez, Messieurs, à cette auguste cérémonie. Là prosterné au pied du même autel où Clovis reçut l'onction sainte, et en présence de Celui qui juge les peuples et les rois, je renouvellerai le serment de maintenir et de faire observer les institutions octroyées par le Roi mon frère."

—*Annuaire Historique*, vol. viii., Appendix No. 1.

† The Expenditure of 1824 was	986,073,842 francs, or £39,440,000
The Income,	994,971,960 „ or £39,800,000

Excess of Income,	8,898,118 „ or £360,000
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—*Annuaire Historique*, App. 31, Parte 1, 1825.

But Charles, in a truly regal spirit, now proposed to sanction the restitution by law, so as to put it beyond the reach of himself or his successors, on the condition only that, in the event of the failure of the male line of the family, the estates should revert to the crown. This magnanimous gift to a rival and long hostile house passed the Deputies by an immense majority, and the Peers almost unanimously. It is melancholy to reflect on the return which the Orléans family made to Charles for this graceful concession.

17. The next measure proposed, and by far the most important of Charles's reign, was that for the creation of a fund to provide an indemnity to the sufferers by the Revolution. This was proposed to be effected by the creation of a stock to the extent of a milliard of francs (£40,000,000) in the Three per Cents, the whole money paid for which was to be devoted to the families which had lost their possessions during that convulsion. The elevated state of the public funds at once insured above £100 for each £3 a-year inscribed, and secured the gift to the emigrants at the cost only of three per cent to the nation. The annual charge would be about 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000) a-year; and to reconcile the people to the imposition of such a burden, M. de Villèle consented to abandon his favourite project of reducing the interest of the national debt, which the high state of the public funds rendered easy of accomplishment in a financial point of view, but the violent resistance of the holders of stock scarce practicable in a political. M. de Martignac was the principal author of this great measure; and as it interested so many feelings, revived so many reminiscences, and excited so much jealousy, it gave rise to the most violent debates both in and out of the legislature.

18. On the part of the Government it was urged by M. de Martignac: "The families of the emigrants—dispossessed during an absence which all now acknowledge to have been legitimate, despoiled on their return of all hope of restitution by the sale of their estates—have claims on the benevo-

lence of the King and the justice of the nation which cannot be overlooked. Their fields, their houses, the inheritance of their families, have been confiscated and sold for the benefit of the nation. To every generous mind that constitutes a claim, the justice of which cannot be disputed. But as the contracts and sales which have taken place during the progress of the Revolution must be maintained inviolate—and their sacredness constitutes the cornerstone of the Restoration—the only means that remains of making good the indemnity is by pecuniary payments to the sufferers in proportion to the amount which they have lost. All hearts have felt the force of this appeal; it was first made by a noble peer (Marshal Macdonald), one of the ornaments of the Empire, in the first months which succeeded the Restoration; and France will never forget the generous sentiments to which he then gave utterance. The misfortunes of 1815, the heavy pecuniary difficulties to which they gave rise, the necessity of providing succour in his misfortunes to the King of Spain, have rendered it necessary to postpone from time to time the great work of reparation, but it has never been lost sight of; and the measure now proposed is in substance the same as that which had been matured in the cabinet of the late King, before the army of the Duke d'Angoulême crossed the Pyrenees.

19. "The moment has now arrived when it is practicable, nay easy, to carry these just intentions into effect—to give vent to these generous sentiments. The final discharge of all the arrears due to the army of occupation, the prosperous state of our finances, the constantly increasing strength of our credit, the good intelligence which prevails between the King and the other European powers, have at length enabled us to set in good earnest about sounding that wound which the Revolution has opened, which the Restoration has not yet closed; and which, though it seems to affect only a part, in reality reaches the whole body politic. The time has at length arrived when we can say to those who have

been spoiled of their inheritance, and who have borne their misfortunes with a noble resignation, 'The State has deprived you of your possessions; it has in times of trouble and of disorder transmitted them to others; the State, restored to peace and to the sway of legitimacy, makes you the only reparation in its power; receive it, and with the gift may all trace of these confiscations and heartburnings disappear for ever.'

20. "We are asked, why should the losses sustained by the emigrants be the only ones to which the measure of reparation applies?—are there no other wounds which require to be staunched—no other scars which are not healed, which need not the healing salve? The holders of public stock, for example, who sustained a loss to the extent of two-thirds by the act of 1797, why are they excluded from the reparation? Your sense of justice, gentlemen, has suggested the answer. Without doubt the Revolution has produced evils without end; injustices without number have been the fruits of its errors and fury, and it is in vain to think of repairing them all. But because every one cannot be relieved, is no one to be succoured?—because the work of justice cannot be rendered complete, is it never to be attempted? The case of the emigrants is crying and peculiar; they have been the victims of injustice without example, a ruin without parallel. The state creditors, victims of a culpable faithlessness, have lost, indeed, two-thirds of their stock, but they have preserved the remainder, and the great rise in the value of stock has restored to them much of what they had lost. But what have the emigrants regained of their inheritance? If, among the numerous evils which the Revolution has produced, there is one which justice signalises as the most odious, and reason as the most fatal, one of which the origin is a crime against the most sacred rights, and the effects a cause of the most endless divisions, are we to be told that the impossibility of applying an entire remedy to such enormous evils is a reason for not attempting such as is in our power?

21. "The injustice which the emigrants have undergone, the evils they have suffered, is beyond what any other class have. The laws of the Maximum, of the Assignats, have destroyed a large part of the wealth of the capitalists, but they have not diminished their immovable possessions. Those who have seen their fields laid waste by the armies of the enemy, have also beheld the sun of succeeding years restore their harvests, and the labour of subsequent time efface the traces of devastation. But the laws against the emigrants have wrested from them their *all*—their credit, their claims, their movables, their lands, their houses. They have stripped them of everything, down to the very roof which had sheltered their forefathers from the storm. It is for these evils that reparation is demanded. The evils they have undergone take them out of the common case: the injustice they have experienced is peculiar, unprecedented. The confiscation to which they were subjected was the worthy accompaniment of the proscriptions; it could be compared only to the violent acts of Sylla and Marius. It is for France to give an illustrious example of the sense of justice which repairs as much as possible such terrible deeds of injustice, and to show that, if it can follow other nations in the path of iniquity, it can precede them in that of repentance and reparation.

22. "Let us not be told that the emigrants have leagued with the stranger against their country, and are no more worthy to be ranked among its citizens. When they fled to the frontier, the King indeed was upon the throne, but he was powerless, he was in chains; his most faithful servants had been persecuted or destroyed. What became of the assemblies which succeeded? They mutually destroyed each other. What then remained for the emigrants to defend? Their country? At the very moment when they left it, their real enemies were tearing out its entrails. Our country is in our religion, and its altars were overturned; it is on the steps of the throne, and its ruins even were scat-

tered: our country is in the King, around the King, and he had disappeared in the tempest. Our country is in its institutions, its laws; and it had no other institutions but prisons, no other laws but scaffolds. The emigrants sought safety in exile, that they might breathe freely; they found death on our soil, which was no longer their country. Who can say, in these circumstances, that the emigrants committed a fault; that they did wrong in striving to liberate their country from the most execrable of tyrannies; that they committed a crime in refusing to return and place their necks under the guillotine?"*

23. The great difficulty which the Government had to encounter in the discussion of this question, was not the resistance it roused, but the concurring claims which it awakened. The justice of the appeal to the nation was generally admitted, but it was urged that other sufferers, during recent times, had equal or superior claims for indemnification. The Chamber of Deputies was assailed by petitions of all sorts from all who had been impoverished, and many who had been enriched by the events which had occurred since the revolution. The capitalists who had suffered from the confiscation of the public funds, the dealers who had been such losers by the law of the Maximum, the Vendéans whose fields had been ravaged during the terrible war of which their country had been the theatre; the marshals and officers who had been deprived of their provisions by the disasters of 1814 and 1815, which had reft from France the countries on which they had been secured; the sufferers

under the foreign invasion of those years of mourning,—all preferred the most urgent claims to indemnification. General Foy expressed the general feeling of the Liberal party on the subject, when he used in the heat of debate the expressions which became famous. "At the moment of the splendid feast which you are about to serve up to the emigrants, let a few crumbs at least fall to the old and mutilated soldiers who have carried to the farthest corners of the earth the glory of the French name."

24. It was strenuously contended in opposition to the project of Government: "The situation of the country, externally and internally, is the least favourable that can be imagined for so vast an addition to the public burdens. At the first restoration, in the year 1814, the budget for the ensuing year was fixed at 618,000,000 francs, comprising in that sum 70,000,000 francs for the liquidation of arrears; now our expenditure amounts to 1,000,000,000 francs, and it is proposed to augment it by 30,000,000 francs a-year! We are at peace with all the world; our armies occupy the strong places of a neighbouring power; but our debt has multiplied fivefold, and general misery attests the suffering state of our people. Will even the large indemnity now proposed satisfy the claimants? Never: it will only open the door to fresh demands, and, like the sums given in former days to buy off the hostility of the Normans, it will immediately give rise to new clouds of depredators, who will ravage and lay waste our country.

25. "Every one knows that the emigration which proved most fatal to

* M. de Martignac gave the following details as to the extent to which the confiscation of land estates had been carried during the Revolution, and compensation was now sought:—

	Francs
Estates valued at twenty years' purchase, and sold,	692,407,615, or £27,840,000
Estates sold, of which the value was calculated at current prices,	605,852,992, ,, £24,280,000
	1,297,760,607, ,, £52,120,000
Deductions allowed,	309,940,645, ,, £12,364,000
To be provided for,	987,819,962, ,, £39,756,000

To meet which he proposed the inscription of 30,000,000 rentes on the Grand Livre, which would produce a capital of 1,000,000,000 francs, or £40,000,000.—*Annuaire Historique*, viii. 86, 87.—*Rapport de M. DE MARTIGNAC*.

France—that which armed Europe against her—commenced in 1791. When it began, France was at peace with all the world; the greatest possible tranquillity reigned in the interior. The decree of August 1, 1791, enjoined the emigrants to return. Soon a constitution, framed according to the suggestions of the King, and sanctioned by the laws, offered the French the hope of a durable liberty. What did the emigrants do? Did they return, according to the royal invitation, according to the injunctions of the Government, according to their duty to their country? They did just the reverse. They followed no other route but that to Coblenz; they placed their honour in foreign lands. Forgetting alike to whom they had sworn fidelity, and whom they were bound to defend alike from duty and interest, and whose life, had they done so, they would probably have saved, they leagued with the stranger. They armed themselves alike against their King and country, and, without regarding the dangers which threatened their parents, their wives, their children, they called Europe to share in the spoil of the land which had given them birth, and which was yet charged with the maintenance of all who were dear to them. The manifestoes of Berlin, of the Duke of Brunswick, had appeared; the war had commenced when the confiscation was pronounced. It was not a measure of severity upon countrymen, but of retaliation upon those who had become enemies.

26. “We are told the emigrants have lost everything; the capitalists, the fundholders, the merchants, have lost only a part. Say rather—and you may do so with sincerity—the others have lost much, they have lost all, but they have remained faithful to their country. Hence the disregard they have experienced—*inde mali labes*.’ It is a mere illusion to say the emigrants have lost everything, and the other sufferers by the Revolution only a part. With the exception of a few provincial proprietors, who would receive but a very trifling portion of the

indemnity—with the exception of those who have suffered only in their movable estate, and whom the proposed law, based on the principles of justice, excludes—with the exception of a few cadets of families, who have nothing but their swords, they are all or nearly all electors, nearly all belong to the elevated class of the grand colleges, all or nearly all are eligible as representatives of the people.

27. “We are told it is desired to remove the feeling which exists against the new proprietors; but never was property which can found on a juster title. If the possession of lands which have once been confiscated is illegitimate, what title is free from that defect? Where is the estate in France which has not been confiscated since the sentence pronounced against Robert of Artois or the Constable de Bourbon to our days? What answer could be made to a new proprietor who, presenting himself before the Chamber of Peers with a list of historic confiscations in his hand, should ask restitution of them all? What became of the estates of Coligny, Teligny, and the thousands of Frenchmen who perished on the execrable day of St Bartholomew? In whose hands are the estates of those who fled from the persecution of Louis XIV. on account of their religion? All in the possession of court favourites, many of them of the most unworthy description. The principle on which the law is rested, therefore, is one which goes to shake property of every description. See into what an abyss the Government is about to lead us. It awakens a process which has slumbered since the days of Gracchus, a process which revives the furies of Sylla and Marius; and you are the judges appointed to decide it!

28. “If anything could add to the insanity of such a proceeding, it would be the selection of the tribunal which is to decide so perilous a question. It is a fundamental principle of jurisprudence, recognised in all countries and in all ages, that no man is to be permitted to decide in his own cause. But when I look around me in the Chamber, I see nothing but parties in-

terested—not one impartial judge. Not one but has a share, some a very large one, of the proffered indemnity to expect. In vain will you give the name of law to your decision in such a cause; it never can bear that character. It is essential to a law that it should be general, apply indiscriminately to all the citizens, whether it pronounces on their interests or determines on their duties. The present project can never approach to that august character, for it is the decision of a question in dispute, a litigated point between a part of the people and the whole, and the judgment is to be pronounced by the very parties most deeply interested in the issue. Whatever conclusion you arrive at, therefore, can never be regarded as a law; it can only be a decision of a litigated point by one of the litigants. And are we, the guardians of the laws, the protectors of right, the final judges in the last court of appeal, to set out with a proceeding so unjust that it would at once be set aside by a superior judicatory, if attempted by the humblest in the land?

29. "What did the emigrants go to the stranger to ask? War—war against France, under chiefs and armies whose ambition after victory they would have been powerless to restrain. What is this but treason of the very worst description—treason against the land of your birth? All nations have an instinct which is superior to all other instincts—the instinct of self-preservation; a feeling paramount to all other feelings—the feeling of patriotism. All nations have regarded the citizen who herds with the stranger against his native land as its worst enemy. If such sentiments did not exist, if they were not implanted in our breasts by the hand of Nature, it would be necessary to invent them; and the nation which should depart from these conservative principles, essential to the life and duration of societies, would be no longer a nation; it would have abdicated its independence, accepted ignominy, and voluntarily committed the most odious of suicides.

30. "It is the fundamental principle of a hereditary monarchy that the

throne appertains to the nation; that it is confounded with it, identified with it; that for its advantage, and that alone, it is occupied by a single race—by that race and no other race, by that prince and no other prince. Individual properties pass from hand to hand; they are sold and parcelled out: the nation derives benefit from every sale and every division. But in the midst of that universal movement and turmoil, the throne alone remains in majestic stillness, motionless for the benefit of all. Should the day ever arrive when a whirlwind should separate the monarch from the monarchy, the whirlwind passes away, the monarch is restored to the monarchy. Those, then, calumniate the royal majesty who would separate the monarch from his entire subjects, who would make him the auxiliary only of a party, and who would place the King of France elsewhere than at the head of the affections, of the glories of the universal French people."* The law passed both Chambers by large majorities; that in the Deputies being 105—the numbers being 259 to 154; in the Peers, 96—the numbers being 159 to 63.

31. One very singular result, which was little expected, ensued from this measure, and that was the altered relations of the different classes of society to each other. The addition of so vast a capital as £40,000,000 sterling, equivalent to at least £60,000,000 in Great Britain, to a single class in society, the dispossessed proprietors, made a prodigious difference in their weight in society, but it did not restore their original position. It rendered them fundholders, not landholders; it allied them in interest, at least, not with the territorial, but the monied class—not with the country, but the town. The importance of this change was not at first perceived, and least of all by the

* The two last paragraphs in this argument are taken from the speech of General Foy on the question. It is easy to discern in them the distinctive marks of a great orator. One of the greatest privileges and chief enjoyments of a historical work of this description is that of translating or transcribing so many noble specimens of eloquence from the most gifted speakers of all nations.

recipients of the indemnity, who were overjoyed at such an unlooked-for addition to their means of existence; but the consequences became very apparent in the end, and will be traced in the sequel of this work. The addition of so large a sum also to the movable capital of the nation produced a very great movement, gave a vast impulse to speculation, and augmented the monied interest so much as to throw the elections for the most part into their hands, and contributed in no small degree to the blind security on the part of Government which led to the fall of the monarchy.

32. The distribution of this magnificent gift of justice was made with the greatest impartiality; the spirit of party had no hand in it. The greatest enemies of the throne, those who in the end overturned it, received as much in proportion as its staunchest supporters. It was only to be regretted that, owing to the magnitude of the estates of some of the great families which had been sold, the proportion which their heirs received was exorbitantly large, while that which fell to the lot of the provincial noblesse was often, from the scantiness of their heritage, very inconsiderable. The Duke of Orléans received no less than 14,000,000 francs (£560,000) for that part of his estates which had been sold; the Duke de Choiseul and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld 1,000,000 francs each (£40,000); the family of Montmorency 12,000,000 francs (£480,000); M. de Lafayette 400,000 francs (£16,000). It is melancholy to reflect on the part which many of these recipients of the royal bounty afterwards took against their benefactors. In the mean time, however, the magnitude of the sums received diffused universal satisfaction, not only among the individuals who received the indemnity, but their relations, creditors, and dependants; and the ease and prosperity thence spread through the nation went far to smooth the path of Charles X. in the first years of his reign.

33. The clergy, as mere liferenters, possessed only of a usufructuary in-

terest in the possessions which formerly belonged to the church, had no share in this indemnity; and this naturally excited some dissatisfaction among a body which had suffered so much from the Revolution as the ecclesiastical had done. It is a singular proof of the strange and infatuated ideas which at this period had got possession of the leaders of the French church, and their supporters in the Ministry, that they thought they would compensate this want, and extinguish this discontent, not by an enlarged provision for the church, but by an *enhancement of the pains of sacrilege*. A law was introduced by the Government, which proposed to punish the profanation of the consecrated elements with the pains of parricide; that of the sacred vases, not yet filled with the consecrated elements, with death; theft in churches or sacred places with death, or forced labour for life; and of sacred objects in unconsecrated places, with lesser penalties, as imprisonment for various periods. The excessive severity of these enactments, more suited to the twelfth than the nineteenth century, excited, as might have been expected, the most violent opposition in both Chambers. Viscount Chateaubriand spoke and voted for the amendment proposed by the Liberals; but such was the strength of the ultra-religious party in both, that the law, without any material alteration, passed the Commons by a majority of 115, and 36 in the Peers. It is worthy of notice, that in all these extreme measures the majority in the Commons was much greater than in the Peers; so materially had the modification of the Electoral Law, and the admission of an enlarged number of rural representatives, altered the character of the popular part of the legislature. The professed object of the law was to check the growth of irreligion and infidelity,—a design in the importance of which all must concur, though the question as to whether it was likely to be favoured or retarded by enactments of so extreme and rigorous a description, is by no means equally clear.

34. Another step, less important in itself, but equally significant, as indicating the rapid tendency of ideas and legislation in the party at present ruling the State towards Romish institutions, was the bill for legalising female religious communities. The law of January 2, 1817, had enacted, that every religious establishment recognised by the law should be capable of holding property under certain conditions; but this privilege applied only to societies of men. The present law extended the privilege to societies of women, on condition of their being established for religious and charitable purposes, under certain prescribed regulations, and approved by the bishop of the diocese. It was stated by the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, in the debate on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies, that 140,000 sick persons among the poor were yearly attended by the pious care of the Sisters of Charity, 120,000 children in the humblest classes received gratuitous education from their labours, and 100,000 in the higher an education suitable to their more elevated duties. Certainly in these exemplary duties there was nothing which was not the proper object of admiration; and so obvious were the advantages of these charitable institutions, that, notwithstanding the jealousy of monastic advances, the bill passed the Chambers by a very large majority, that in the Deputies being 263 to 27.

35. Although M. de Villèle had been defeated upon the question of a reduction of the interest of the national debt, he did not despair of ultimate success; and the extremely high state of the public funds, which had attained such an elevation that the Five per Cents were above a hundred, afforded the fairest prospect of success. The indemnity to the emigrants, as already noticed, was based on the establishment of a three per cent stock; and as the principle of such interest was once admitted, it seemed to afford a precedent for effecting a gradual reduction of interest to the same level. The plan now brought forward by M. de Villèle was less extensive than that

which had been thown out in the preceding year, and therefore less likely to excite general alarm; but it was destined to the same object, and intended to prepare the way for a more general measure. The Government proposed to the holders of five per cent stock to convert them into four and a half per cent, with a guarantee against being paid off before 1835. It was hoped that this advantage, in the existing state of the money market, would induce the holders of stock to consent to the small reduction of their interest. The project, which was very complicated in its details, was adopted by a large majority in both Chambers; the numbers being, in the Deputies, 237 to 119; in the Peers, 134 to 92. Thus commenced the system of progressively reducing the interest of the public debt—a system, the expedience of which, in a financial point of view, is beyond all dispute, but which, in a social, is attended with very important and often unlooked-for results. “When the public funds,” said M. Bertin de Veaux, during the discussion of this question, “shall yield only three per cent, land will yield only two per cent; its value as stock will increase, its income diminish. Would you know the result of such a state of things? It must be the *entire disappearance of small properties*. To them it is, in truth, a law of expropriation. Under the long-continued action of such a system, the soil of France will come to be divided among a few great millionaires and seigneurs, who alone will be able to bear, from the immensity of their possessions, the low rate of profit to be derived from any portion of land.”* It may be subject of grave consideration whether this effect is not already taking place in Great Britain, when it is recollected that, despite its vast stores

* The beneficial effect of M. de Villèle's motion on the finances appeared from the result in August 5, when the books, opened for the conversion of five per cents to four and a half, were closed. The reduction of interest was 6,238,000 francs a-year, which was applied to a reduction of the land-tax. —*Ordonnance*, 23d Sept. 1825; *Annuaire Historique*, viii. 284.

of accumulated wealth, drawn from all parts of the world, there are only 236,000 persons possessed, from every source, of an income of £200 a-year.

36. The coronation of the King took place, with extraordinary pomp, at Rheims on the 29th May. An accident which occurred to the King's carriage, and was nearly attended with fatal effects to the royal person, on the journey to the town a few days before, afforded, by the anxious solicitude which it awakened in all classes, a measure of the popularity of the sovereign. Nothing could exceed the grandeur and magnificence of the preparations and the ceremony, in which all the minutiae of feudal etiquette were religiously preserved, but combined with the splendour of modern riches and the delicacy of modern taste. An important change, indicative of the spirit of the age, was introduced into the oath which the monarch took on the occasion. A long negotiation between the Government and the heads of the church had been carried on before, which terminated in a considerable modification of the coronation oath, both as regards the duty of the King to his subjects, and the obligations formerly imposed on him to persecute heretics. The oath he now took was to govern his subjects *according to the Charter*, and merely to maintain the Roman Catholic religion without assailing any other.* All the powers of Europe were present, by their ambassadors, at the august spectacle. England was worthily represented in rank, character, and splendour, by the Duke of Northumberland. All hearts were moved by the magnificent spectacle, which recalled the days

of Joan of Arc and the paladins of the monarchy. None could foresee the gulf which was yawning beneath so brilliant a surface, or the treacheries which were to disgrace the last days of the monarchy of St Louis. Three marshals were made Chevaliers of the Cordon Bleu on this occasion, who had fought against the Bourbons during the Hundred Days—Soult, Mortier, and Jourdan. The Duke de Chartres was invested with it, with that great felicity of expression which was peculiar to the King, and gave such a charm to his generous action; and a general pardon of political offenders terminated in a worthy spirit the royal benefactions.

37. Notwithstanding these gracious acts and gorgeous festivities, the Liberal party had taken the alarm, and several articles appeared in the journals, particularly in the *Drapeau Blanc*, the *Courrier Français*, and the *Constitutionnel*, which denounced the measures of the Jesuits and the "Congregation," or *Parti-prêtre*, in the most violent terms. They were injudiciously made the subject of a prosecution by the Procureur-Général or King's Advocate. The indictment prayed for a suspension of the journals for three months each. They were ably defended by M. Dupin, and the trial was the first struggle between the religious and Liberal party. The Court avoided the difficulty of pronouncing sentence or acquitting, by declaring itself incompetent to pronounce the suspension craved, and dismissing the complaint, without costs; enjoining, at the same time, to the editors of these journals to be more circumspect in future. Neither party could boast of this result as a decided triumph, but it was with reason regarded as a great advantage gained by the Liberals, who, being freed from the shackles of the censorship, and now relieved from the apprehensions of a prosecution, were left at liberty to continue their attacks on the measures of Government without restraint.

38. The close of this year was marked by the death of two very eminent men on opposite sides, whose

* The oath, so far as regards the state, now taken, was in these terms:—"En présence de Dieu, je promets à mon peuple de maintenir et d'honorer notre sainte religion, comme il appartient au Roi très-Chrétien et au Fils aîné de l'Eglise; de rendre justice à tous mes sujets; enfin, de gouverner conformément aux lois du Royaume et à la Charte constitutionnelle, que je jure d'observer fidèlement; qu'ainsi Dieu me soit en aide et ses Saints Evangiles. Nous jurons à Dieu, le Créateur, de vivre et de mourir en sa Sainte Foi et Religion Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine."—*Annuaire Historique*, viii. 267.

genius threw a radiance over the brief, but, in an intellectual view, glorious period of the Restoration. The first of these was General Foy, who died on the 29th November, while still in the vigour of his talents and at the zenith of his reputation. He was carried off by an affection of the heart—a malady to which those seem to be peculiarly subject, who, like him, feel the force of genius impelled by the stream of the generous affections. The general grief felt at his premature end recalled that experienced at the death of Mirabeau; yet had he not the genius, at once creative and destructive, of the French Demosthenes. His turn of mind was of a different kind, but one more suited to the comparatively pacific period of the Restoration. A soldier who had distinguished himself in the fields of fame under Napoleon, he had never shared in the servilities of the Empire; thence his long disgrace under the Imperial régime. A stern republican in principle, he combated for the independence of France at Waterloo; but when the Bourbons were restored, he bowed to the necessities of the times, and aimed, under the Restoration, not at subverting the dynasty, but at restraining its excesses, and establishing, in conformity with the spirit of the age, a tempered monarchy in France. He was often vehement and imprudent in his language at the tribune, but it was against the Ministers that his violence was directed, and he generally distinguished between the respect due to the throne and the opposition called forth by its measures. He possessed oratorical powers of a very high order, and was at the same time a distinguished military writer—a remarkable circumstance in a man bred up in camps, and accustomed to wield the sword rather than the thunders of the forum. Alone almost of his military contemporaries, he preserved through life the affections of his earlier years; and though no bigot in religion, at his mother's desire, to whom he had been tenderly attached, made known on her deathbed, he celebrated the anniversary of her death, wherever he

was, by taking the communion, at which he had formerly participated with her. He died poor—the sure sign of virtue in a corrupted age; and a subscription opened, and soon filled up, at once evinced the public grief and provided in the most splendid way for his family. It amounted to 1,000,000 francs (£40,000). The Duke of Orléans subscribed 10,000 francs (£400), Casimir Perier the like sum, the banker Lafitte 50,000 (£2000).

39. Very nearly at the same time, M. de Serres also paid the debt of nature. He had long been in declining health, and had gone to Naples for its recovery, where he expired on the 25th November. Less celebrated by party eulogy than General Foy, less the object of public homage, he was not on that account the less of a national loss, or less deplored by the friends to whom his splendid abilities and exemplary worth were known. Having espoused the Royalist side, and never courted the favour of the people, he did not share in the gales of popularity, and died at Naples, oppressed by electoral defeats and the ingratitude of his country. Like Scipio Africanus, who expired on the same shores, he might say, "*Ingrata patria ossa mea non habebit.*" He was a man of the finest genius, gifted with the soul of oratory. It was oratory, however, of the very highest kind, springing from an elevated mind, the outpouring of a noble spirit; and not, on that account, so well adapted as the less philosophic but more impassioned eloquence of General Foy for effect in the tribune. These two very eminent men, though opposite in thought, antagonists in action, were inspired with the sincerest admiration for each other, and expressed it with such generous enthusiasm as savoured rather of the warmth of political partisanship than the sober estimate of hostile power—a sure proof that they were both of a lofty disposition, and worthy of each other's opposition and esteem.

40. The year 1825 was marked by an event which, although practically decided a quarter of a century before, by the disaster which had then befall-

len the French arms, was not formally settled till this time. This was the recognition of the independence of St Domingo by a convention concluded with the envoys of that power on the 31st October. Although these envoys were commercial rather than political agents, and the convention itself was ostensibly for settling the affairs of trade, yet it was, like the similar recognition, shortly before, of the South American republics by Great Britain, a practical acknowledgment of independence; and as the first concession of that position to a state composed entirely of negro inhabitants, it deserves particular notice, as a step in the social progress of mankind. Regarded as a concession to liberal principles, and a step favourable to the interests of commerce, it was extremely well received, and rendered Charles X., for a brief period, a favourite on the Stock Exchange. The motives which led him to take this step, painful to the feelings of the monarch, and therefore honourable to the principles of the man, were thus explained by himself in confidential conversation: "In that negotiation I was not influenced merely by the advantages of commerce and the marine; I was moved chiefly by compassion for a class at once the most unfortunate, and the most undeserving of misfortune. No one can doubt the repugnance which I felt at entering upon that affair; I was in the same position in regard to St Domingo as my brother had been in regard to France. Three parts alone remained for us to take—either to make war, and attempt to subdue them by force; or to abandon the island and colonists altogether; or to enter into a compromise. The last was the one which we adopted, and which my Ministers carried into execution." The emancipation, like the Charter, was on those principles conceded by ordinance, not treaty, to avoid the appearance of compulsion; an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs (£6,000,000) was fixed, according to a scale calculated on the losses of the colonists, and certain commercial advantages were stipulated for France in its future intercourse with its emancipated colony.

41. The principal design which the Liberal party had in view, in urging upon Government the emancipation of St Domingo, was to furnish a precedent for the recognition of the independence of the South American colonies—an object of the most intense desire in Great Britain, and for the attainment of which Mr Canning exhausted all the powers of his eloquence, and all the influence of his position. The details of the negotiations which took place on the subject will be given in the account of British transactions, as that power had the chief hand in accomplishing that great revolution. But France had a share also, though less considerable, in the development of its results; for its Government, too, anticipated commercial advantages for their subjects from the severance of the insurgent colonies from the parent state. M. de Villèle joined his representations in favour of the colonies to those of Mr Canning; but they were less warm than those of the British Foreign Minister, and remained without effect. Spain answered them only by fresh preparations for an expedition to South America in the harbours of Ferrol and Cadiz.

42. The affair of St Domingo was brought before the Chambers in the session of 1826, because, although the King might, of his own authority, publish ordonnances or conclude treaties, the consent of the legislature was essential for a grant of money for the indemnity to the colonists. The project brought forward by M. de Villèle, on the part of the Government, was the complement of the royal ordinance of 17th April, and provided for raising the 150,000,000 francs for the indemnity to the colonists who had been ruined by the revolution in that island. The details brought forward to justify the grant afforded a melancholy proof of the disastrous results of the premature emancipation of the negroes; for it appeared that while, in 1789, the exports of the island had been 150,000,000 francs, they had now sunk to 30,000,000, of which one-half only was clear profit, the other half being absorbed by the expenses of

cultivation. Calculating the present net revenue of the island, therefore, at 15,000,000 francs, and the value of the estates at ten years' purchase, he proposed 150,000,000 francs as the indemnity to be given to the colonists for their estates, which, by the severance of the island, they lost all chance of recovering. This, of course, was no indemnity to the proprietors for the consequences of the revolution in the island, which had inflicted on them losses three times greater. It simply took them as they stood, and awarded compensation for their entire loss at their existing depreciated value. The measure, however, was so obviously founded on justice that it could not be withstood; for what was given to the colonists was not any compensation for the social revolution in their condition, but for the loss of estates taken from them by an ordonnance of the sovereign. It passed, accordingly, by large majorities in both houses—that in the Deputies being 245 to 70; in the Peers, 135 to 16.

43. A subject of greater practical importance, and awakening more of the passions of the people in France, was that regarding a change in the law of succession. This subject has been treated by the author in a former work, and the revolutionary law of succession which the 913th article of the civil code established as the general law of the realm fully explained. The power of making an entail, or *Majorats*, which had been subsequently passed in the time of Napoleon, with a view to form a certain indefeasible provision for the heirs of hereditary honours, had not been generally acted upon; and as the existing law, where there was no majorat, effected a division of estates to the extent of nearly three-fourths on an average on every death, it was evident both that the lands of France would soon come to be infinitely subdivided, and that no suitable provision could by possibility exist for any length of time for the heirs of the hereditary honours of the monarchy. It was no easy matter, however, to discover a remedy for the evil, for the equal division of properties

had been one of the greatest objects and most highly-prized victories of the Revolution, and no opinion was more generally adopted in France than that it was the chief blessing which that convulsion had conferred upon society. Government, in the midst of so many difficulties, proposed a middle course, in the hope of being able to do something for the support of the aristocracy without entirely alienating the body of the people. The law they proposed was, that in all properties which stood destined to the direct descending line, and which paid 300 francs (£12) of direct taxes, if the deceased had not disposed of the amount of the succession which the law left at his disposal, that quantum should, under the title of a legal *Precipium*, descend to the eldest son; and if he had disposed of a part of the disposable portion, the *precipium* should consist of what remains. These provisions, however, were only to take effect in the event of the deceased not having disposed of the disposable part by a deed, *inter vivos*, or by testament; but if he had not done so, it should attach in the first instance to the immovable estate, and, failing it, to the movable.

44. It was impossible that any law infringing on the revolutionary order of succession, and tending towards the restitution of the right of primogeniture, could do so in a more slight degree than this, because it proposed only to make that portion of the succession which the existing law itself left at the disposal of the testator, descend *ab intestato* to his eldest son. But political measures are judged of, in general, not by their immediate or even remote effects, but by the tendency which they indicate, and the principles of the party from which they emanate. This project met with the most violent opposition, not only in both Chambers, but in the public press and throughout the country. M. Pasquier and Count Molé were the most powerful orators on the popular side. "Let us consider," said the former, "the inevitable consequences of the adoption of such a law. It divides society into two portions, but two of very unequal dimen-

sions. On the one side are the fathers and the eldest sons of France, on the other the entire population. Will it benefit the fathers of families, will it augment their authority, increase their influence? Does it not compel them, on the contrary, by the most immoral of all combinations, to disinherit a part of their offspring? As little will it benefit the eldest sons. Will not their right, which injures nature, which is founded on feudal ideas and ancient customs, alienate from them their brothers and sisters, without bestowing any countervailing advantage on themselves? The law is as impolitic as it is unjust. It professes to establish an aristocracy of elder sons, but must not that very circumstance convert the younger into a redoubtable democracy, interested to overturn institutions from which they have sustained injustice? In withdrawing from circulation a fourth or a third of properties, will you not proportionally diminish the territorial revenue of that portion of society, and cause it to be crushed by the weight of taxes? Let us appease all such disquietude, remove all fresh dangers, by rejecting this project.

45. "The ground on which this proposal is rested by the Government is not even justified by the fact. The excessive division of properties is the ground put forth to justify the measure; but if there is anything in that reason, there is too much. If on that account a law restraining the division of estates in the case of the precipium at the disposal of the father is justifiable, it must be so equally, and for a similar reason, in the case of all. It should be made imperative; and if so, it would destroy the paternal authority, and the power of testing on any part of the succession. The proposed law must fail in attaining even its professed end, for it tends to augment the division of properties; it founds the stability of families on the instability of the imposts; it exposes the father to fatal errors in the disposal of his property; it shocks feelings, contravenes customs, disunites families, multiplies lawsuits, and overturns legisla-

tion. Does it not needlessly and painfully thwart the principle of equality in the eye of the law, that great victory and first blessing of the Revolution? Is it not a vain and powerless attack directed against that principle? Does it not essentially wound morals—not merely public, but private morals, even the most intimate relations of life? Will it not put the fathers of families in the most false and deplorable position?—and is not every law attended with such inconveniences, the most ruinous gift which legislation can possibly make to society?

46. "No country can be pointed out in which agriculture has suffered from the excessive division of properties, many in which it has been destroyed by their accumulation in the hands of a few. Italy, under the Roman Empire in its later days, perished from this cause. Spain, Sicily, the Campagna of Rome, have been ruined by it in modern times. Since the Restoration, the number of proprietors has greatly increased: is there any one bold enough to assert that such a change is not a signal public advantage? Has not the acquisition of property the effect of elevating a man in his own eyes, clothing him with a sense of his own respectability, and thus raising him in the estimation of society generally, and in the performance of every social and political duty? Has not the course of events proved that, with every acquisition of property, the people have become more difficult to move—that they were more excitable from 1764 to 1792 than from 1800 to 1825? No conclusion hostile to these principles can be drawn from what occurred from 1792 to 1800. That was a period of social and political madness, from which no sound argument or inference can be drawn. But reflect on the peaceable disbanding of the French army in the midst of foreign hosts in 1815, and say whether such an event, unparalleled in history, could have taken place had not property cast its restraining influence over the minds of armed men."

47. On the other hand, it was argued

by M. Peyronnet and the supporters of the Government: "Succession does not depend on positive laws, any more than property its foundation. In the savage state, man has only limited wants and desires; but with the complications of society other wants arise, and his wishes extend to his children and dependants. Do not say, therefore, that you wound original feeling, when you give men in the latter state the means of preserving their family, their fortune, their name. These sentiments are as natural, and arise as inevitably in one state of society, as those invoked on the other side do in another. The right of primogeniture arose at the period when the obligation of military fiefs rendered it necessary for the eldest son to be in a situation to wield the united forces of the family. The head of the family in a monarchy represents the family; and he does so not less effectually in the legislature than his ancestors did in the field of battle. But how is he to find an entrance, how maintain his place there, if the fortune of the family is dissipated and divided on every decease? It is evident that the thing is impossible; and thus the only effect of rejecting the present law will be to render the maintenance of a peerage impossible, and to prevent anything like a hereditary succession of statesmen in the Chamber of Deputies. If such a state of things can coexist with the maintenance of freedom in any country, which is very doubtful, most assuredly it is not in France, so full of sentiments of honour, so fraught with historical recollections, that the combination is to be looked for.

48. "The preservation of estates keeps up, in a most important and influential class of society, ideas of order, foresight, and moderation; and from their influence it tends to diffuse these valuable qualities through society. It induces an order of things peculiarly suitable to a monarchical government, which, as it reposes on one head, so it requires a corresponding agglomeration of interests and opinions round his head in every grade of society. There must be a certain analogy be-

tween the frame of government and the institutions and ideas of society beneath it, if stability in institutions is to be looked for. The Liberal party cannot dispute this, for it was on this principle of its being conformable to a democratic form of government that the new order of succession was established in 1792. Granting that this was the case, is it not equally necessary, and for the same reason, to re-establish primogeniture to a certain extent if monarchy is to be maintained?"

49. "If the extreme division of landed estates is an evil, and is attended with serious inconveniences in every civilised community, it is peculiarly so in a constitutional monarchy. As such governments are mainly distinguished from other governments by the larger admission of the people into them, so it is in a peculiar manner essential that a class should exist in society capable of sending forth persons qualified for discharging the duties of legislators, and exercising the functions of government. But where is such a class to be found?—how is it to be preserved, if the perpetual division of all property, movable and immovable, is going forward? If France becomes a land of peasants and bourgeois, where are its legislators to be looked for? It is evident that a certain training, a costly education, the possession of libraries, and ease of living, is essential for men who, relinquishing their private concerns and interests, are to devote their principal attention to the affairs of the State. The tendency of the existing law of succession is to destroy this class, and prevent its ever arising again. And yet, is it not on its existence and vigour that not merely the fortunes of the State, but even the preservation of the democratic principle and the maintenance of the public liberties depend? For if properties come to be infinitely subdivided, is it not evident that the number of persons entitled to exercise the electoral franchise, and eligible to a seat in the Legislature, will be continually diminished, from the diminished fortunes of all classes;

and thus not only will the intelligence be wanting requisite to the right conduct of public affairs, but an oligarchy of the worst kind, because incapable of remedy, will arise from the very excess to which the democratic principle has been carried."

50. Notwithstanding the strength of these arguments, such was the hold which the principle of equality had got of the minds of the people, that it soon became evident that the ministerial project, at least so far as regarded the re-establishment in any degree of the right of primogeniture, would be defeated. Orator after orator, on the Opposition side, hastened to inscribe their names to speak against the measure; and the excitement which their declamation produced was such that it was evident that the measure must be thrown out. The measure was originally introduced in the Chamber of Peers, and after a long and stormy discussion, the main clause re-establishing the right of primogeniture, to a certain extent, was defeated by a majority of 26, the numbers being 120 to 94. The minor clause regarding substitution, which was of little practical importance, passed both Chambers. The overthrow of this attempt to re-establish primogeniture was celebrated over all France as a victory over the aristocracy, and it increased not a little the reputation of M. de Pasquier, to whose eloquence in the Chamber of Peers the result was in a great measure with justice ascribed.

51. When Dr Johnson was challenged to assign any good reason for the right of primogeniture, he replied, "What, sir! do you consider it no advantage to *secure only one fool in a family?*" Without giving an entire assent to this celebrated saying, and fully admitting that there are many eldest sons, especially among the aristocracy, who justify the eminence of their rank by the display of all the qualities by which it is ennobled, it cannot have escaped the observer that, in the middle ranks particularly, there is much truth in the observation. The caustic and witty observation of the sage is more applicable in

a commercial and industrious country, such as England, than a military monarchy such as France; but still the observation is generally applicable, and points to a principle of universal importance in human affairs. It never, however, appears to have crossed the imagination of any man in France, during the prolonged and anxious discussions which took place on the subject. No one can doubt, however, who is acquainted with the state of society and the springs of improvement in Great Britain, that one of the principal of them is to be found in the general destination of the landed estate to the eldest son, which, while it provides a phalanx for the support of the throne, and the maintenance of a mixed constitution, leaves at the same time no other resource, in the general case, to the younger but their own energy and perseverance—qualities which often prove more valuable to them in the end than all the gifts which fortune has lavished on their elder in birth. Certainly, if we survey in private life the career of those who have been "cursed with a moderate competence," we shall have no reason to conclude that fate has been in reality adverse to those to whom it has assigned nothing but the stimulus of necessity and the vigour of their own minds; and perhaps among the causes which have spread the British race throughout the world, and established an empire in the East "above all Greek, above all Roman fame," a principal place must be assigned to the institutions, apparently adverse, which drew out the energies of the whole class of younger brothers, and sent them forth in every career to struggle, to labour, to conquer, and to make themselves and their country great.*

* A very superior man, well known for his taste and knowledge in paintings, Mr Woodburn, once said to the author that he objected to art-unions as giving a moderate independence to artists too soon, and thus tending to produce "myriads of *mediocre artists*." The history of France will show whether the infinite subdivision of property does not tend to produce "myriads of *mediocre men*."

52. The revenue of France in 1826 was 985,000,000 francs (£39,400,000), and the expenditure something less, being 981,972,609 francs. The receipts for 1827 were calculated at much less, being 916,608,000 francs, and the expenditure at 915,729,000 francs. The exports in 1826 fell nearly a fourth short of those of 1825, owing to the terrible monetary crisis in England at the end of the last of these years; but the imports of 1826 showed rather an increase.* The army exhibited, from the preparations made for the Spanish war, a great increase over what it had been before revolutionary troubles broke out in the Peninsula. It amounted to 232,000 men; the navy to forty-five ships of the line and thirty-seven frigates. The public debt was 3,373,500,000 francs (£135,000,000), including the large additions made for the indemnity to the emigrants in France and colonists in St Domingo. A supplementary vote of 37,000,000 francs was obtained by the Government, without opposition, for the expenses of the occupation of Spain.

53. A more important topic, in reference to its ultimate effects, was the continued and persevering efforts made by the Congregation and the Jesuits to obtain the mastery of the Government, and carry their long-conceived designs for the establishment of a theocracy into effect. Two events occurred at this period, affording an opportunity for evincing their intention, which excited, not without reason, the utmost alarm, not only among the decidedly irreligious, but among the reasonable and sensible portion of the community. The first of these was a general jubilee, which was, on the application of the Government, appointed for all France, in the middle of summer. It lasted a month and a half, during which the churches and the capital resounded

with an eternal *miserere*; and four great processions traversed the streets, displaying in its utmost splendour the pomp and magnificence of the Catholic worship. All the chief functionaries of Government were to be seen in these processions. Marshal Soult was particularly distinguished by the regularity of his attendance, and the enormous brevity which he caused to be carried before him. Some persons were malicious enough to observe, that it would be more to the purpose if he would make restitution of some of the pictures which he had plundered from the monasteries of Spain during his military occupation of Andalusia.† It may be conceived what an impression these unwonted displays and sudden conversions made in the mocking and irreligious capital of France, and the alarm which they excited in all classes as to the ultimate designs of the ultramontane party which had now obtained the direction of affairs.

54. A more serious subject of inquietude, because it related to a more important matter, was the choice of the preceptor for the young Duke de Bordeaux. The care of the prince during his infant years had been intrusted to the judicious management of Madame de Gontaut; and the Duke de Montmorency, who had his direction when he became of an age to admit of intellectual culture, was in every way qualified to train him in the exercise of every moral and Christian virtue. But this estimable nobleman died in the course of this summer, and his place as preceptor was supplied by M. Tharin, Bishop of Strasburg, a violent Romish prelate, who had lately published, in an inflated style, an acrimonious diatribe against the philosophy of the age. The Duke de Rivière, at the same time, was appointed comptroller of his household—an ominous

* EXPORTS FROM AND IMPORTS INTO FRANCE.

	Imports.	Exports.
1825,.....	400,579,530 fr. or £16,027,000	543,881,169 fr. or £21,760,000
1826,.....	436,110,472 „ „ 17,400,000	461,027,171 „ „ 18,440,000

—*Statistique de la France (Commerce Extérieur)*, 8, 9.

† A very interesting account of the magnificent collection of paintings which by his abuse, not of the *rights* but the *wrongs* of war, Marshal Soult contrived to make, during his two years' military occupation of Andalusia, is to be found in Mr Stirling's most able, learned, and interesting work on Spanish Painting.—*See STIRLING On the Spanish Painters*, ii. 237-239.

appointment, as he was one of the most ardent and uncompromising enemies of the Revolution.

55. These open advances and important acquisitions of power on the part of the Jesuits, led to an intrepid denunciation of their designs by the Count Montlouis. He had been a veteran defender of the *Côté Droit* in the Constituent Assembly, and the Liberals were far from anticipating such an assault from an old champion of the royal cause. But though a steady friend of the monarchy, the Count de Montlouis was far from being a partisan of the Jesuits, and his memory, which was rich in historical lore and inferences, furnished him with too many facts condemnatory of their policy to make him bend to their designs. On the contrary, he denounced them in the most unmeasured terms. It was in these words that he apostrophised the secret consultations of that aspiring party among each other: "Why," say they, "should we any longer delay to declare ourselves? The mystery of our existence affords a powerful arm to our adversaries. The holy father has recognised us, and re-established our order in the most flattering terms. The King protects us with the same zeal as if he was one of our brethren; nearly all the prelates and pastors are united to us, and breathe only our holy maxims. We may say the same of the whole noblesse of France: the court is our empire; every day we are making farther progress in the army. Is it not time to cast aside the veil which partially conceals, but in truth only renders us suspected? It is our name which we claim as a right. Mystery belongs to weakness, publicity to force."

56. On the other hand, it was contended by the Bishop of Hermopolis, with that caution and astuteness which in general characterise their proceedings, that nothing could be so unfounded, and even ridiculous, as the terrors now so generally expressed against the Jesuits. "What is the real amount of influence in this body, which we are told is to overturn the liberties of France? Among all the colleges and seminaries of France they possess only

seven! One is tempted to smile at the terrors excited by so very trifling an amount of public instruction being in the hands of any portion of the religious establishment. But what great things have the Jesuits done with such small means! what immense blessings are their missions daily conferring upon mankind! The good they do is in proportion to the terrors they excite; the power they possess is in its inverse ratio." There was some truth in these representations, but it was not the whole truth. It was true that they had only the command of seven seminaries of education; but it was not less true that such was the vigour and energy of those in the direction of these establishments, and the extent of the riches which the zeal and piety of their adherents among the laity placed at their disposal, that they could boast of a greater number of scholars than all the other seminaries of education in France put together.

57. Such was the vehemence of the contest between the Jesuits and the press, that it was soon apparent that one or other of them must perish. They were rival powers contending for the supremacy in the empire; it was inevitable that one must be destroyed. Bitterly did the ultramontane party now regret the concession on the liberty of the press, made by them during the first transports of the accession of the new monarch; and the result of several prosecutions rendered it more than doubtful whether any check could, under the existing law, be put to its antagonism and licentiousness. They now became convinced that no government or system of administration, either in church or state, could maintain its ground against the ceaseless attacks of an uncontrolled press, acting upon and inflaming the passions of an excitable people, on a side in conformity with their general inclination. The Jesuit Camarilla accordingly determined on some measure coercive of the freedom of the press; and, situated as they were in the country, there can be no doubt that, for their own interests, they were right in their views. They had to contend with a vast majority of

the reading and influential portion of the public in the towns, then in the entire possession of political influence; their only allies being a party, zealous indeed, and able, but whose speeches and writings none of their opponents would so much as read. They had great difficulty, however, in getting the Cabinet to go into their views, for its members were practical men, well acquainted with the real state of affairs and balance of powers in the State; and M. de Villèle, in particular, was decided in his opposition to the proposal. But the Congregation prevailed, and after a violent contest in the Cabinet, it was carried by a majority to adopt the measure proposed by the Congregation. This is an important era, for this was the first cannon-shot fired in the great conflict which terminated in the overthrow of the throne.

58. In the bill brought forward by Government, it was proposed that all writings of twenty pages and under should be deposited with the censors five days before publication; if published before the expiry of this period, the entire edition was liable to be confiscated, and a fine of 3000 francs (£120) imposed on the publisher. A duty of one franc for the first sheet, and ten sous for each sheet after, was imposed on every publication below twenty pages. Speeches in either Chamber, pastoral letters, and journals appearing only once in two months, which by the existing law were obliged to find caution, were relieved from these enactments. The proprietors of journals were to be the parties against whom actions founded on delinquencies against the state or individuals were to be directed, and no company for conducting a journal was to be legal if consisting of more than five persons. Fines might be imposed from 2000 to 20,000 francs (£80 to £800).

59. No words can describe the storm of indignation which this law, with its severe enactments, created in the Liberal party throughout France. The whole public press was instantly up in arms on the subject. They denounced it, not without reason, as utterly subversive, not only of the

liberty of the press, but of all other liberties, and indicating in the clearest manner the arbitrary designs of the faction into whose hands the government had now fallen. The indignation was the more formidable from its being not confined to the parties immediately interested, but extending to the judges, the bar, the professors, the men of letters. In a word, the whole reading and thinking part of the public, beyond the pale of the Jesuit and ultramontane interest, were unanimous in their condemnation. The universal cry was that the censorship of Napoleon was now re-established, with additional powers invested in Government, and a more formidable body of inquisitors to direct its movements. The Academy of France, with M. de Chateaubriand at its head, took a leading part in the movement; his strong Royalist and religious feelings did not prevent him on this occasion from standing forth as the defender of freedom of thought. MM. Villemain and Lacretelle, and Michaud the historian of the Crusades, joined in the remonstrance, which was carried in the Academy by a majority of 17 to 9. Strange to say, in the minority were found the illustrious names of La Place and Cuvier: occupied with the architecture of the heavens, or the remains of pristine creation, they had little concern with the interests of present existence, or were swayed only by its gains or honours. The Government evinced a want both of judgment and temper on this occasion: M. Michaud was dismissed from his situation as reader to the King, MM. Villemain and Lacretelle from lesser situations under Government.

60. The discussion of this question in the Chamber of Deputies, where it was first introduced, still farther increased the agitation of the public mind on the subject; and the excitement was peculiarly great in the young men at the academies and universities, always the first to be influenced by generous feeling, whether well or ill directed. The bill underwent several amendments in the committee, and was the subject of long and vehement

debates in both Houses. It ultimately passed them both, however, though in so mutilated a form, by the adoption of successive amendments, that its authors hardly recognised their own handiwork. The division in the Deputies was 233 to 134; in the Peers, 164 to 144. The result of this great debate was justly regarded as a triumph by the Liberal party, and it was celebrated as such over all France. Certain restrictions were imposed on the press by the adoption of the project, but they proved almost nugatory in effect, and the powers of thought rose into increased influence and activity from the vain attempt made to coerce them. In this there is nothing surprising; a coerced press is impracticable in an age of intelligence and advancing civilisation, and should never be attempted. Physical and moral strength, the sway of intellect, and the force of the sword, are antagonistic powers, which can never coexist in the same community. If the press is to be restrained, and public freedom preserved, it must be by itself, and its own weapons alone; neither bayonets nor batons can effect it. Great as have been in every age of intellectual activity the evils of the licentiousness of the press, they are inferior to the total ruin consequent on the extinction of its liberties. The first gives rise to many curses, but it contains the germ of all blessings; the last is an entire destruction of the hopes of humanity. It is the first duty of intellect, by combating intelligence with its own weapons, *and them alone*, to avoid the necessity of recurring to ruder methods of coercion, and reply to the maledictions of liberalism by preserving its existence.

61. Two events occurred at this period strongly indicative of the extreme peril of the course on which the Government had now entered, and which, to any men but those infatuated by religious fanaticism, would have presaged the calamities which were approaching. The first of these was a serious riot which occurred at the funeral of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. This respectable old

nobleman, whose name was associated with the early career of the Constituent Assembly, and who was a moderate Royalist on the Opposition side, had recently fallen under the displeasure of the Court, in consequence of some votes and speeches in the Chamber of Peers during the discussion on the liberty of the press, and he had in consequence been deprived in one day of all his offices under Government, which, consisted of seventeen presidencies, and as many honorary distinctions, the reward of a long life of beneficence and humanity. He survived his disgrace only a few days, and at his funeral, which took place at Chalons on the 30th March, a melancholy scene of discord was exhibited. Being extremely beloved in that neighbourhood, which in every department of industry and charity had felt the influence of his benevolence, a procession was formed of the young men at the School of Arts there, to bear his remains to their last resting-place. They did so accordingly, and bore his body on their shoulders from his house to the church, where the funeral service was read. But in coming from the church to the place of interment the police interfered, and insisted on the coffin being placed on the hearse. The young men refused, and prepared by force to keep possession of the body; a scuffle ensued, in the course of which the coffin fell from the hands of the youths, and was broken on the pavement, and the ensigns of the peerage placed on it were drawn through the mud. The military were called in, the coffin replaced in the hearse, and the funeral conducted as the authorities intended; but the incident, which became the subject of a solemn inquiry in the House of Peers, excited a prodigious sensation throughout France, and materially increased the strength of the Liberal party, by demonstrating the generality of the feelings with which the violent proceedings of the Jesuits were regarded over the whole country.

62. The next event was one still more indicative of the state of the public mind, in the most important and in-

fluent classes, and so important in its effects, that it may be regarded as one of the principal causes of the revolution which overturned the elder branch of the Bourbons. Deeply chagrined at the evident symptoms of the decline of the popularity of which he was so passionately desirous, and yet blind to an inconceivable extent to the cause which was producing it, Charles fixed a great review of the National Guard of Paris for the 12th April, the anniversary of his entrance into Paris two years before. The day was beautiful; the National Guard had never turned out in such strength and in such splendid appearance; and a magnificent cortège surrounded the King, who rode on horseback on a beautiful charger, which he managed with consummate grace, along the line. Cries of "*Vive le Roi*" were at first heard on all sides, and the monarch was saluted by the great majority of the legions with the utmost enthusiasm. But when he came to the tenth legion, which was composed of the citizens from the contraband eastern parts of Paris, their loyal demonstrations were mingled with cries of "*A bas les Ministres!*" "*A bas les Jesuites!*" and some of the most violent even left their ranks to give expression to their cries at the feet of the monarch.* "I come here to receive homage, and not lessons," was the dignified reply of the monarch; but it produced no impression. The cries were repeated, and after the King had passed on, became still more frequent; loud demonstrations of dislike were levelled at M. de Villèle, regarded as embodying the policy of the Government; and the princesses, who were present at the review in open carriages, returned to the Tuileries in despair at the contumelious expressions with which they had been assailed.

63. Considering the great importance of the National Guard, both as a powerful military force in possession of the capital, and as an organ of public opinion in its inhabitants, this incident

was sufficiently serious in itself; but it became doubly so from the ill-advised and disastrous step which immediately followed. The King at first put a good face upon the matter. "My dear Marshal," said he to Marshal Oudinot, who commanded the National Guard, after the review was over, "we have had some grumblers, but the mass is well disposed; say to the National Guard that I am satisfied with their appearance, and bring me the evening order to sign." But these prudent views soon gave place to more violent councils. The princesses arrived in tears at the contumelies to which they had been exposed, and the seditious cries which had met their ears; and the party of the Jesuits were indefatigable in their representations, that the time had now arrived when farther temporising was impossible, and when a vigorous measure was imperatively called for. The King was unfortunately drawn into these violent councils. In the evening a Cabinet Council was hastily summoned; the deliberations continued till a late hour in the night; and on the following morning an ordonnance appeared DISBANDING THE NATIONAL GUARD OF PARIS.

64. If anything could exceed the imprudence and disastrous consequences of this step, it was the joy with which it was received by the ultra-Royalists in Paris. "At length," said they, "we have a King—a great King; no more days such as the 14th July;* we see what Paris is worth. Force—always force; that is the secret of success." At first everything seemed to favour their anticipations. The capital remained perfectly tranquil; the disbanding of the National Guard took place without opposition; but by a fatal want of foresight *they were left in possession of their arms*. As a military organised force, subject to discipline, they were put an end to; as a body of discontented men whose feelings had been "ulcerated, upon whose loyalty an imputation had been cast, they remained with arms in their hands. But all was joy and confidence at the Tuileries; the days of revolution were

* In the tenth legion only these cries were general. In other two legions they were heard, but only from isolated individuals.—See MARMONT'S *Memoires*, viii. 137, 139.

* The day on which the Bastille was taken.

thought to be at an end. "Well," said the Duke de Rivière, preceptor to the Duke de Bordeaux, "Paris is tranquil; the King has great power; France is tired of revolutions and revolutionists."—"Paris has not moved," replied a Liberal peer, to whom the words were addressed, "because the King has not exceeded his prerogative. He was entitled, if he chose, to dissolve the National Guard; but let the time come when he may need the support of his good city of Paris, and you will then see what you have done."

65. Both parties were to blame in this memorable event, which was the first downward step in the fall of the monarchy. The National Guard, who insulted the King by seditious cries, forgot their first duty as soldiers, which is implicit obedience; their first duty as citizens, which is personal respect to their sovereign. If they were dissatisfied with the measures of Government, they had a clear and constitutional mode of expressing it, which was by their representatives in the Chamber of Deputies; if they were dissatisfied with the King for retaining such servants in his confidence, their course was to displace them by a vote of the Chambers. But to insult him with cries when he was reviewing them as soldiers, to urge a change of men and measures with bayonets in their hands, was to forego all the advantages of representative government, and impose on the country a rule of the worst kind—that of prætorian guards or an armed democracy. The King and Government were nearly as much to blame in the method they adopted for making their displeasure known. They were fully entitled, nay, officially called upon, to express their high displeasure at the legions which had been guilty of these acts of insubordination; nay, if they had even disbanded some of the battalions most in fault, though many might have doubted the prudence, none could have disputed the legality of the step. But to disband the *whole* National Guard on account of the misdemeanour of the tenth legion, to punish the many innocent on account of the

sins of the few guilty, and alienate the affections of the whole military force of the capital, because a small part of their number had been guilty of acts of insubordination, was an act of injustice so glaring, of imprudence so manifest, that it almost looks like judicial blindness to have taken such a step. The only thing which could by possibility have justified it, was the necessity of disarming so formidable and seditious a force in the capital; but even this excuse was awanting, for their arms were left in their hands.

66. The treaty of 6th July 1827 regarding Greece has been considered in the chapter on its Revolution, with which it is more immediately connected, as it led to the glorious battle of Navarino, which had the chief effect in establishing its independence. A domestic matter, however, signalled the French legislation of this year, which was also connected with England, for it was mainly urged on the Cabinet by the English Government. This was a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade. By the project of the law introduced on this subject, the engaging in the slave-trade was declared punishable, with confiscation of the cargo and banishment to the chiefs of the expedition, and from three to five years' imprisonment to all others engaged in the enterprise. The discussion on the subject was very warm in both Houses, not so much on its own merits, for on such a subject there could be no dispute, but on the indignity to France of submitting to what was deemed an insulting and degrading dictation from a foreign power. It passed, however, by large majorities in both Houses; the majority in the Peers being 114 in a House of 227, and in the Deputies nearly in the same proportion.

67. Notwithstanding the large majority in the Chamber of Deputies which had hitherto supported Ministers, it was apparent before the end of the session that their position was becoming precarious, and that ere long it might be necessary to dissolve the Chamber. The financial projects of the year were

discussed with great rigour and acrimony; and the commercial crisis, which had been felt with such severity in the close of the preceding winter in England, reacted upon the prosperity of France, and occasioned an alarming deficit in the Exchequer. January had exhibited a surplus of 2,860,000 francs, but February and March showed instead a deficit of 6,755,000. This deficiency, though now ascribable to Ministers, furnished, as usual in such cases, a powerful handle against them, and added to the vehement denunciations with which their conduct was assailed by the Opposition. Benjamin Constant exclaimed—"M. de Villèle speaks of the interest of the country! Was it, then, for the interest of the country that the National Guard should be disbanded? Was its existence inconsistent with the interest of the country? Come to the point; specify how it happened that that National Guard, which in every crisis has defended and supported the interests of the country—which is attached to its laws—which is so devoted, so orderly, so courageous—which is, as it were, the fruit and measure of the industry and prosperity of the state—should be thus ignominiously treated? Where are Ministers now to find their support? In the people?—They have outraged them. In public opinion?—They have roused it against them. In the Peers?—They cannot subject them, but by subverting their independence. In the magistracy?—They resist them in the sacred name of justice."

68. The manner in which these violent apostrophes were received in both houses, and the lessening majorities by which Ministers were supported in the Deputies, especially on the financial questions, demonstrated the necessity of an appeal to the people to strengthen the hands of Administration. The Government, accordingly, in secret sounded the prefects as to the chances of success in the event of a dissolution; and having received, as it always does from similar functionaries on such occasions, satisfactory assurances, the measure was resolved on. As a compara-

tory measure, it was determined, after the session of the legislature had closed, to re-establish the censorship by a royal ordonnance, and this was accordingly done. The motives for the step were announced in an article in the *Moniteur*, in which, amidst some exaggeration, much undoubted truth was stated.* The Opposition immediately took the alarm; a society was quickly organised, of which M. de Chateaubriand was president, to defend the liberty of the press; and a host of pamphlets which issued from its members, and inundated the country, showed how little in real strength Government had gained by a measure so unpopular, and so much calculated to inflame the most violent passions.

69. But it was not sufficient to stifle the voice of the press; it was necessary also to overcome a hostile majority in the House of Peers, which, even more than the Chamber of Deputies, was known to be adverse to the present policy of Government. So largely had the former great creation of peers, in 1819, to force through the democratic changes in the constitution effected in that year, modified the spirit of the Chamber of Peers, that it had now become necessary to counteract it by as large a measure on the other side; and after considerable discussion in the Cabinet, it was agreed that the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies should be followed by a great creation of peers, sufficient to render it in har-

* "Cinq années de liberté de presse, durant lesquelles l'autorité s'est refusée constamment à désespérer du bon sens national, et des écrivains qui seraient obligés de la contester pour lui plaire; cinq années de travaux laborieusement suivis à travers les difficultés, que la licence des écrits suscitait sans cesse autour des projets les plus éclairés et des résolutions les plus droites; cinq années d'excès d'une part, et de patience de l'autre, ont pu enseigner à tous les hommes dont l'opinion mérite de compter dans les destins d'un pays, où étaient les amis et les ennemis de la presse. Ses ennemis ont vaincu; ils ont désarmé la résistance de ses amis; ils ont arraché une ordonnance de Censure à une administration qui est née de la publicité de la Tribune et de la Presse, qui a vécu par elle, et qui est réduite à modifier l'une de ces libertés pour sauver l'autre, pour les sauver toutes ensemble."—*Moniteur*, 26 June 1827; *Annuaire Historique*, x. 245.

mony with the views and policy of Government. A large addition to the ecclesiastical peers was resolved on, it being thought that the interest of the Church was not sufficiently strong in the Upper House. Five archbishops were in the number, fifteen nobles, and thirty-six rich proprietors from the Lower House. The world was astonished at some of the names in the list; among others, the Count de Vieuville and the Count de Tocqueville, prefect of the department of Seine and Oise, were to be seen beside Marshal Soult, the hero of the Empire and the Hundred Days, and Prince Hohenlohe, celebrated in German story. The total number of peers agreed on was seventy-six—a number sufficient to overbalance the numerical majority on the other side. The same *Moniteur* which contained this great creation contained also an ordonnance dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and appointing the electoral colleges to meet on the 17th and 24th November, and the Chambers to assemble on the 5th February following. A list was published of the presidents of the electoral colleges, nearly all in the interest of the High Church party.* The reason assigned for this step was mainly the difference between the situation of the peerage in England, which contained so large a proportion of the property in the state, and in France, where it had so little; and that the consideration of the Assembly was chiefly dependent on the number and talents of its members.

* "En Angleterre la Chambre des Pairs a, comparativement à celle des Communes, une importance qui pourrait être moindre même sans danger, si on considère que la Chambre des Communes y est, pour ainsi dire, fille de la Pairie, qui, avec la Couronne, a une si grande influence sur les élections, où les pairs font admettre leurs fils, leurs frères, leurs parens, leurs obligés. En France rien de semblable. La Chambre des Pairs ne s'élève qu'aux deux-tiers à peu près de la Chambre des Députés; et avec une population double de celle de l'Angleterre, notre Chambre des Députés ne forme guère que les deux-tiers de la Chambre des Communes, et la Pairie Française égale à peine celle de l'Angleterre. La force de résistance de la Chambre des Pairs doit donc être dans le nombre de ses membres, et surtout dans l'esprit qui l'anime."—*Moniteur*, 5 November 1827.

70. The die was now cast, and both parties began seriously to prepare themselves for a struggle, which all saw to be inevitable. On the one side was the whole weight of authority and power, exercising its prerogatives, and making use of its influence in the most determined way, and setting at defiance the opinions of the great bulk of the intelligent inhabitants of the country, to follow the dictates of a resolute but rash and ill-judging ecclesiastical party. On the other was the whole popular party, which, now foreseeing the danger which was approaching, began to organise themselves in regular bodies, with a view both to a systematic action on the public mind in the mean time, and an efficient means of physical resistance to Government, if it should become necessary to have recourse to that extremity. The society "*Aidez-toi et le ciel t'aidera*" was now established, composed for the most part of ardent Liberals or Italian *Carbonari*. Its maxim, as the name indicates, was to act for itself, and seek the means of salvation for the public liberties in the vigour of its own councils and the determination of its own measures. There was nothing illegal in either its constitution or objects, as at first established. It proposed simply, by constitutional means, to organise an effective resistance to the advance of power by the Government. All the measures of opposition were agreed on and discussed in its meetings; and never was union more complete, and enthusiasm more ardent, than existed among its members. The press resumed all its activity in the form of pamphlets, still exempt from the censure, and was directed with more ability, and a more thorough unity of object. Everything the Royalist Ministry had done since their accession to power was made the subject of the most violent invective, and commented on with the most unmeasured exaggeration. The acts by which they had gained a majority in the election of 1824, after the successful termination of the war in Spain, was now turned against themselves. To such a length did the general

transport go, and so little did the parties deem it necessary to disguise their projects, that, in a letter publicly addressed to the Duke of Orléans, he was invited to head a revolution, and place himself on the throne, in terms so unambiguous that he found it necessary, personally, to disavow it to the sovereign.*

71. The general election came on in November, and as the objects of the opposite parties were now avowed, the greatest efforts were made on both sides, and the excitement of the public mind became indescribable. Every one felt that on the result it depended whether the objects of the Jesuits were to be accomplished, and a throne based on an ultramontane theocracy established, or a constitutional monarchy resting on a democracy, with the Duke of Orléans at its head, substituted in its stead. The elections in the colleges of arrondissements were a thunder-stroke to the Ministry. The Opposition obtained two-thirds of the seats of that class: Paris was the theatre of the most violent contest; but the triumph of the Liberals was complete. Their candidates, M. Dupont de l'Eure, Lafitte, Casimir Perier, Benjamin Constant, Ternaux, Royer-Collard, and Baron Louis, all staunch Democrats, had 6690 votes, while the ministerial could only muster 1110. Illuminations took place in several places; in others the mob endeavoured to force the occupants of houses to light up against their will. This led to serious riots, in the course of which the military were called out, and numerous arrests took place. These

* "*Echangez vos armoiries ducales contre la couronne civique. Allons, Prince; un peu de courage: il reste dans notre monarchie une belle place à prendre, la place qu'occuperait Lafayette dans une République—celle de premier citoyen de France. Votre principauté n'est qu'un chétif canonicat auprès de cette Royauté morale. Le peuple Français est un grand enfant, qui ne demande pas mieux que d'avoir un tuteur; soyez-le, pour qu'il ne tombe pas en de méchantes mains, afin que le char, si mal conduit, ne verse pas. Nous avons fait de notre côté tous nos efforts; essayez des vôtres, et saisissons ensemble la roue sur le penchant du précipice.*"—*Lettre à M. le Duc d'ORLÉANS, Nov. 1827, par M. CAUCHOIS-LEMAIRE, p. 16, 17.*

riots were characterised by one ominous symptom—the FIRST BARRICADES of these days, so well known in the contests of former times, were seen in the streets. One of them was so strongly constructed that it more than once repulsed the assailants, and was at last only conquered by a regular fire of musketry. What was still more alarming, hesitation for the first time appeared in the troops of the line. The enthusiasm excited by the Spanish war was at an end; and in more than one instance the officers of infantry refused to obey the orders of the civic authorities, or to act against the people. "It is not from such as you I am to take orders," said one; "I will not exchange bullets with stones," replied another. It was a rehearsal on a small scale of the great drama of 1830.

72. The repeated defeats sustained in the provinces as well as the capital—and, above all, the extreme and violent character of the successful candidates—left no doubt in the minds of Ministers that the Chamber returned would be greatly less manageable than that which had been dissolved, and that it was not improbable Government might be left altogether in a minority. Violent altercations in consequence ensued between M. de Villèle and the leaders of the Jesuits; each, as usual in such cases, endeavouring to throw the responsibility of steps which had proved so calamitous on the other. "What would you have?" said he: "have I not, this year, satisfied all your wishes? The severe restrictions on the press, the censorship of the journals, the creation of seventy-six peers, the disbanding of the National Guard, the camp at St Omer, are they not sufficient? I have said it a hundred times, your march is too rapid; you think only of violence when management is what is required."—"Let us hear no more of concessions," replied the Duke de Rivière: "let us openly advance under the banners of a King who has the blood of Louis XIV. in his veins. Those cursed elections, which occasion so much annoyance, are en-

tirely to be ascribed to your own want of foresight, perhaps of your perfidy."

73. The majority of the Chamber, upon the whole, was ministerial, though in a much lesser degree than had been expected, or than the former Chamber had been. But when language such as this passed between the head of the Ministry and the chief of the secret Camarilla which ruled the King, it need hardly be said that the position of the Government was eminently precarious, and that a remodelling or entire change of it had become indispensable. In fact, their position had become so uncomfortable, and the dissensions in the Cabinet so serious, that nearly the whole Ministers, in despair of being able to meet the Chambers, and carry on the Government, had come to the resolution of resigning, or expelling their neighbours. M. de Villèle designed to expel M. de Peyronnet, M. de Peyronnet had the same intention toward M. de Villèle. M. de Corbière declared his inability to remain Minister of the Interior; M. de Chabrol was deputed to M. de Martignac, to sound him as to the formation of a new ministry. A secret instinct, usual in such cases, told all that a crisis was approaching, and that every one, as in shipwreck, must look out for his own safety. M. de Villèle had too much sagacity not to see that he had not influence sufficient to command the Chambers in the crisis which was approaching, nor power to direct the vessel of the state through the violent shock with which it was threatened. Before the end of the year, he had announced to the King the necessity of forming a new ministry, and MM. de Chateaubriand, de la Ferronais, de Fitz-James, and de la Bourdonnaye, had been submitted to his Majesty as the heads of the new Government. But Charles felt a repugnance at M. de Chateaubriand, in consequence of his recent opposition to the measures of the Government against the press; and he was too great and independent a man not to be the object of secret jealousy to the Romish authorities, to whom no-

thing is so repugnant as independence of thought. Great difficulty was experienced in making up the list of the Cabinet, and especially in determining who was to be its head as President of the Council. But at length the choice fell on M. de Martignac. With him were conjoined M. Portalis as Keeper of the Seals, M. de Caux as Minister at War, the Count de la Ferronais as Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Vatismenil in the Interior, M. Hyde de Neuville for the Marine, and M. Feutrier as Minister of Public Worship.

74. Thus fell the Ministry of M. de Villèle. It underwent the usual fate of a Government which, placed between two opposite and implacable factions, strives to steer a middle course between them, and generally succeeds only in alienating the one without conciliating the other. The Liberals could not forgive the concessions he had made—reluctantly, indeed, and under the pressure of necessity, but still made—to the ultra-Royalist and Jesuit party, the restrictions on the press, the law against sacrilege, the attempt to restore the right of primogeniture, the disbanding of the National Guard, and the dissolution of the Chamber in the hope of obtaining one more favourable to the arbitrary views of the dominant party at the court. The Royalists forgot, in their present animosity, the immense services which he had rendered, in the hour of need, to the monarchy and the throne. They forgot the wisdom and prudence he had displayed at the tribune, the moderation which he had evinced in the conduct of public affairs, the magnificent compensation he had succeeded in obtaining for the sufferers by the Revolution, the stability which, after so many shocks, he had succeeded in giving to the throne, the glorious war he had brought to a successful issue in Spain, the entire restoration of the finances, the foundation laid for Grecian independence by the treaty of 6th July, the lustre he had shed over the white flag by crushing the forces of revolution. They reproached him with not

going the whole length of their desires, with being at heart a Revolutionist, with having neglected to use the influence of Government so as to secure a majority in the elections; with having introduced some Liberals, under false colours, into the Upper House; with having done nothing efficient to restore the influence, or vindicate the property of the Church; with having admitted the fatal principle of expedience instead of that of duty, and based Government on the influence of corruption instead of the attachments of loyalty. There was some truth, as is generally the case, in all these representations; but both parties would have done more justice to that eminent statesman if they had shown how the acts which they made the subject of reproach could have been avoided, or how the Government of a country, so divided in opinion, and distracted by opposing influences, as France then was, could have been conducted without concessions to both parties, which could not fail to alienate the violent men of either.

75. If the King had been at liberty to follow out his secret inclinations, he would have sent for M. de Polignac at this crisis, and thrown himself at once and openly into the arms of the extreme Royalist party. But it was not deemed safe to take at once so extreme a step; the public mind was not yet sufficiently prepared, the new influences adequately extended, and a transition Ministry was considered, with justice, as an indispensable preliminary to the formation of a purely ultra-Royalist one. The Martignac Ministry, accordingly, was a species of compromise—an attempt to overcome the animosity of the Liberals, who had been violently irritated by the last measures of M. de Villèle, and prepare the public mind, by a change of servants, and seeming change of policy, for an ultimate change of measures. M. Martignac himself was as fortunate a choice as could have been made for this object. Bred up in the school of M. de Villèle, the intimate friend of M. Lainé, whose esteem was itself a security, he possessed all the

qualities requisite to regain the popularity of the Crown, by counselling such measures as might conciliate the mind and calm the irritations of the country. Eloquent in diction, gracious in manner, prudent in council, loyal in feeling, liberal in intellect, he represented and embodied the idea, then so general in France, of blending the ancient institutions of the monarchy with the expanding ideas and growing wants of modern civilisation. But it resulted from this, that the Minister did not possess the real confidence of the sovereign; he was intended only as a compromise, and the means of getting over a period of difficulty, until the time had arrived when the new system might be introduced, and a Ministry of lasting duration established.

76. It may readily be conceived that, under such circumstances, the Martignac Ministry was not destined for long duration. "You know, gentlemen," said the King at one of the first Cabinet Councils, "that I have not voluntarily separated from M. de Villèle; his system is my own; and I hope that you will conform to it to the utmost of your power." This was but a poor commencement for an administration avowedly installed in power in order to alter the system of government of the preceding administration, and regain popularity by at least an ostensible change of measures. From the first, accordingly, it was evident that they did not possess the confidence of the monarch, and that, in English state phraseology, they only held office till their successors were appointed. A seat in the Ministry was offered to M. de Chateaubriand; he at first was inclined to have accepted it, but, by the persuasion of his friends, he in the end declined an honour which might compromise his reputation, and did not seem destined for long endurance. It was soon apparent that he had judged wisely in the decision at which he had arrived. When the Chambers met, it was evident to all that the Ministry did not possess their confidence. Such was their hatred at M. de Villèle that

they dreaded his resurrection to power in the persons of any administration which had been associated with him in office. The choice of a president for the Chamber of Deputies, which was the first trial of strength, showed what a formidable coalition had been formed against the Government. M. Labourdonnaye, who was supported by the coalition, had 178 votes; M. Ravez, who had long filled the chair with ability and moderation, only 162. On the next division, M. Delatot was elected by a majority of 212 voices, to 189 who supported Royer-Collard; but the King, desirous to conciliate the Liberals, selected the latter from the list presented to him. The speech of the King was as moderate and conciliatory as could well be imagined; but the Address presented by the Chamber revealed the implacable hostility with which the majority of its members was animated. One expression, in particular, in allusion to the dismissal of the late Ministry, was deemed peculiarly painful, if not insulting, to the Crown: "The remonstrances of France have put an end to the *deplorable system* which had rendered illusory all the promises of your Majesty." The question of retaining so very strong an expression in the address gave rise, as well it might, to the most vehement debates; but it was carried that it should be retained, by a majority of 33. The whole party of M. de Chateaubriand voted in the majority.

77. Charles was deeply wounded at this address, but he preserved a dignified demeanour on the occasion. "I shall receive this address," said he, "as my brother received that which was voted against M. de Richelieu and his ministry. I shall admit to my presence only the President and two secretaries of the Assembly, and I shall deliver an answer which will be a reproof without inducing a rupture." The monarch with his own hand effaced several expressions from the reply prepared by his Ministers which savoured too much of severity, and as ultimately agreed on the answer was as follows: "In calling you to labour

with me for the happiness of France, I reckoned on the concurrence of your sentiments as well as on the light of your intelligence. My words were addressed to the entire Chamber; it would have been agreeable to me if the answer had been unanimous. You will not forget, I feel assured, that you are the natural guardians of the majesty of the throne, the first and most noble of your guarantees. Your labours will prove to France your profound respect for the memory of the sovereign who gave you the Charter, and your just confidence in him whom you call the son of Henry IV. and Saint Louis."

78. The legislative measures of the session of the Chambers were not of very great importance; but such as they were, they bespoke the change, painful to the King, which had taken place in the ruling power in Parliament. A law was introduced to exclude from the electoral suffrage all persons employed under Government; and as their number was so considerable in France, this was a measure of great importance, and which went seriously to diminish the influence of the Crown. LAFAYETTE, who had been recently returned to the Chambers, denounced in violent terms the enormous multiplication of offices which had sprung up under the imperial régime, and been found too serviceable to be abandoned by succeeding governments. "In casting our eyes," said he, "over that hierarchy so skillfully constructed, under the imperial régime, on the ruins of the rights of the French people, and religiously upheld to this hour by the Government of the Restoration, we shall search in vain for an atom of independence. Prefects, sub-prefects, councils of prefectships, of municipalities, of departments, of arrondissements, receivers of contributions, judges of the peace—all are the creatures of power, and removable at its pleasure. Are we waiting to pass the present law till the principle of freedom of election, called for on all sides, has restored life to the commercial and departmental administrations, and to the judges

of peace,* and reduced to reasonable limits the exorbitant power of the prefects, whose name has been exhumed from the ruins of the Lower Empire? No, without doubt; but there are means of execution which you may vote on the spot." There can be no doubt that Lafayette was right in these observations; but he forgot to add, what the event has now abundantly proved, that it was his own frantic innovations which imposed of necessity this vast herd of servile employés upon the country by destroying the race of comparatively independent proprietors, who might have discharged the public functions on the nomination and by the influence of the people.

79. So strong was the feeling in the Chamber of Deputies against the exercise of the influence of the Crown in elections by means of their employés, that the law passed it by a majority of 257 to 106. It met, however, with a very different reception in the Chamber of Peers, where M. de Villèle's creation of seventy-six Royalists had rendered that party nearly a majority. Several amendments proposed were only thrown out by a majority of four or five votes. The law, however, finally passed by a majority of eighty-three, a result which proved that even the vast additions made at successive times to the peerage had not been able entirely to extinguish the spirit of Republicanism in its bosom. The right of hereditary succession had in some degree restored it, and many of the new peers gave proof of this by voting against the ministerial project, and in a way which was little expected by the party which had created them. The great want of the peerage, however, was of estates commensurate to the rank bestowed; a defect which necessarily drove a large proportion of them into a discreditable submission to any government which might furnish them, through office, with the means of existence.

80. The part which France was called

on to take in aiding the Greeks in their efforts to shake off the Ottoman yoke, in consequence of the treaty of 16th July, of which an account has been given in treating of the affairs of Greece, led to a demand on the part of Ministers of a vote of credit of 80,000,000 francs (£3,200,000), which was granted by a very large majority. But a more serious difficulty arose in regard to a new law of a conciliatory character regarding the periodical press, which removed several of the most galling restrictions on the public journals. It proposed to allow all persons to set up journals, provided they conformed to the provisions of the law, and to abolish the most obnoxious species of prosecution, called the "procès de tendance." The law passed both Houses by large majorities, that in the Peers being 65, and in the Commons 132; and it was in a great degree owing to the liberty of discussion thus acquired that the Liberals were able to fan the conflagration which ultimately consumed the throne.

81. These concessions, though by no means inconsiderable ones, were far from satisfying the Liberal party, which had by the last election acquired so great a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies. Some more substantial guarantee against the designs of the Jesuits was demanded, and nothing so anxiously as some restriction on their interference with the education of the young, which they were so desirous to effect, and had in some degree acquired. It was no easy matter, however, to prevail on the King to consent to any change in this respect; for this touched his conscience, and threatened to disturb the system which his spiritual advisers represented as the sole foundation which could be relied on either for the altar or the throne. When his Ministers first broached the matter in the Cabinet, he said, "That is a serious matter: I cannot determine on it without consulting my council." The Council, however, was unanimous on the subject; even the Duke d'Angoulême, whose devotion was so well known, and the royal confessor himself, advised a temporary bending to the storm, with

* A species of arbitrators appointed to settle the disputes of the poor, without having recourse to actual litigation.

a view to evading its fury. Charles long held out; but at length, yielding to the earnest solicitations of his whole Council, he agreed to sign two ordonnances, the first of which suppressed all the schools and seminaries in France under the direction of the Jesuits, and restored them to the control of the University; while the second limited to twenty thousand the number of those who were to be trained for the ecclesiastical profession at these seminaries. "My dear Minister," said the King to the Bishop of Beauvais, who presented to him the ordonnances, and his pen to sign them, "I cannot disguise from you that this signature has cost me more than anything else in my life: I am thus putting myself into hostility with my most faithful servants, with those whom I esteem and love the most: fatal situation of princes in whom a sense of duty rules the heart. Do you not think we are doing wrong?" "No, sire!" replied the Bishop; "you are saving religion from irreparable ruin."

82. Nothing could exceed the indignation expressed by the whole Jesuit party at this great concession to the demands of their adversaries. The King was stigmatised as impious, the Minister as a persecutor, the Bishop of Beauvais as an apostate. A hundred thousand copies were thrown off of a protest by the bishops of France against the ordonnance, and circulated among the families of the faithful, where they produced no small grief and consternation. The Archbishop of Toulouse refused to obey the ordonnance, and put himself into open hostility with the Crown; the Bishop of Chartres prophesied the approaching downfall of the impious dynasty. The Government had influence enough with the Court of Rome to procure a bull, addressed to M. de Latil, one of the bishops most attached to the King, and the least suspected of undue concessions to the irreligious spirit of the age, approving of the ordonnance as a measure of internal policy of the French Government, which did not interfere with the prerogatives or rights of the Church. This public act, on the part of the head of the Church, appeased the tumult,

but did not remove the discontent. The Jesuits left France, but retired into Switzerland, where they established themselves on the frontier, and continued in an underhand and indirect way their action upon all the devout and aristocratic families over whom they possessed influence.

83. These measures were so evidently adverse to the wishes and principles of the King, that it soon became evident to all that the present transition and compromise Ministry could not by possibility stand, and that it was merely a question of time when it was to be succeeded by one either of a decidedly Royalist or Revolutionary character. The opportunity for making a change occurred sooner than might have been expected. M. de la Ferronais, the respected Minister of Foreign Affairs, had been obliged to relinquish his active duties for a time from bad health, and he had been succeeded *pro tempore* by M. de Rayneval, a veteran diplomatist, but not equal to the duties of that responsible situation. The King resolved to take advantage of the opportunity which the necessity of choosing a successor presented for introducing M. DE POLIGNAC, whom he had already in secret fixed on as his future Prime Minister, into the Administration. He despatched, accordingly, an official letter to that nobleman, who was then ambassador in London, desiring him to return forthwith to Paris. He appeared there in the end of December, to the great terror of all parties;—of the Royalists, from dread of the dangerous steps which he might adopt; of the Revolutionists, from apprehension of the overthrow of the semi-Liberal administration which he would probably effect. The King, however, was nowise shaken in the resolution, which he had now matured, of confiding himself to M. de Polignac. He was confirmed in that intention from a journey which he had recently made with a view to test the temper of the public mind in Lorraine and Alsace, where he had been received with the most unbounded demonstrations of loyalty. Both parties concurred in these expressions of attach-

ment: it was hard to say whether the peasantry of the few great seigneurs who had survived the Revolution, or the workmen of the great manufacturers who had arisen on the ruins of those who had fallen, were most loud in their cheers. The King decorated with his own hand M. Casimir Perier, who, with M. Benjamin Constant, was peculiarly conspicuous from the fervour of his loyalty. Yet were both parties insincere, or rather deceptive, in these demonstrations, which went far to mislead the King as to the real state of public opinion in the country. Each had an object to gain in making them, because both felt that a crisis was approaching, and that it was by outvying the other in effusions of loyalty that they were most likely to turn it to their own advantage.

84. Notwithstanding the secret resolution of the King to intrust to Prince Polignac the formation of a new Ministry, it was not deemed safe as yet openly to take that step; and the session of 1829 commenced with M. de Martignac still at the head of the Government. The King drew with justice a flattering picture of the state of the country, which was prosperous in every part beyond all former example; and his speech, which was hailed with enthusiasm, concluded with these words: "Experience has dissipated the prestige of insensate theories. France knows, as you do, on what basis its prosperity rests; and those who seek it elsewhere than in the sincere union of the royal authority and the liberties consecrated by the Charter, will find themselves speedily disavowed by it." These words were received with loud applause, and it seemed, from the unanimity displayed, that the legislature was more unanimous than they had ever been in their attachment to the throne, instead of being, as it really was, on the eve of a convulsion which was to shake it in the dust.

85. In the discussion on the address in the Chamber of Peers, Prince Polignac, who was not yet invested with any ostensible power, but whose presence at Paris had excited no small

sensation in the capital, spoke as follows: "The public journals have, within these few days, directed against me the most violent attacks, without provocation on my part, without truth, without even probability, without a single fact to adduce that could furnish them either with motive or pretext. They have dared to hold me up to entire France as nourishing in my heart a secret repugnance to our representative institutions, which seem now to have acquired an additional title to veneration since the King who bestowed them reposes in an honoured tomb. Could the authors of these calumnies penetrate into the interior of my home, they would find there the best, the most decisive refutation of these calumnies. They would find me surrounded with the fruits of my continual studies, all of which had but one object and end, to consolidate and defend our institutions, and to contribute to make them descend to our children. Yes," he added, in a solemn tone, "our institutions appear to me to reconcile all that can be required on the one side by the power and dignity of the throne; on the other, by the just independence of the nation. It is, then, in entire accordance with my conscience and my conviction that I have taken the solemn engagement to concur in and maintain them. And what right has any one now to say that I will recede from that engagement? What right have they to suppose in me an intention to sacrifice my legitimately acquired liberties? Have they ever seen in me the servile adorer of power? Has my political faith wavered at the presence of danger? If it were possible to interrogate the consciences and life of my accusers, would I not find them bending the knee before the idols, when, more independent than these, I braved in chains danger and death?"

86. This speech, which revealed the secret hopes and expectations of the orator, fell like a thunderbolt on M. de Martignac, to whose administration it presaged an early downfall. He was sagacious enough to perceive that the King was preparing for him a succes-

sor; and he felt the disheartening conviction that he was only smoothing by his administration the path of power for a different Government. The first votes in the Assembly showed how thoroughly its members were imbued with these thoughts and presentiments. M. Royer-Collard had the majority; but M. Casimir Perier had 155 votes, and M. de la Bourdonnaye, the ministerial candidate, only 90. This sufficiently demonstrated that the state of parties was such that it was impossible for the Government to withstand any coalition that might be formed against it. The Centre even belonged more to M. de Villèle than M. de Martignac; and the support of the Left was not to be relied on in a question with a combination that threatened to overthrow the Ministry.

87. To conciliate the Liberal majority, Government brought forward a law which tended to increase the popular influence in the municipal councils. The Royalists were expected to support the project, for as it proposed to give admission to an additional number of votes from the rural districts, where their chief influence lay, it appeared calculated to increase their authority. The Liberals were equally relied on for their support, for they were impressed with the idea, which subsequent events have so entirely disproved, that any considerable increase in the number of voters, or the powers with which they were invested, would tend to augment their own preponderance in the state. Nevertheless, by one of those combinations of parties which often precede or occasion the fall of a ministry, this measure, framed to please both parties, gained the support of neither. On the contrary, a coalition was formed against it, which proved fatal to the law itself and the Administration. The projected law was divided into two parts, one regulating the municipal régime, the other the councils of arrondissement. The first met with little opposition; but the second, which went to establish more extended and popular assemblies of the cantons, in lieu of the old councils of arrondissement, was defeated by

a coalition of the Left and Left Centre, the numbers being 124 to 103. It is difficult to imagine a more flagrant instance of factious and unprincipled combination than this, for the measure thus thrown out by a coalition of Liberals and Liberal Royalists was a large concession to popular influence, and a decided blow at the power of the Crown. The Royalists, anxious to overthrow the Ministry, remained immovable on their seats, and, anticipating their fall, were deaf to the entreaties of M. de Martignac and M. Hyde de Neuville, that they would come to the rescue of the Crown. The Liberals, guided by Casimir Perier and Guizot, disregarded equally the representations of the Minister, that the King would never go beyond these concessions, and that his fall would throw the Government into the hands of an ultra-faction, which by its extreme measures would endanger the monarchy. It seems strange that, for the purpose of party, public men should lend themselves to such a dereliction of principle; but the history of England furnishes many similar examples—one in particular, which will be detailed in the sequel, on an occasion hardly less momentous, or attended with consequences less important than this.

88. Nothing could exceed the satisfaction of the King, who in secret desired the fall of his Ministers, at this defeat. When M. de Martignac and M. Portalis announced the hostile vote, he said, with joy depicted in his countenance: "Well, see how they receive my kindnesses. You see where they wish to drag me: you see whither you have been dragged yourselves by your system of concessions. I have smiled twenty times at your confidence in the Chambers. You will gain nothing but by vigour. Return and announce to the Chamber that I withdraw my laws." Thunderstruck with this announcement, the vigour and celerity of which revealed a prior and concerted resolution, the Ministers, downcast and sad, returned to the Chamber, and announced the royal determination. The consternation of the Chamber equalled that of the Ministers; they now saw

what they had brought about, and bitterly regretted the step they had taken. But it was too late. The thing was done, and could not be undone. All foresaw that a crisis was approaching—that in the shock of parties the monarchy might be overthrown, and all men of sense deplored the perils which could no longer be averted. The ultra-Royalists alone, preoccupied with one idea, and blind to the signs of the times, evinced an undisguised and almost ominous joy at their approach.

89. Though conscious that he could no longer carry on the Government, M. de Martignac, like a good soldier, remained at his post, resolved as long as possible to avert the collision of the Crown and the Legislature. The remainder of the session, however, was almost dumb show; all were aware that the decisive stroke had been struck, that the days of the compromise Ministry were numbered, and that it was merely a question of time when they should give place either to a decided Royalist administration, appointed by the King, or a decided Liberal one forced on him by the Chamber of Deputies. The budget, as a matter of necessity, was voted, under a tacit compromise between the parties, almost without discussion. A slight change took place in the Ministry, by the appointment of M. Portalis as Minister of Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, in the room of M. de la Ferrière, whose health was permanently broken; but it was generally understood that this was a temporary arrangement only, and that the place was really reserved for Prince Polignac. The approaching downfall of the Ministry was so universally presaged that they had become an object of derision to the very courtiers and pages of the palace.

90. One evening, after a prolonged and bitter discussion on the expenses of the army, M. de Caux, the Minister at War, entered the King's Cabinet. "Well, M. de Caux," said the monarch, "what do you say to this assembly?" "Abominable, sire," replied the minister. "You agree with me, then, that this cannot last? Am

I sure of the army?" "Sire!" answered M. de Caux, "you must first tell us in what cause." "Without condition," rejoined the King. "Well then, sire! the army will never fail the King in the defence of the throne and the Charter; but if it became a question to re-establish the ancient régime?" "The Charter, the Charter," replied the King; "who talks of violating it? Doubtless it is an imperfect work—my brother was so desirous to reign at any cost. I shall respect it, nevertheless; but what has the army to do with the Charter?" "Your Majesty," replied M. de Caux, "is in error; and the reason is, that out of 20,000 officers in the army, there are not 1000 who possess, of private fortune, 600 francs (£24) a-year." This sufficiently indicated where the danger lay. The vast majority of the officers in the army was composed of the bourgeois class; it sympathised with its feelings, was guided by its interests, read its journals. The Royal Guard was an exception; its officers had been carefully selected from the best families that yet remained in France. But these vital considerations made no impression on the King. Secret conferences, chiefly during the night, were now held frequently in the Tuileries, to which the most ardent Royalists, such as M. de le Bourdonnaye and M. de Montbel, were conducted by the valet-de-chambre's apartments in ordinary dresses; and Prince Polignac, who had returned to London after his speech at the tribune, was recalled by a holograph letter of the King himself.

91. Profoundly skilled in dissimulation, the monarch concealed all these secret movements from his Ministers, and M. de Martignac was slumbering on in fancied security, in the belief that he had recovered his confidence, and that he might yet weather the storm, when, on the 6th August, M. Portalis, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was suddenly called to St Cloud, and informed by the King himself of the dissolution of the Ministry. "Concessions," said he, "have weakened me, without satisfying my enemies;"

an observation which may be applied with equal justice to all conciliatory measures, yielded to intimidation instead of a sense of justice. The whole Ministers immediately repaired to St Cloud, and surrendered their portfolios to the King; M. Roy, the Minister of Finance, alone was requested to remain, which he declined. M. Hyde de Neuville could scarcely be brought to believe in his disgrace. In the evening, the list of the new Ministry, which was all prepared, appeared in the *Moniteur*; and as it was composed entirely of persons known to entertain the most extreme Royalist opinions, it sounded like the tocsin of revolution throughout France. Prince Polignac, though ostensibly Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the real Premier; M. de la Bourdonnaye was Minister of the Interior; M. de Bourmont, of War; M. de Montbel, of Public Instruction; M. de Courvoisin, of Justice; M. de Chabrol, of Finance; and M. d'Haussey, of the Marine. The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs was suppressed. M. de Rigny, the hero of Navarino, had declined the office accepted by M. d'Haussey.

92. Thus was accomplished, for the first time since the Restoration, an entire change of government in France. Power was now placed in the hands

of men able indeed, and zealous, and devoted to the monarchy, but destitute of practical experience, and guided by a fanaticism which refused to take council from the signs of the times. It was a singular combination of circumstances which brought about such a result in a country possessing representative institutions, and so strongly imbued in the middle class, in which power was vested, with democratic opinions. But little eventual good could be anticipated from a change which, in an age of intelligence and intellectual activity, placed a Government in power whose principles, however much in harmony with the opinions of the majority of the rural population, were utterly at variance with those of the urban inhabitants, in whom political power was exclusively vested; and who yet were so sincerely impressed with the danger of yielding to their antagonists' opinions, that they were prepared to hazard the monarchy itself in striving to overturn them. Nothing but combined wisdom and energy, vast previous preparation, and decisive rapidity in action, could bring the Government through such a crisis; and these were precisely the qualities in which, with all their ability, the new Administration were most deficient.

CHAPTER XVII.

FRANCE FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE POLIGNAC MINISTRY TO THE FALL OF CHARLES X.

1. PRINCE POLIGNAC, who was the real head of this Administration, and played so important a part in the eventful drama which so soon succeeded, was a man possessed of several brilliant, some noble qualities. Born under the shadow of the court in the brilliant days of the monarchy; the son of the princess whose beauty and

tenderness had fascinated the heart of the romantic and confiding Marie-Antoinette; godson to that princess; bred up on the knees of the Count d'Artois; driven into exile early in life, from the effects of a Revolution to which the attachment of the Queen to his mother had in some degree contributed; held up to the maledictions of the people,

in consequence of the sincerity of his devotion to the royal family,—he was bound to the throne by the strongest of all ties, to a generous mind—early associations, gratitude for prosperity, fidelity in misfortune. He was, before he had passed adolescence, actively engaged in the attempts made to restore the fallen fortunes of royalty, and was implicated in the plot of Georges at Paris, in 1801, to overturn the First Consul. In consequence of this he was arrested, brought to trial, and condemned to death; and he then evinced the generosity of his disposition by a heroic contest with his brother, who also was condemned, each striving to devolve upon the other a pardon, which, on account of their extreme youth, Napoleon had accorded to one of the two. His life was spared; but as a dangerous state criminal, he was imprisoned for several years in the castle of Vincennes, during which, as is generally the case with an ardent and intrepid mind, he was hardened in resolution, and confirmed in opinion, from the severity of the suffering which he was enduring for its sake. He was at length liberated by the Emperor, and joined the Count d'Artois in exile, with whom he re-entered France in 1814. He retired with that prince to Ghent in 1815, and headed an insurrection in Savoy against the Emperor. After the second Restoration, he distinguished himself by the intrepidity with which, almost alone, he maintained his opinions in church and state against a hostile majority. He was sent as ambassador to London by Charles X., soon after his accession, chiefly in order to prepare him, by intercourse with public men, for the important place in the councils of the state for which he was designed by that monarch; and he still held that embassy, when he was called to the perilous task of guiding the monarchy in an open contest with the majority in the country.

2. His character, from the vast importance of the events which occurred during his administration, has been drawn in the most opposite colours by annalists on the different sides. At

this distance of time and place, however, it is possible to form a comparatively impartial opinion of his merits and demerits. His countenance—which inherited from nature the beauty of his mother and the aristocratic cast of his father—had been imprinted, like that of Charles I., with melancholy from his early misfortunes, and the long imprisonment he had undergone in consequence of his fidelity to his opinions. His manners were refined and gracious; and when he did apply to business, it was with vigour and effect. During his lengthened confinement, which had endured nine years, he had read and meditated much. Unfortunately he was, by that very circumstance, debarred from intercourse with men, or collision with the world, during his long solitude, and led to form his opinions, not from what he saw to be practicable, but from what he thought to be right. These external influences, combining with an intrepidity which nothing could shake, and a loyalty which nothing could seduce, rendered him the most dangerous Minister whom it was possible to imagine for France at this crisis; for they led him to engage without hesitation in a contest which his conscience indeed approved, but of which his reason had neither calculated the chances nor for it provided the means. His political principles, albeit ultra-Royalist, were far from arbitrary. He aimed at securing for France a constitution similar to that which for a century and a half had given prosperity and glory to Great Britain; and he engaged in the contest of 1830 chiefly in order to emancipate it from the revolutionary influences which seemed to him the only impediment to that consummation. Unhappily he never took into account the essential discrepancies between the circumstances of the two countries, or the impossibility of constructing, in a country where the aristocracy had been destroyed and the church spoliated, a constitution adapted to one in which they formed the two pillars of the state.

3. M. DE LA BOURDONNAYE, the

new Minister of the Interior, was a man of vigour and resolution, who imparted to the Royalist side the ardour and determination which had so often proved successful on the popular. A Vendean representative of 1815, and deeply imbued with the passions of that period, he became a minister in 1829 with a resolution to carry those principles into effect. He was a sort of Royalist Terrorist; he retorted upon the Revolutionists their own principles, and made the Liberals turn as pale now with the extreme measures which he was understood to have in contemplation, as he had done the Buonapartists with the lists of proscription he had demanded. His violence, however, was in words rather than action; his fire evaporated at the tribune; and he was satisfied if his burning expressions, circulated from one end of France to the other, threw his opponents into continual alarm. He menaced more than struck; he desired renown rather than power; and rejoiced more in the thunder of his eloquence than the wounds he might inflict upon his enemies. The King had been misled as to his real character and qualities by his sonorous declamations at the tribune. He expected to find in him a sort of monarchical Mirabeau, and discovered to his cost, when the hour of trial came, that he had introduced into his Cabinet a man of words rather than deeds, whose vigour evaporated in terse expression, and who made no preparation in action for the support of the changes which he had so strenuously recommended in council.

4. M. DE BOURMONT redeemed an unhappy circumstance, which cast a shade on his life, by the highest military and civil talents. He embodied in his single person the whole spirit of La Vendée; his name recalled the heroic courage, the glorious victories, the tragic reverses, of its immortal contest. Unhappily, it recalled also the dishonourable defection on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, and the envenomed testimony which he had borne against Marshal Ney, which had gone so far to seal the fate of that unfortunate man. He had borne a dis-

tinguished part in the war of La Vendée, and, after its pacification, in those of the Empire, when his former antagonists had become his comrades. The penetrating eye of Napoleon had distinguished him among the many whom that eventful period trained to the profession of arms; and it was the confidence with which he had been treated, and the value of the information which he possessed, which caused his defection on the eve of the battle of Waterloo to be so severely felt. His military abilities were of a very high cast, his powers of administration great, his foresight and arrangement, so far as they depended on him, perfect. It is the general opinion, that if he had been at Paris instead of Algiers when the Revolution of 1830 broke out, the issue of the convulsion would have been different from what it was. He possessed great civil as well as military talents; he was sagacious in council, eloquent in debate, and gifted with the rare quality of fascinating the minds of his hearers by the fire of extempore oratory. His high forehead and pensive eye bespoke the ascendant of intellect; his fascinating smile and gracious manners, the polished courtier; his firm and confident step, the consciousness of superiority, and power to rule mankind. The brevity and force of his expressions revealed the force of a mind which made itself felt, like that of Burke, in the shortest conversation. Fascinated by those solid as well as brilliant qualities, and regarding it only as a proof of his devotion to the royal cause, Charles felicitated himself upon his choice of such a man as War Minister, and overlooked entirely his defection at Waterloo. But France had not forgotten it, and considering, with reason, fidelity to his colours as the first duty of a soldier, regarded with undisguised dismay his appointment to so important a situation, and trembled at it, as the herald of Royalist reaction and civil war.

5. The other members of the Royalist Cabinet, though all men of talent, did not stand prominently forward like those who have been mentioned. M.

de Montbel, new to public life, had been known only as able in the administration of affairs at Toulouse, of which he had been mayor. He was an *élève* of M. de Villèle, and was obviously placed in the Cabinet to facilitate his return to power. M. de Courvoisin was in a peculiar manner the orator of the Cabinet; and as he had defended with vigour and eloquence the system of M. Decazes, he was regarded with less jealousy by the Liberals than the rest of the Ministry. M. de Chabrol and M. d'Haussey, who hitherto had been unknown in power, though distinguished in subordinate branches of the Government, were men capable of discharging with success their respective departments of Minister of Marine and of the Finances; but as they were not master-spirits, and characterised chiefly by their loyalty and fidelity to the King, they might be expected to concur, without difficulty, in any measure which the ruling powers in the Cabinet might propose.

6. Deeming the mask now thrown off, and that open war was proclaimed between the Government and the country, the Liberal press broke out, the very day after the Ministry was announced in the *Moniteur*, into the most violent invectives against them. Nothing before had ever equalled since the Restoration, nothing since has ever surpassed, the fury with which they assailed the new Cabinet. "Coblentz, Waterloo, 1815," exclaimed the *Journal des Debats*, after giving the names of the Ministers; "the emigration in M. de Polignac; desertion to the enemy in M. de Bourmont; the fury of proscription in M. de la Bourdonnaye: such are the three principles in the three leading persons of the Administration. Press upon it; nothing but humiliation, misfortune, and danger will drive it from power. Unhappy France! unhappy King!" M. Guizot and M. Thiers, the one in the journal of *Le Temps*, the other in that of the *National*, launched with more ability and argument the thunders of their eloquence against the madness of the King. Other writers, less eminent and more declamatory, congratulated

the country upon the veil being at length torn aside, which had hitherto imperfectly concealed the conspiracy which had been going on for six years against the liberties and constitution of the country. The Directing Committee, under the guidance of M. de Lafayette, which gave the law to all the other democratic bodies in France; the society "Aidez-toi et le Ciel t'aidera," under the rule of M. Guizot and M. de Broglie, began seriously to organise the means of rebellion. Corresponding committees were established in all the principal towns of the country, to organise a general system of resistance to taxes, and subscriptions opened to defray the necessary expenses of a universal moral and physical warfare against the Government.

7. To take advantage of the universal ferment, General Lafayette made a journey to the south, where he was received with such enthusiasm that it resembled rather the progress of a popular and adored sovereign, than the honours bestowed on a subject, how eminent soever. At Grenoble he was escorted into the town by a numerous body of cavaliers; at Vizille, the mayor of the town presented him with a silver crown, in imitation of oak leaves. At Lyons his reception was still more enthusiastic, and he made his entry in an open chariot, drawn by four white horses, like a sovereign prince. His speech to the inhabitants and functionaries, who received him at the gate, was remarkable. "To-day," said he, with the aristocratic grace which he knew so well to assume, "after a long diversion of brilliant despotism and constitutional hopes, I find myself in the midst of you in a moment which I would call critical, if I had not perceived everywhere on my journey, and if I did not see in this great and powerful city, the calm and even disdainful firmness of a great people which knows its rights, feels its strength, and will be faithful to its duties; and it is above all, at this very moment, that I love to express to you a devotion to which your appeal will never, to my latest hour, be made in vain." To counteract the effect of this move-

ment, a progress of the King into Normandy was projected by the Ministers, but abandoned, on consideration, as too hazardous.

8. It soon appeared, when they took their seats at the Council board, that Prince Polignac and M. de la Bourdonnaye were not likely long to draw together. Both aspired to the dignity of President of that body, corresponding to the premiership in England, and neither was inclined to waive his pretensions in favour of the other. Their feelings and motives of action also were different, though both were equally sincere Royalists. Polignac was the representative of the ultra-Romish party, which, regarding the contest in which they were engaged as an affair of conscience, never stopped to calculate the chance of success, but was equally prepared to accept the crown of martyrdom or the chaplet of victory from its results. La Bourdonnaye, a statesman trained in the contests and desirous of the triumphs of the tribune, was more worldly in his ideas, and was strongly impressed with the opinion, that the one thing needful was, to secure a parliamentary majority, and that any strong measures would be hazardous and misplaced till this object was secured. In this state of matters their co-operation in the same Cabinet was impossible. The complaint made against M. de la Bourdonnaye by the Pope's nuncio and the *Parti-pêtre* was, that he was not a man of action, however skilful in debate—an ominous expression, indicating that he was not prepared to second the desperate measures which were in contemplation. Sensible that he was misplaced in a Cabinet where such designs were in contemplation, M. de la Bourdonnaye voluntarily resigned before the divergence of his opinions with those of his colleagues had been manifested by any overt acts; he was raised to the Peerage, and was not heard of again in public life. He was succeeded as Minister of the Interior by M. Guernon de Ranville, an able and eloquent man, who had courage enough, in critical times, like Straff-

ord, to accept a ministry which pre-saged the possibility of a scaffold.

9. Two men appeared at this juncture in the legislature, and entered on the career of public life, destined to the highest celebrity in future times, M. GUIZOT and M. BERRYER. M. Guizot had been employed in the Administration at intervals since he accompanied the King to Ghent, in 1815; and from his known talents for business, as well as powers of oratory, he had already acquired a great reputation. He belonged to that small section of very eminent men who, like the Economists in former days, have acquired the soubriquet of the "*Doctrinaires*," and whose object was to combine the institutions of the ancient monarchy with the wants and requirements of modern society. M. de Barante, M. Vilmain, M. Broglie, and M. de Staël belonged to this school, which was cordially supported by M. Decazes, that statesman being in a manner the acting representative of it. With his colleagues of the same political creed, M. Guizot retired on the fall of that able minister, and betook himself to the composition of the lectures on history, in the University of Paris, which have since been published under the name of *Civilisation in Europe, and Civilisation in France*, and have laid the foundation of his great reputation. He is a Protestant in creed, and has none of the lustre of nobility in his descent; but some men are made noble by the patent of nature, and no man ever stood forth as a more zealous and intrepid defender of an enlightened Christian faith.

10. M. Guizot, as a philosophic historian, is one of the very greatest men that the world has ever produced. Less terse in his style than Montesquieu, less discursive than Robertson, he is more just and philosophic than either. He has drawn his conclusions from a wider induction, and rested his views on a more thorough acquaintance with the progressive changes in the social system. He exhibits that combination of antiquarian research and accuracy in detail, with luminous views

and a thorough appreciation of the growing wants of the age, which is so rare in philosophical writers, but which, like the union of minuteness of finishing with generality of effect in Claude Lorraine, is essential to the highest eminence in the sister arts of history and painting, and never appears without leading to lasting fame. A laborious antiquarian, an eloquent professor, an indefatigable journalist, his eyes were fixed alike upon the past and the present, and from the combination of the two he drew his inferences as to the future. His countenance bespeaks his character. He has neither the fire of genius nor the ardour of enthusiasm in his expression, but the sober steadiness of deliberate thought, and the calm eye of steadfast resolution. He was invaluable as a political ally, for he gave to party views the air of philosophic conclusions, and, perhaps unconsciously to himself, advanced the interest of a faction when he seemed engrossed only with those of humanity. A liberal Royalist during the government of the Restoration, he took an active part in the journalist hostility and open rebellion which at length overturned it; and, borne forward to power on the gales of popularity, under its successor he again reverted to his loyal impressions, and, as Minister of Louis Philippe, stood forth the eloquent and courageous supporter of conservative principles. But he did so only to share his fall; and he was precipitated from power in 1848, and the liberties of France destroyed, by the influence of the very doctrines which in 1830 he had done so much to promote, and which all his subsequent efforts had not been able to arrest—a memorable example to future times of the extreme danger, for factious or party purposes, of subverting established authority, and of the awful responsibility which attaches to those who, gifted with the power of launching forth the “winged words” which bear thought on their pinions, become in the end the rulers of their country’s destinies.

11. M. Berryer has not obtained the same niche in the temple of fame as

M. Guizot, chiefly because he was more consistent; for, unfortunately, all history tells us that the men who rise, even for a time, to greatness, are often those who, like Cæsar or Marlborough, can accommodate their principles to the varying circumstances of the times; not those who, like Cato or Aristides, preserve them unchanged through all the mutations of fortune. Connected by birth with the highest society, he had been admitted into its saloons, and imbued with its principles and its graces. His talents for conversation, and the charm of his manners, had acquired for him a great reputation in those elevated circles; and though bred to the bar, and known as a public speaker only in its courts, he was brought forward by Prince Polignac, after his accession to power, with the highest expectations of his value as a political supporter. In this he was not disappointed, although the time of his entrance into public life was unfortunate, and he became the ornament of a party only in time to share its fall. His handsome countenance preposessed all who approached him in his favour; his piercing eye bespoke the internal fire of genius; his lofty forehead the power of intellect; his open expression the benignity of a magnanimous disposition. His courage was equal to any trial; and he possessed that chivalrous disposition, the sure mark of a noble mind, which led him to embrace without hesitation the cause which honour dictated, and attached him only the more strongly to the throne, from its obvious inability to bestow temporal rewards on its supporters. But his information was not equal to his eloquence: his reflection was inferior to his energy; he often spoke before he had thought; his name is attached to no great work either in legislation or literature; and, like many other persons similarly gifted, his biography leaves only a feeling of regret that dispositions so noble and talents so brilliant should not have realised themselves in a form permanently beneficial to humanity.

12. Another man destined to future greatness began to rise into eminence

at this period. M. THIERS, like M. Guizot, had none of the advantages of aristocratic birth or connection : what he gained and became he owed to himself, and himself alone. He raised himself to eminence, in the first instance, by his *History of the French Revolution*, composed in early youth—a party work, often inaccurate in facts and erroneous in principle, but powerfully written, unscrupulous in politics, and only the more likely to be, in the first instance, popular, from its inculcating the doctrine, convenient to statesmen, but dangerous to nations, that the horrors of the Revolution were owing to a fatality unavoidable in such circumstances, not the faults or crimes of the persons engaged in it. The early celebrity of this work led to his being actively engaged on the Liberal side in the public press, which, with the lead which he took in the Revolution of July, early raised him to power under the government of Louis Philippe. His talents proved equal to any situation however great, any duties however onerous; and he was alternately prime minister with Guizot of the quasi-legitimate monarchy. It is the strongest proof of his ability, that it has proved equal not only to the highest and most varied functions, but has increased in the most remarkable manner in the line in which he originally became distinguished. His *History of the Consulate and the Empire* is so superior to that of the Revolution, that it is difficult to believe they proceeded from the same hand. The one is the production of a vigorous inexperienced youth, the other of a matured and reflecting statesman. Gifted with a ready elocution and uncommon powers of oratory, he soon acquired a lead in, and in the end almost the mastery of, the Chamber of Deputies. It is to be regretted only that his consistency and candour are not equal to his genius, and that in the pursuit of power he has sometimes sacrificed public principle to private ambition.

13. A very able Memoir on the state of the kingdom was prepared in Prince Polignac's office, and laid before the King at this juncture, which contains

a clear exposition of the state of the country, the difficulties with which the Government was beset, and the grounds on which the *coup d'état* which followed was rested by its authors. "An alarming agitation," it was said, "undoubtedly prevails in the public mind, but its origin is to be found exclusively in the disposition of those who are habitually occupied with public affairs. As to the mass of the people, they are entire strangers to it, and remain in that state of impassibility which excludes alike applause or murmurs. Everywhere in the country, as in the town, the masses are occupied only with their material prosperity; all interests find a sufficient guarantee in the institutions accorded by the Crown; they connect with them speculations for the present, and projects for the future; the overthrow of the order of things established by the Restoration would overturn all means of existence to the great majority; and, despite the declamations of the journals, no one seriously regards as possible the accomplishment of their sinister predictions.

14. "It is the daily press which alone keeps up the agitation in the minds of men, and it gives to that movement an importance much greater than it really possesses. In truth, what can be the object of that agitation? Is it dread of the overthrow of our institutions? No one is thinking of it. Our institutions are the work of the royalty which protects and defends them. The King, whose word embraces all guarantees, has made known his determination to maintain them; his Government is applying itself sedulously to carry his wishes into effect; all the laws are executed, not only literally according to their word, but in good faith according to their spirit. The public liberties are respected, property of all sorts protected with a scrupulous care, which renders it doubly precious from the security which accompanies it. To these facts, which are so notorious that no one can deny them, what do the public journals on the other side oppose? Nothing but suppositions purely gratuitous as to culpable intentions on the part of Ministers, accusations which

they themselves repel with indignation, and which derive their only credence from those who advance them imputing to their antagonists those wicked intentions as to *coups d'état*, by which their own conduct, whenever they were, even for a short season, in power, has been invariably regulated.

15. "To impute with any show of reason an intention on the part of Ministers to overturn our institutions, it must be shown that this project has some prospect of success. Can any one suppose for a single moment that such chance exists at the present day? No one knows better than the chiefs of the Administration what profound roots our institutions have struck in the heart of all Frenchmen, friends of order and of public peace. These institutions conciliate all the feelings of the French, and give them entire satisfaction. The guaranteed security of private interests, the protection afforded to industry of every sort, fulfil all the wishes of the people; in a word, it is not only in our actual institutions that they find all they wish, but it is in them that they look for all that they hope. No power is able to tear that system from the hearts of the French. It is already so powerful and so solidly established, that if, by a concurrence of unforeseen circumstances and events which no human prudence could avert, *some deviations from our institutions might become unavoidable*, that deviation, how slight soever, and though known to be only momentary, could not by possibility be favourably received, unless the public were thoroughly convinced that it secured for the future on an imperishable basis the whole of our actual institutions. France would never submit to their *passing suspension*, but in the hope of securing their durable existence down to the latest posterity.

16. "The chief causes of our present difficulties, and of the agitation which pervades the public mind, are the licence of the public press, and the bad spirit which pervades a part of the electoral body. The last evil is in part the result of the first; in part it is owing to a cause peculiar to itself, which is the

indefatigable labours of the revolutionary Directing Committee. Opposition writers, interested in denying the existence of that Committee, found mainly on the impossibility hitherto experienced of specifying the names of the individuals of which it is composed. Assuredly the Directing Committee is not an association whose members are proclaimed, or whose meetings are regulated by fixed and public statutes; it is modified according to circumstances, and changes according to the time its means of correspondence and action. The electoral body is the constant object of its measures. At the approach of elections, the editors, proprietors, and patrons of the revolutionary journals meet and agree on the candidates who are to be proposed and supported in every college. The journals publish those lists, and recommend them in the most imperious manner to the electors. In that singular traffic of votes, it constantly appears that the revolutionary journals make a sacrifice of their interests, their resentments, their preferences, and come to an understanding with singular precision as to the candidates to be supported. That of itself is sufficient to demonstrate the existence of a central ruling authority, to which all local committees yield obedience. In November 1827, the Liberal committee went so far as to insert in the public journals a letter, by which certain candidates were recommended to the electors by the persons subscribing that letter, and these persons were M. Dupont de l'Eure, Voyer d'Argenson, Lafayette, Benjamin Constant.

17. "As to the means which the Committee employs to secure in each department the effect of its recommendations, or rather of its electoral injunctions, they are no longer the subject of doubt. In every place of any importance there is to be found what is called an 'Electoral Committee;' the members of these are known to the Minister of the Interior. These committees exercise a permanent inquisition over the electoral lists—favoured by the right which the law gives to a third party to interfere in the struc-

ture of those lists. The Committee use every possible effort to get enrolled all of democratic principles, and to exclude such as are suspected of Royalist principles. The class of electors upon whom these committees chiefly act are those who owe their suffrages to patents (trades and professions); it may readily be conceived what a powerful influence rich merchants and manufacturers, who are often in the interest of the committees, exercise over such persons. The peasants in the rural districts are equally at the mercy of the attorneys, notaries, and legal men out of office, by whom their properties are beset, and who naturally swell the ranks of opposition. In a word, the representation has become entirely subjected to external influences of the most dangerous kind, and it is no longer in the power of the King without the aid of the Chambers. The Ministers can do nothing but remove all cause of discontent or fear for the future, by causing the agitation excited by the press and the committees to be deprived of any real foundation."

18. Prince Metternich said, in April 1830, when at Paris, "If I were not Prime Minister in Austria, I would be a journalist here." In effect, the influence of the press in France had become such that it was omnipotent; the ruling power had slipped out of the hands of Government and passed into its. By means of the electoral committees, which were entirely at its disposal, they had got the command of the Chamber of Deputies, nearly two-thirds of which was arrayed under the banners of Opposition. By incessant action on the public mind, they had succeeded not only in directing but in inflaming it to such a degree as to render government, by the means and influences provided by the constitution, impracticable. An appeal to the people, to extricate the Crown from the meshes of the net in which it was enveloped, only made matters worse; every successive dissolution augmented the Liberal majority. The momentary reaction produced by the change in the Electoral Law, intro-

duced in 1821, and the success of the war in Spain in 1823, had been soon obliterated; the colleges of departments had almost fallen as much under the direction of the revolutionary committees as the colleges of arrondissements; and the press, acting upon the whole middle class of society, in which the electoral suffrage was vested, had come to acquire the entire direction of the legislature. The fatal mistake of vesting the right of voting for members of the Chamber of Deputies in *one single class of electors*, and that the most democratic in the state, committed by the *coup d'état* of 5th September 1817, had prostrated the Commons before the revolutionary party; the great democratic creation of Peers, in 1819, had given it the command of the Upper House. Deprived of its natural supporters in both branches of the legislature, the Crown was left alone to maintain a contest with a revolutionary party, bent upon subverting the throne, and wielding the greater part of the material and intellectual strength of the state; and, as if to render the conflict utterly hopeless, the Government was so left when under the guidance of an ecclesiastical Camarilla, whose rashness in adopting extreme resolutions was equalled only by their total want of preparations or foresight in carrying them into execution.

19. The rancour with which the whole Liberal press of France assailed the Polignac Ministry had had no parallel even in the past annals of that convulsed country, and it has scarcely had an equal in subsequent times. It was not the resolute determination of men striving to establish a principle or secure an object; it was the fierce passion of a woman set upon destroying a rival. The journals made no attempt to combat the measures of Government; they did not stop to inquire either what they were, or what they were likely to be; they directed their whole efforts to destroy the men who composed it. Indefatigable was the industry, great the ability, unbounded the licence, which they exerted or permitted themselves in the pursuit of

this object. Private scandal, false accusations, vilifying lampoons, were freely mingled with eloquent declamations, heart-stirring appeals, and gloomy denunciations of impending danger. In this death-struggle, the greatest ability, the most transcendent genius, was found in the same ranks with the most base and prostituted talent; Guizot, Benjamin Constant, and Thiers, poured forth their effusions against the Ministry, day after day, alongside of Paul Courier, Dulaure, and other pamphleteers, whose names have long since been forgotten. There were able writers, too, on the Royalist side, but they had few readers; the people, as usual in such conflicts, would peruse nothing but what fell in with their preconceived opinions; and the great circulation of the Liberal, compared with the Royalist journals, proved decisively to what an extent the majority of the more intelligent portion of the community had ranged itself in opposition to the Government.*

20. The Chambers met on the 2d March 1830, and their proceedings were looked to with the utmost anxiety in every part of France; for every one foresaw that the decisive struggle was approaching, and that the legislature would be the theatre of the conflict. The deputies arrived in great number some days before from all quarters; none who could possibly attend on the day of battle were absent. The whole pomp of royalty was ostentatiously displayed; peers and commons were arrayed in a dense mass round the throne, which was placed on an elevated platform, and from which the King pronounced the LAST royal speech of the Restoration. He dwelt on his amicable relations with all foreign powers save Algiers, which he was resolved to punish for the insults offered to the French flag; on the prosperous

state of the finances, which had much surpassed expectation, which would enable him to gratify his wishes by alleviating the public burdens. "The first wish of my heart," said he in conclusion, "is to see France happy and respected, developing all the riches of its territory and its cultivation, and enjoying in peace the benefit of the institutions which it is my firm resolution to maintain. The Charter has placed the public liberties under the safeguard of the rights of the Crown; those rights are sacred, and my duty is to transmit them uninjured to my successors. Peers of France, deputies of the departments, I cannot doubt your concurrence in effecting the good which it is my object to bring about. You will repel with contempt the perfidious insinuations which malevolence has sought to propagate. Should culpable manœuvres obstruct my government, which I cannot and will not anticipate, I will find the means of surmounting them in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in my just confidence in the French, and in the love which they have always shown for their King."

21. There was nothing which could be the object of just criticism or attack in this speech; but the Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies felt themselves in such force that they resolved to commence hostilities, and in the very outset hoist the signal of defiance. Their strength appeared on the first division for the election of a President; for the candidate whom the Ministry supported, M. de Berbes, had only 131, and Delatot 125 votes; while Royer-Collard had 225, Casimir Perier 190, and General Sebastiani 177. The King, as a matter of necessity, not less than inclination, selected M. Royer-Collard from the list presented to him; for not only was he the

* In April 1830, the following was the circulation of the Parisian journals:—

LIBERAL.		ROYALIST.	
Constitutionnel,	16,666	Gazette de France,	9,863
Débats,	9,900	Quotidienne,	4,060
Courrier Français,	5,000	Drapeau Blanc,	666
Le Temps,	4,166	Gazette des Cultes,	322
Globe,	1,853	Messenger des Chambres,	1,330
National,	1,590	Moniteur,	2,606

first on the list, but he had in former days been Royalist in principle, and Charles could not believe that he would now prove unfaithful to the Crown. The address prepared by the Committee, and which led immediately to the rupture which followed, concluded with these expressions: "Sire! in the midst of the unanimous expressions of respect and affection with which your people surround you, there has appeared in the minds of men a disquietude which disturbs the tranquillity which France had begun to enjoy, dries up the sources of its prosperity, and might, if it continued, become fatal to its repose. Our honour, our conscience, the fidelity which we have sworn, and *which we will always preserve*, impose on us the duty to unveil to you its cause. The Charter, which we owe to the wisdom of your Majesty's predecessor, and which your Majesty is so firmly resolved to maintain, consecrates *as a right* the intervention of the country in the direction of the public interests. That intervention is and ought to be indirect, wisely measured, circumscribed within narrow limits, which we will never permit to be passed; but it is not the less real in its results, for it makes the paramount concurrence of the political views of the Government with the wishes of your people *an indispensable condition* of the regular march of public affairs. Sire! our loyalty, our devotion, compel us to say that that concurrence does not now exist. An unjust distrust of the feelings and reason of the French is at present the fundamental thought of your Administration. Your people are afflicted at it, because it is unjust towards themselves; they are disquieted by it, for it is menacing for their liberties. That distrust can never find a place in your noble heart. No, sire! *France does not wish for anarchy any more than you wish for despotism*. It is befitting that you should have the same faith in its loyalty which it has in your promises. Let the wisdom of your Majesty determine between those who misunderstand a nation, so calm, so faithful, and we who, with

a profound conviction, pour out into your bosom the griefs of a people jealous of the esteem and confidence of their King. The royal prerogatives have placed in your hands the means of insuring between the different powers in the state that constitutional harmony, which is the first and necessary condition of the power of the throne, and of the greatness of France."

22. These words necessarily occasioned a storm in the Chamber, for they brought out mildly, but fairly and manfully, the fundamental question at issue between the parties. This was whether the appointment of Ministers was to be vested in the Crown or the Chamber, or rather whether the former was to be obliged to yield to a negative imposed by the latter. This question, so long resolved in favour of the House of Commons in England, and so thoroughly understood in parliamentary practice in that country, was new in France; and the assumption of such a power on the part of the Deputies appeared to many, as probably it was understood by themselves, as but a step to the entire direction of affairs, and the stripping the King of the most important of his prerogatives—that of the choice of his responsible servants. It gave rise, accordingly, to animated debates when the motion was made that the address should be agreed to, in which M. Berryer for the first time mounted the tribune, and by his energy and eloquence produced a profound impression.

23. "The projected address," said he, "attributes the disquietude which prevails to the formation of a new Ministry; that is to say, an act emanating from the royal will—the sole act of the executive power which cannot be the object of any responsibility, which is clearly a discharge of the King's duty, and within his prerogative—is represented as the cause of the grief of a whole people. Send to the King, then, a great deputation, and say to him at once: 'Sire, the use you have made of your prerogatives disturbs our security, dries up the sources of our prosperity, and may become fatal to our repose.' (Loud murmurs on the Left.) Your

interruptions," continued he, addressing the Left, "do not disturb me; they satisfy me that I am right. You recoil from the consequences of your own act. That assures me that the address, fraught with such results, will be rejected. If there is a want of respect in its expressions, there is a violation of the constitution in the alternative in which it places the King. The Chamber has no right to demand its own dissolution. There is something fearful and withering to the heart in the resolution of an Assembly which demands its own ruin; which, betraying the confidence of the electors, wishes to withdraw itself from the duties imposed upon it by the country, and which it has to discharge alike towards the Crown and the people. And it is at the very moment when these duties are most imperious that, by a strange infatuation, it is proposed to desert the post which has been committed to you.

24. "If the Ministers of the Crown inspire distrust—if the Deputies are informed of their secret projects, let them remain at their posts, watch over their projects, and thwart them. What does it signify, when the rights of the Crown are invaded—when the King is outraged—that your address is filled with protestations of devotion, of respect, and of love? What signifies it that you say, 'The rights of the King are sacred,' if at the same time you control him in the exercise of the powers which you have intrusted to him? What effect can such a sad contrast have but to recall the mind to times of fatal memory; to remind us by what steps an unhappy King was conducted, in the midst of protestations of fidelity and love, to exchange for the palm of martyrdom the sceptre which he had let fall from his hand. I am not surprised that the framers of the address should have said that they feel themselves '*condemned*' to hold such language to the King. And I also, more occupied with the future than the resentments of the past, feel that if I should adhere to the address, my vote would for ever weigh on my conscience as a withering condemnation.

25. "Whither are we going, great God? Are we to be dragged along like slaves at the feet of that power which is called public opinion? If the power of the Crown consents to sink before that influence, it would no longer be the Crown; it would have mistaken its mission, neglected its duty, abdicated its authority. A great duty is reserved for the Ministry of the 8th August (Polignac's). It is called on to consolidate the work of the Restoration, to combat and destroy the spirit of faction, to found general unanimity on the accord of religion and knowledge, to extirpate from our codes the arbitrary principles of the Republic and the Empire. A Minister who advances on such a line cannot but meet with the support of the country. Have you any right to compel the King to dismiss his Ministers? Do you not see that such a pretension menaces our whole institutions? If it is conceded, what becomes of the thirteenth and fourteenth articles of the Charter? Where is the independence of the executive power? What will remain of the royal authority? The King will not consent to the concession now demanded. He cannot submit to it, because his rights are sacred, because he is bound to transmit them intact to his successors, because he has sworn to maintain our institutions, and he will abide by his oath. His Ministers do not disguise from themselves the difficulty of their duties; but, convinced of their importance, they will not fail in their discharge. He whose power has called them to their posts has alone the right to dismiss them. As long as it seems meet to him to retain them in his service, they will continue faithful to it; nothing will shake their resolution, nothing will wear out their constancy."

26. On the other hand, it was contended by M. Guizot, who, like his great antagonist, made then his first appearance on the parliamentary arena: "One power alone now makes itself felt in France, and feels itself entirely at its ease, and that power is the press. Never, in my opinion, was its action more salutary or necessary. It is it, and it alone, which during seven months

has frustrated all designs against our liberties, and disappointed all hopes; but that preponderance of the press is fearful, and bespeaks a dangerous and distressing state of society. This general perturbation in the state, and in all the constituted authorities, is an evil foreign to the usual and healthful state of society, and it is to it that it behoves us to apply a remedy. We are told that France is tranquil; that the public order is nowhere disturbed. True: externally, peace is everywhere preserved: no reports break the general tranquillity; but does the evil I have pointed out exist the less? Is it less grave, less alarming, less important in the eyes of all serious or reflecting men? It is more to be apprehended than many riots, more serious than the disorders such as have for a long time agitated England.

27. "Such open disorders are symptoms which power cannot fail to recognise: it is unavoidable, when they break out, that Government should become aware of grievances, and endeavour to rectify them. With us no such warning exists: the danger, unknown, unheeded, lurks in the bosom of society. Its surface is tranquil—so tranquil, indeed, that Government is tempted to believe that the depths can never be stirred, and itself beyond the reach of all danger. Our words, gentlemen, the freedom of our words, is the only warning which power can receive amongst us; the sole voice which can penetrate to the King, and dissipate his illusions. Let us beware, then, of weakening their force; let us beware of softening our expressions; let them be respectful, even tender; it is our duty to be so, and no one has accused your committee of being awanting in that respect; but let them not be timid or doubtful. Truth has already difficulty enough to penetrate into the cabinets of kings; let us not send in its light pale and feeble; let it be such that it is alike impossible to misunderstand our meaning and to doubt the loyalty of our sentiments.

28. "The fact is, that, in the midst of universal protestations of devotion and fidelity, there exists a vague dis-

quietude which disturbs the public security; and that disquietude proceeds from the distrust which the country entertains of the present Ministry, and the reciprocal distrust which the Ministers entertain of the country. This fact is notorious; no one can deny it; it strikes every mind. So strong is this distrust on the part of the Ministers of the Crown, that it has even entered into the speech which they have composed for the King. Reciprocally, the country has no confidence in the Ministers; and it is of the nature of such feelings mutually to inflame each other. It is impossible to conceal, in vain to disguise, that there is no sympathy whatever between the Ministers of the Crown and the people. But we are living under a constitutional monarchy, of which it is an indispensable condition that a concurrence should subsist between the King and the majority in both Chambers. It is in vain to say our attempts to restore such a concurrence are an invasion of the Royal prerogative—a stripping the King of his legitimate power. Such is neither the object nor the language of the address. No attempt is made in it to dictate to the King what should be done. The existence of the evil is only indicated, leaving it to his Majesty to apply the remedy which his wisdom may dictate. But when the Ministers of the Crown have spoken in the speech from the throne of *Force*, it is surely permitted to the Chamber to allude to the law. I vote for the address, and against the amendment."

29. So great was the impression produced by the speech of M. Berryer, who was then for the first time heard in the Assembly, that M. Royer-Collard said, "This is not only an orator, but a power which has appeared amongst us." But it was all in vain: the Opposition was too strongly rooted in the Chamber and the country to be overcome by any reasoning how convincing, any eloquence how persuasive soever. The address, as it originally stood, was voted, and the amendment, which was intended to soften it,* rejected by a majority of

* The amendment on the address proposed,

40, the numbers being 221 to 181. That majority, considerable as it was, did not convey an adequate idea of the real strength of the Opposition; for 30 of the minority were detached from their ranks by the conciliatory terms of the amendment on which the vote was taken, so that the real strength of Ministers was only 150 out of 402. This great majority was produced by the defection of the whole Left Centre to the Opposition side, headed by M. Agier, a liberal Royalist, who by this defection overturned, in the first result, the throne—in the last, the liberties of his country.

30. Ministers were thunderstruck by this majority, which was much larger than they had anticipated; but they were not deterred by it from pursuing the course which they had adopted. They answered it by the immediate dismissal of all the public functionaries who had taken a part in the hostile vote. One of the most remarkable of these was M. Calmon, Director-general of Registers and Domains. He received his *congé*, and his situation was offered to M. Berryer; but he replied, "I am too young as yet in the Chamber to deserve a situation, and next year I will perhaps deserve a higher one." The place was bestowed on M. de Suleau, a young writer of talent on the Royalist side, who had the courage in this crisis to ally himself to its fortunes. But several able men, especially in the diplomacy, hastened to resign their offices, or declined uniting themselves to the Administration. M.

and on which the vote was taken, was in these terms:—"Cependant notre honneur, notre conscience, la fidélité que nous vous avons jurée, et que nous vous garderons toujours, nous imposent le devoir de faire connaître à votre Majesté, qu'au milieu des sentimens unanimes de respect et d'affection dont votre peuple vous entoure, de vives inquiétudes se sont manifestées à la suite des changemens survenus dans la dernière session. C'est à la haute sagesse de votre Majesté de les apprécier, et d'y apporter le remède qu'elle croira convenable. Les prérogatives de la Couronne placent dans ses mains augustes les moyens d'assurer cette harmonie constitutionnelle, aussi nécessaire à la force de la Couronne qu'au bonheur de la France."—*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 37, 38.

de Chateaubriand resigned his situation as ambassador at Rome, and returned to literary poverty, when he heard that Government were determined to resist the majority of the Chamber. M. Marcellus, formerly his *chargé-d'affaires* when ambassador in London, refused the situation of Under-Secretary of State to Prince Polignac; and M. Lamartine declined a similar offer of the direction of foreign affairs, from a dread that a violation of the Charter was in contemplation. Polignac on this occasion expressed himself in the most earnest manner as to no permanent violation of the Charter being thought of, but only a temporary suspension of it, to secure its durability in future times.*

31. It was resolved in the Council that the King should receive the address, surrounded by all the majesty of the throne, but that he should return a severe answer to the deputation. M. Royer-Collard, as President, presented and read it with a faltering and moved voice; for he was overwhelmed with the magnitude of the crisis, and the mild but yet dignified manners of the King. Charles answered, when it was concluded, "I have heard the address which you have presented to me in the name of the Chamber of Deputies. I had a right to reckon on the concurrence of the two Chambers to carry out the good

* "Le Prince m'écrivit pour m'appeler à Paris, et pour me confier la direction des affaires étrangères. Je répondis en m'excusant sur ma jeunesse et sur mon insuffisance. 'Eh bien,' me dit-il avec bonté et du ton du reproche, 'vous êtes donc du nombre de ceux qui me calomnient, en m'accusant de vouloir renverser les institutions que soutiennent à la fois le trône et la liberté. Vous croyez, donc, que je rêve un coup d'état?' 'Non, mon prince,' lui dis-je, 'je ne crois pas qu'un coup d'état soit dans vos pensées; mais je crois qu'un coup d'état est dans la fatalité inévitable de la position que le Roi et le Ministère prennent devant le pays.' M. le Prince de Polignac alors m'entraînant dans son grand cabinet, et se promenant avec moi d'un bout à l'autre, pendant deux heures d'un entretien confidentiel et passionné, protesta avec énergie, évidemment sincère, contre toute pensée de renverser ou même d'atténuer la Charte, et me conjura, avec plus de force, de croire en lui, et d'accepter le poste de confiance qu'il me gardait dans son Ministère."—LAMARTINE, viii. 191.

which I meditated; my heart is grieved to hear from the deputies of the departments that such concurrence is not to be looked for. I have announced my resolution in my speech at the opening of the session; that resolution is immovable; the interests of my people forbid me to depart from it. My Ministers will make known to you my intentions." In effect, on the following day, in the midst of an uncommonly full house, the Minister of the Interior put into the hands of the president an ordonnance of the King, which prorogued the Chamber until the 1st September following.

32. This bold and decided step, which, like a similar measure resorted to by Charles I. in England, was in effect a declaration of war against the Chamber, excited general surprise; it was not supposed the King was capable of so much resolution, or of adhering so perseveringly to one course of policy. It was foreseen that such a prorogation, on the eve of a costly expedition to Algiers, and with no provision for the current expenses of the season, could only be the prelude to a dissolution. What a dissolution would lead to, in the present excited state of the public mind, it was not difficult to foresee. In effect, the King had made up his own mind to go through with all the measures which he deemed essential to maintain the prerogatives of the Crown, and the Cabinet was so submissive to his will that no resistance on their part was to be apprehended. "The Chamber," said he, "has played a high game in attacking my Crown, but I have answered them as a king." The Ministers respectfully proposed the question to him whether he should yield to the injunction of the address, and change his Ministry? "No," replied the King; "that would be a degradation of the Crown, and an abdication of the royal prerogative. Besides, what ministry could come to an understanding with such a Chamber? When I wished to change the Martignac Ministry, whose concessions, received by ingratitude, led me to the edge of the abyss, I consulted Royer-

Collard as to the men who would be likely to carry with them a majority of the Assembly. 'None could do so,' replied the statesman, discouraged by the incoherence of the elements of the Assembly over which he presided." One of the Cabinet, when the address was presented, suggested to the King whether it might not be possible still to come to an accommodation with the Chamber, and to get a majority? "A majority!" replied the King hastily, revealing his secret thoughts, "I should be sorry to gain it; I would not know what to do with it."

33. The prorogation of the Chamber was immediately followed by several political banquets, at one of which M. Odillon Barrot presided at Paris, where everything was said that could inspire vigour and resolution in the Liberal party. No obstacle was thrown by Government in the way of these assemblages; but it was otherwise with the licentiousness of the press, which had now reached an unparalleled height. Several prosecutions took place against the leading Liberal journals, particularly the *National*, the *Globe*, the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, and the *Journal du Commerce*, which were followed by convictions and sentences of considerable severity. Armed at the menacing aspect of public affairs, the courts of law now took part with the prosecution in these cases as much as in the preceding years they had inclined to the other side. Some articles at the same time appeared in the *Moniteur*, which disavowed the intention of resorting to violent measures ascribed to the Government by the Liberals; but they excited little attention, and as the Royalist journals continued not the less strongly to inculcate the necessity of having recourse to a *coup d'état*, the opinion became universal that such a measure was really intended, and that Government was only waiting for a favourable opportunity for promulgating it.

34. During the sort of interregnum which prevailed between the prorogation of the Chamber and the publica-

tion of the ordonnances, two occurrences took place, well worthy of a place in history, from their present importance and their consequences in future times. The first of these was a report by the Minister of Finance on the state of the country, dated 15th May 1830, which threw the most valuable light on that momentous subject, and the progress the nation had made under the Government of the Restoration; the second, the expedition to Algiers, not less important to the commercial and maritime interests of the kingdom, and the ultimate fate of Islamism, and balance of the Christian and Mohammedan powers.

35. From the report of the Finance Minister it appeared that the population of France, which in 1821 amounted to 30,304,340 souls, inhabiting 5,886,727 houses, the average rent of which was 49½ francs a house, and the entire value 303,832,734 francs, had increased in 1830 to 31,657,429 souls, inhabiting 6,396,008 houses, at an average annual value of 66 francs, amounting in all to 384,008,125 francs. This exhibited an increase of a third in the average annual value of houses during those nine years, of a fourth in their entire value, and an increase of 1,300,000, or about a thirteenth, in the numbers of the whole inhabitants. But the relative increase in the proportion of rural and urban dwellings was not less decisive as to the comparative advance in the great divisions of society than the sum total was of their common prosperity; for in 1821 only 169,810,754 francs belonged to towns, and 134,021,980 francs to rural localities; while in 1830 no less than 211,806,483 francs arose from the former, and 172,201,642 francs to the latter. With reason, the Finance Minister concluded that this was "the evident consequence of the increase of population, of the general wellbeing of society, and of the numerous buildings which since 1820 have been constructed upon all points of the territory."

36. The direct taxes exhibited a great increase in all branches, especially those on houses and windows, during the same period. The general

result was 325,000,000 francs between the original imposition and the *centimes additionels*, or local burdens, derived from the direct taxes. The charges of collection were 16,200,000 francs, or $5\frac{1}{6}$ on the total sum received by the treasury; and this large sum was obtained after 91,865,000 francs had been remitted to the proprietors from the sums exigible by law, by the indulgence of the Government. The increase was still more marked in the indirect taxes, for they had risen, without any new burdens having been imposed, from 163,000,000 francs in 1818, to 212,000,000 in 1828; while the charges of collection, which had been 18 per cent in 1813, and 14½ in 1818, had been reduced in 1828 to 12½ per cent. The treasury exhibited an equally favourable result; the receipts were 1,030,782,656 francs (£41,200,000), and the expenditure was 1,026,617,152 francs,—a state of matters which, considering the large military establishment, exceeding 200,000 men, on foot in the empire, and the large sum set apart for the sinking fund, bespoke in the clearest manner the general wellbeing and prosperity of the country.

37. The details presented in regard to the public debt were still more important, for they exhibited in one view the vast benefits conferred by the Government of the Restoration, and formed, as it were, the testament bequeathed by the elder branch of the Bourbons to the country. The public debt, according to this statement, consisted of 3,949,553,337 francs (£158,000,000), and the annual interest to 170,323,205 francs (£6,800,000). The capital redeemed by the sinking fund amounted to 755,402,140 francs, and its annual charge to 37,503,204 francs. The annuities charged on the treasury, and which were divided among 187,173 parties, amounted to 56,984,196 francs; and the entire annual charge of the debt, interest of capital sums, and annuities, was 322,752,660 francs. Of the pensions only 1,825,604 francs were civil, 5,986,000 francs ecclesiastical, while the military were 47,643,000 annually,—a curious proof of how entirely the resources as well as inclina-

tions of the French, even in peace, had run into the profession of arms. The debt contracted for the indemnity to the emigrants, nearly a fourth of the whole, was included in this enumeration.

38. It need hardly be said, after these statistical details, that the country had eminently prospered under the government of the Restoration, especially during its later years; and that in no former period had benefits so general and important been conferred upon all classes of society. Under the government of its ancient kings, since the year 1822—that is, during a period of only eight years—the imports and exports of France had increased 50 per cent, and the tonnage of the shipping nearly 25 per cent.* The annual value of agricultural production over the whole kingdom had risen to 945,353,962 francs, drawn from 12,659,773 arable hectares (30,800,000 acres), being at the rate of 72 francs per hectare, or nearly 18s. an acre. The difference between this average value of agricultural produce and that of Great Britain, notwithstanding the great advance in industry and prosperity made in France during the Restoration, is very remarkable; for the average value of agricultural produce per acre in this country has never been estimated by competent observers at less than £6 sterling per acre.

39. It is very remarkable, that while the prosperity of the country had increased in this prodigious ratio during the Restoration, its discontents had fully kept pace with it, and they had now reached the highest point at the very time when the wellbeing of the people was most universal and conspicuous. The smiling aspect of the fields, the busy activity of the commercial towns, the animation of the seaports, the splendour and increasing edifices of the capital, were equalled only by the general discontent and sullen disloyalty which pervaded these scenes of prosperity and happiness. What was still more remarkable, the classes among whom the discontent was the greatest, were the very ones which had been most largely benefited by the government of the Bourbons, and most severely crushed by that which had preceded it. The proprietors, altogether excluded from participation in the government under the despotism of Napoleon, and who had been let into a large share of it under that of the Restoration, were generally averse to their benefactors, and sighed for the return of their tyrants. The burgher class, reduced almost to nullity during the latter years of the Empire, had prospered immensely under the pacific reign of the Bourbons, and, from its influence in the elections, had wellnigh got the

* TABLE SHOWING THE EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND TONNAGE OF FRANCE DURING THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	Commerce Spécial.		Commerce Général.		Tonnage out and in.
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.	
1822	368,990,533	427,679,156	426,179,193	385,168,711	1,351,681
1823	317,362,862	427,184,857	361,823,242	390,754,431	1,305,131
1824	401,018,127	505,336,512	454,861,597	440,541,901	1,495,424
1825	400,579,530	543,881,169	533,622,392	667,294,114	1,499,156
1826	436,116,472	461,027,171	564,728,610	560,508,769	1,687,872
1827	414,137,001	506,823,737	565,804,228	602,401,276	1,614,823
1828	453,760,337	511,215,922	607,677,321	609,922,632	1,661,584
1829	483,353,139	504,247,629	616,353,397	607,818,646	1,649,494
1830	489,242,685	452,901,341	638,338,433	572,664,064	1,638,593

—*Statistique de la France (Commerce Extérieur)*, 3, 15.

In the French statistical tables, *Commerce Spécial* means the exports and imports, with the value of the merchandise transhipped and re-exported deducted; *Commerce Général*, the exports and imports including these. When, in this work, the exports and imports are quoted without explanation, the *Commerce Spécial* is meant.

government of the state ; and it was all but unanimous against the Government which had fostered and protected, while it worshipped the memory of that which had insulted and ruined it. The "avocats" were the special object of hatred and obloquy with Napoleon, the "ideologues" were to him a perfect horror, and the press was retained by him in the closest fetters, while all these classes had been in an especial manner cherished, protected, and admitted to almost unlimited power by the Bourbon Government ; and the only return they made, like the serpent in the fable, which the husbandman warmed in his bosom, was to turn round and sting their benefactor. This memorable example proves the fallacy of the opinion generally entertained, that no disturbances are to be regarded as serious if the material comforts of the people are duly attended to, and of the truth of the distinctions drawn in a former work between troubles originating in real grievances, which may be expected to be alleviated by their removal, and such as arise from the thirst for political power, which are only increased by such comforts as tend to increase the pugnacious propensities of the people.

40. The other event which occurred at this period was the expedition to Algiers, which gave a lasting settlement on the African shores to the French arms, and was the third of the great shocks which were given in this century to the Ottoman power. This diminutive state, which had so long withstood all the efforts of the Christian powers, and exercised its hostility almost without opposition on their subjects, had eluded the resolution of the European powers at the Congress of Vienna to terminate the making of slaves by the states of Barbary, and had continued to exercise on other nations the acts of piracy which had been stopped as to the English by the victory of Lord Exmouth in 1816. Its defences on the sea-side had been materially augmented since the terrible bombardment which they then underwent, and the mole and sea batteries

were in a situation to bid defiance to the most formidable attack from naval forces. But the land fortifications had not been equally attended to ; and as the French were determined to assert the honour of their flag, and emancipate themselves from a disgraceful tribute to barbarians as the English had done, the Government resolved on an attack in the rear with land forces. As the town was situated on the slope of a hill, and entirely commanded, like Genoa, by the heights behind, which were not defended by any adequate works, there was good reason to expect that they might be mastered by a vigorous attack, and the city taken without any further resistance than a combat in the open field.

41. The pretence of the rupture with Algiers was a dispute about a sum of 2,000,000 francs (£80,000), which was owing by some French merchants to the Dey of Algiers for grain, on the occasion of which the Dey had given a slight tap to the French consul with a fan which he held in his hand, in presence of the other European envoys. Prince Polignac, who was thirsting for a pretext to illustrate his administration by some brilliant exploit, and was desirous of exciting the army by success on the eve of a civil conflict, seized with alacrity on this insult to demand reparation ; and as the Dey, with characteristic Mohammedan obstinacy, refused to make any, orders were given to prepare an expedition, composed of land and sea forces, on a great scale at Toulon. The intelligence of these preparations, and of the magnitude of the scale on which they were made, excited the alarm of the English Government, which, ever since the expedition of Napoleon to Egypt in 1798, had felt the utmost jealousy of any warlike preparations on the part of the French in the Mediterranean. Lord Aberdeen, in the most earnest manner, required explanations from Prince Polignac, who long eluded the demand, by answering that they were intended, like those of the English in 1816, only to obtain reparation from the Algerines, and not to make any permanent

settlement or conquest in the country. The English Government was, or professed to be, satisfied with these explanations, and the preparations for the expedition went on, if not with the approbation, at least without the open resistance, of the Cabinet of St James's.*

42. Accordingly the French Government in the whole of April pursued their preparations not only at Toulon, but at Brest, Havre, and Cherbourg, with the utmost vigour. The Duke d'Angoulême in person superintended the armament at the first of these harbours; and with such activity were they carried on, that by the 3d May the whole was assembled at Toulon ready for sea. The land and sea forces were both immense. The former consisted of three divisions, mustering in all 37,500 combatants, with 180 pieces of artillery, most of them of heavy calibre; the latter of 11 sail of the line, 23 frigates, 70 smaller vessels, 377 transports, and 230 boats for landing troops. The magnitude of these forces, which much exceeded those employed in the far-famed expedition of Napoleon to Egypt thirty years before, conveyed a striking idea of the manner in which the strength and resources of France had increased during the peace and repose of the Restoration. The

vast accumulation of forces in Toulon, the crowds of soldiers, guns, and brilliant uniforms in the streets, the splendid spectacle of the squadron which covered the bay with its sails as far as the eye could reach, filled every breast with enthusiasm, and multitudes flocked from all quarters to behold the magnificent armament. The command was solicited by Marmont; but Prince Polignac bestowed it in preference on Bourmont, the Minister at War, who was thus withdrawn from the direction at Paris at the most critical period of the monarchy. The embarkation was completed on the 11th May, amidst the cheers of an immense multitude of spectators; and the Duke d'Angoulême, intoxicated with the splendour of the spectacle, returned to Paris with the assurance that "all is safe with an army animated with such a spirit."

43. Contrary winds, however, detained the fleet in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Palma till the 10th June, when it again set sail, and hove in sight of Algiers on the 13th of that month. By the advice of two junior captains, who alone had declared a landing practicable, when all the senior officers had said it could not be attempted, the fleet was directed to the peninsula of Sidi-Feruch, situated at five leagues west from the capital, where the disembarkation was effected with surprising order and celerity on the two following days. At first no enemies were to be seen; but ere long the invaders were surrounded by fifteen thousand active and intrepid horsemen, who, although repeatedly repulsed from the masses of the troops by the fire of the squares, batteries, and ships, hovered incessantly round, cut off detached bodies and stragglers, and prevented all predatory expeditions or foraging parties beyond the range of their guns. Great difficulty was at first experienced in getting water; but on the 16th, a violent storm, accompanied by torrents of rain, came on, and after that the soldiers found water everywhere in the sand, by digging a few feet beneath the surface. Constant skirmishes and frequent combats went on for some days; but at length, the forces on both sides

* "My Lord,—Le retard mis par le Gouvernement Français, à donner sur ses intentions ultérieures relativement à Alger des explications plus précises et plus officielles, a causé ici une grande surprise. Les promesses de M. de Polignac à cet égard ont été si fréquentes et si positives que le Gouvernement de sa Majesté ne peut comprendre encore les motifs d'un pareil délai. Il faut le dire, cette affaire commence à prendre une tournure fâcheuse, et par éveiller des soupçons qui d'abord étaient bien éloignés de notre pensée."—*Le Comte d'ABERDEEN à Lord STUART DE ROTHESAY, Ambassadeur Anglais à Paris, 4 May 1830; CAPEFIGUE, Histoire de la Restauration, x. 358.* On being pressed to declare his ulterior intentions as to Algiers, the French writers declare Prince Polignac answered to the English, with becoming spirit, "La France insultée ne demanderait le secours de personne pour venger son injure, et elle n'aurait besoin de personne pour ce qu'elle aurait à faire de sa nouvelle conquête."—*Considérations sur la Régence d'Alger, 142, par M. le Baron LUCHESINI DE ST DENIS.—Annuaire Historique, xiii. 71, note.*

being collected, and the French solidly established on the coast, with all their guns and stores, both parties prepared for a decisive conflict. The Turks and Arabs consisted of forty-five thousand men, for the most part admirable cavalry; and their camp was situated on a strong position on the neck of the promontory, within cannon-shot of the French advanced posts, and barring their farther progress into the interior. The French had full thirty thousand effective men in the field, armed and equipped in the best possible manner, animated with the very highest spirit, and supported by a hundred guns.

44. At daybreak on the 19th, the Mussulmans descended from their position, and advanced towards the invaders' lines. The French infantry, like the English archers at Azincour, had put rows of stakes with the points outwards towards the enemy, to break the violence of the shock of such formidable bodies of horse; and the troops, stationed directly behind them, stood with their muskets in their hands, three deep, ready to receive them with a rolling fire. The Osmanlis advanced with loud cries and the utmost impetuosity; and such was the vigour of the onset, that in many places they broke fairly through both the stakes and the lines, and the sabres of the Bedouins were seen, in the centre of the bivouacs, in close conflict hand to hand with the European bayonet. The battle seemed more than doubtful, when Bourmont, who had the eye of a great general, brought forward his reserves out of the camp, and charged the assailants in flank when disordered in pursuit; while the broken infantry, re-forming in the rear, advanced again with a rolling fire against the Turks, now engaged with their assailants in flank. The double shock proved decisive. The Osmanlis were driven back in confusion; and the French, preceded by their guns, which poured in grape on the retreating mass with prodigious rapidity, succeeded in entering the enemy's camp pell-mell with the fugitives, and made themselves masters of their cannon, ammunition, and baggage.

45. When the Turks, who in the first instance had made an orderly retreat, and replied vigorously to the fire of the pursuers, saw their camp and guns taken, they were seized with a universal panic, and dispersed on all sides. Their loss in killed and wounded was above three thousand, while that of the French did not exceed five hundred—so decisive a superiority had the skill and discipline of the Europeans acquired over the most formidable forces of the desert. It was the fire of the guns on their dense masses which produced so great a loss to the Arabs. For some days after this great victory Bourmont remained quiet, strengthening his position, completing the disembarkation of his heavy artillery, and clearing out an old Roman road, protected by blockhouses, for their conveyance to the ramparts of Algiers. Gradually the Mussulmans recovered from their consternation; and having engaged in several skirmishes, in which their light horsemen asserted the superiority over the European—which since the days of Hannibal they have invariably maintained—and received considerable reinforcements, ventured on a general attack on the French camp. Twenty thousand men, for the most part mounted on hardy steeds, advanced to the attack, with loud shouts and the utmost intrepidity. But the divisions Borthezene and Loverdo moved out of the trenches, as they approached, in the same order, and with the same success, as on the 19th. The terrible fire of grape, issuing from the guns between the columns, threw the enemy into disorder, and they were soon hurled back in utter confusion, and pursued two leagues with great loss. In this pursuit, Amadie de Bourmont, son of the commander-in-chief, fell at the head of his company of grenadiers, while gloriously following up the advantage which his intrepidity had in a great degree contributed to gain.

46. Nothing now could prevent the approach of the French to Algiers; and although their advance was seriously impeded by the light troops of the Arabs, who disputed every tenable

position, and impeded every movement, yet they gradually drew near, and ground was opened before the town on the 30th June. The attack was directed, in the first instance, against the Emperor's Fort, a quadrangular fortification erected on the ground occupied by the Emperor Charles V. three hundred years before, when engaged in his calamitous attack on Algiers. This fort was perched on the summit of the plateau which surmounted the town, and in consequence commanded every part of it. The batteries were armed on the 3d, and the fire opened on the 4th July. Never, except on occasion of Lord Exmouth's attack in 1816, had such a cannonade been heard on the African shores. The ships of the line approached the mole, and attempted to distract the attention of the enemy by an incessant fire on the sea defences; while the land batteries, armed with a hundred guns of heavy calibre, thundered with extraordinary vigour on the ramparts of the Emperor's Fort. The Algerines replied with the utmost intrepidity from above three hundred guns, and the town, enveloped both on the land and sea side in flames and smoke, resembled the crater of a huge volcano suddenly burst forth on the side of the hill. But notwithstanding the courage and constancy of the Mussulmans, the superior fire of the besiegers soon made itself felt. The Algerine guns one by one were dismantled; huge breaches began to yawn in the ramparts; the gunners were in great part killed or wounded, and at length driven from their batteries; the survivors sought refuge in a great tower which stood in the centre of the fort. But here a frightful catastrophe awaited them. In the midst of a terrific cannonade, a loud explosion was suddenly heard; the sides of the tower were seen to gape, an immense column of smoke issued from its summit, which rose to the height of above five hundred feet; and immediately after the walls fell, and a mass of ruins, dismantled guns, and dead bodies, alone showed where the building had stood. Nothing dis-

mayed by the fearful spectacle, the French grenadiers rushed through the wreck to the assault, and before a few minutes were over, they were entirely in possession of the Emperor's Fort.

47. The Dey, who had flattered himself with the hope that this stronghold would arrest the enemy until the rainy season set in, when their attack would of necessity be suspended, was seized with the utmost consternation when he beheld it carried amidst such circumstances of horror by the besiegers, and their troops in possession of a commanding position, from which shells and cannon-shot reached every part of the city. Passing, in the true Mussulman spirit, from the height of confidence to the depths of despair, he immediately prepared to submit; and before two hours were over, the white flag was hoisted on the ramparts. It was attempted to obtain more favourable terms, and to appease the wrath of the conquerors by ample concessions, without abandoning the national independence. But the French Government had resolved on a permanent acquisition. Marshal Bourmont received the Algerine envoy seated amidst the ruins of the Emperor's Fort, surrounded by his whole staff; the English consul in vain offered his mediation; and at length it was agreed that the Dey should surrender Algiers, with all its forts and warlike stores, but be permitted to retire wherever he chose in safety, with his wives, children, and whatever belonged to him personally; and that the lives and property of all the inhabitants should be respected. On the following day the gates were surrendered, and the French army, in great pomp, with their artillery in front, entered the city. The fruits of the conquest were great beyond example, and much exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the conquerors. In the treasury were found gold and silver to the amount of 48,500,000 francs (£1,940,000), the accumulated fruits of several centuries of piracy; and on the walls and ships of war were 1542 pieces of artillery, of which 677 were bronze guns of the most approved

construction. The entire value of the spoil was 55,684,000 francs, besides nearly as much more in houses, which belonged to the Government, and passed to the conquerors. Seldom had plunder so mighty attended success in war; but the French soldiers found a still more precious recompense for their toils in the grateful tears of the crews of the brigs *Silène* and *L'Aventura*, which had been liberated with many others from slavery by their conquest. The total loss of the victors was 2300 men, of whom 600 were killed; and they enhanced the lustre of their conquest by religiously observing the capitulation, and respecting the lives and property of the inhabitants.

48. **ALGIERS**, which thus fell under the French dominion, and became a lasting European settlement on the coast of Africa, has a territory subject to its influence, which, in the time of the Romans, contained ten millions of inhabitants, but was now thinly peopled by seven or eight hundred thousand souls, composed chiefly of Bedouin Arabs and Moors, with an intermixture of Jews, Turks, and Europeans.* In 1838, when a census of the population was taken, and the limits of the French dominion had been finally settled by the capture of Constantine, a stronghold of great importance in the

interior, it was found that the European population in the capital and dependent cities amounted to 20,078 inhabitants, and the Asiatic and African to 29,488—a disproportion by no means great, and nothing to that which obtains in Calcutta, Madras, and the other cities in British India. The soil is in many places extremely rich, and peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of wheat, as is proved by the fact that, even under all the oppressions of Mohammedan misrule and Arab depredations, there was sold in Algiers of native growth 81,994 hectolitres of wheat and barley, equivalent to 180,000 quarters. In ancient times, as is well known, Libya, with Egypt and Sicily, was the granary of the Roman empire, and the interruption of its commerce on occasion of the revolt of Gildo brought the capital to the straits of famine, so feelingly deplored in the beautiful lines of Claudian.† The revenue was only 2,273,000 francs, including 500,000 francs of tribute from European powers, disguised under the name of consular presents; so little had human industry developed the boundless gifts of nature. Notwithstanding its natural riches, however, this valuable acquisition has proved of little real value to France; its revenue has never approached its expenditure; the native population has never been

* They were thus classed:—

Turks and janizaries,	.	.	.	.	.	8,000
—— their children,	.	.	.	.	.	32,000
Moors,	.	.	.	.	.	400,000
Bedouin Arabs,	.	.	.	.	.	120,000
Atlas tribes,	.	.	.	.	.	200,000
Jews,	.	.	.	.	.	20,000

780,000

—*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 82.

† “Advenio supplex, non ut proculcet Araxem
 Consul ovans, nostræve premant pharetrata secures
 Susa, nec ut rubris aquilas figamus arenis.
 Hæc nobis, hæc ante dabas: nunc pabula tantum
 Roma preor: miserere tuæ, pater optime, gentis.
 Extremam defende famem.—
 Tot mihi pro meritis Libyam Nilumque dedere,
 Ut dominam plebem, bellatoremque senatum
 Casibus æstivis alerent.—
 Nunc inhonorus, egens, perfert miserabile pacis
 Supplicium, nulloque palam circumdatus hoste
 Obsessi discrimen habet. Per singula letum
 Impendet momenta mihi, dubitandaque pauci
 Præscribunt alimenta dies.”

CLAUD., *De Bello Gildonico*.

arrayed in its defence ; and the government is maintained solely by seventy thousand French troops, more than double the number of the English soldiers who ever clustered round the standards of Great Britain on the boundless plains of Hindostan, prior to the great revolt in 1857.

49. This important expedition, which was likely to have so material an effect on the destinies of France and of the world, was not undertaken by the French Government without extensive projects for the future, and the promise of powerful support for the present. It was the first of a series of measures intended to revive the military spirit of the nation, to restore its confidence in itself, to bind anew the people to the sovereign by the strong ties of national glory, and to turn their passions from social struggles to national objects. It was intended to follow it up by the advancing the frontier to the Rhine—a project which Chateaubriand confesses in his *Memoirs* he had long cherished, and would ere this time have carried out if he had remained in power, and which had remained a secret but sacred deposit in the archives of the Cabinet. But as both the attack on Algiers and the appropriation of Belgium and the Prussian provinces on the Rhine would necessarily bring them into collision with Great Britain and Prussia, the French Government had secured to themselves a powerful ally to support them in their advances. The determination to assert the prerogative in France, and shake off the dependence on the Chambers, had, as a matter of course, been cordially approved by the Cabinet of St Petersburg, with which that of the Tuileries had been brought into close and confidential communication. The result was a secret agreement that Russia should support France in the eventual extension of its frontier to the Rhine, and France Russia in the advancing its standards to Constantinople. Prussia was to be indemnified for the loss of its Rhenish provinces by the half of Hanover—Holland, for the sacrifice of Belgium, by the other half. But this agreement, how carefully so ever veiled in secrecy, came to the

knowledge of the British Government; and it was the information they had obtained in regard to it which led to the warm remonstrances against the occupation of Algiers, and to the immediate recognition of Louis Philippe by the Duke of Wellington's Administration.

50. While these successes, glorious to the French arms, were in progress on the African shores, and which alone, of all the conquests since the Revolution, remained a lasting acquisition to France, the Government at home was advancing in the infatuated career on which they had resolved. Great hesitation for some time prevailed in the Cabinet as to the course to be pursued with regard to the Chamber of Deputies. But at length the favourable intelligence brought by the Duke d'Angoulême, as to the disposition of the army which had embarked at Toulon, decided the majority of the Ministry, and a dissolution was resolved on. The ordonnance, accordingly, appeared, appointing the colleges of departments to meet on the 23d June, those of arrondissements on the 3d July, and the Chamber on the 3d August. This determination, however, was not taken without great difference of opinion in the Cabinet, which led to the resignation of M. de Courvoisin, the Keeper of the Seals, who was succeeded by M. Chantelaube, President of the Royal Court at Grenoble, and of M. de Chabrol, the Minister of Finance, whose place was given to M. de Montbel, the Minister of the Interior, who again was succeeded by M. de Peyronnet, a man of known capacity and vigour. The dissolution was accompanied by a touching proclamation of the King to the electors, in which he charged the former Chamber with having mistaken his intention, and called on the electors to rally round the throne.*

* “ La dernière Chambre a méconnu mes intentions ; j'avais droit de compter sur son concours pour faire le bien que je méditais ; elle me l'a refusé. Comme père de mon peuple, mon cœur s'en est affligé ; comme roi, j'en ai été offensé. Hâtez-vous de vous rendre dans vos collèges ; qu'une négligence répréhensible ne les prive pas de votre présence ; qu'un même sentiment vous anime, qu'un même drapeau vous rallie : c'est votre roi

51. So confident were the Liberals that their cause would be promoted by this dissolution, that they offered no complaints on the subject. They set themselves with their wonted vigour to improve the advantage thus put in their way; the electoral committees soon were everywhere in activity; the press resounded with the most vehement denunciations against the Ministers, and the *coup d'état* against the public liberties which was supposed to be in contemplation; and before the elections began, it had become evident that the Liberal majority, so far from being diminished, would be materially augmented by their result. When they commenced, every successive post brought a fresh defeat to Ministers. Out of the 221 members who had voted with M. Agier in favour of the address by the former Chamber, 202 were returned; it was soon ascertained that the Opposition numbered 270 votes, the Ministry only 145, in which last was included 13 who were dubious, having voted for the amendment of Lorgeit in the former Chamber. Even the departmental colleges had gone against Government; a third of the Opposition came from their ranks. Encouraged by this success, the Liberal leaders in Paris proceeded vigorously and systematically in their opposition; orders to organise a general opposition to taxes were sent down to all the departments, and every preparation was made, though still in a legal way, to overthrow the influence and nullify the action of Government. So strongly were the feelings of the people excited by the thoughts of the coming struggle, that the intelligence of the conquest of Algiers, which was received in the middle of the election, awakened no other feelings but those of consternation and spite on the part of the majority. The passions of party got the better of the love of country, and the Liberals, as the Royalists had done before them, instead of rejoicing, deplored a success which threatened to postpone, perhaps

qui vous le demande, c'est un père qui vous appelle. Remplissez votre devoir; je saurai remplir le mien. CHARLES.—*Moniteur*, 17th May 1830.

destroy, their hopes of overturning the Government.

52. The King and Ministers, however, were noways deterred by the untoward result of the general election. It was evident from the returns that it was hopeless to look for a majority, or even an equality, of voices in the Chamber; and as the Opposition was so determined that a refusal of supplies might be looked for, no resource remained but a *COUP D'ETAT*, and forcible change of the Constitution. Long and earnest debates went on in the Cabinet on the course which should be pursued, and an able and interesting memorial was addressed to the King by his Ministers. After much and anxious deliberation, it was agreed that M. Royer-Collard should be consulted as to the temper and probable course of action of the new Chambers, and Charles X. accordingly asked him, "Do you believe that, if the budget were presented to the Chamber, it would reject it?" "Possibly it might not," answered the President; "but in any event, the discussions to which the law on the finances would lead, would shake the monarchy to its foundation." This answer strongly influenced the King's mind, and he openly expressed the opinion that a *coup d'état* had become unavoidable. "Gentlemen," said he to his Ministers, "I will inform you in a few words of the course which I mean to pursue, and which I have already frequently explained. My firm resolution is to maintain the Charter. I will not depart from it on any point, but I will not permit others to do so. I hope the new Chamber will be composed of wise men, who will respond to my intentions. Should it unhappily prove otherwise, I shall know, without departing from the course marked out by the constitution, to cause my rights to be respected, which I regard as the only guarantee for the public tranquillity and happiness of France. Such are my intentions; it is for you to second them in the part of the Administration intrusted to each of you in particular."

53. It was on the 29th June that

the *coup d'état* was first seriously discussed in the Cabinet; and on July 7th the subject was resumed, and it was finally agreed to, though under the strongest resolution of secrecy ere it was adopted. This determination proceeded on a speech of M. de Chateaufort, who placed the following alternatives before the Council: "Either to suspend entirely the constitutional régime, and govern in an arbitrary manner on strong principles; or to declare null the whole elections of those who had voted with the 221; or to dissolve the new Chamber as soon as the new elections were terminated, and convoke a new one on an electoral system established on an ordonnance framed on such principles as might secure a majority to the Crown—and in either case to precede the declaration by a vast display of civil and military force, by placing twenty or thirty thousand men in each of the towns of Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Rouen, and declaring these cities in a state of siege." After a long discussion, it was agreed to recur to the 14th article of the Charter, which seemed to confer, in extreme cases, a dictatorial power on the King,* and, 1st, To suspend the liberty of the press; 2d, Dissolve the new Chamber of Deputies; and, 3d, Establish a new electoral system which might be in harmony with the rights of the Crown. The project met with the cordial approbation of the King, who said, "It is not the Ministry, be assured; it is the Crown itself which is attacked; it is the cause of the throne against revolution which is now at issue. One or other must succumb. I have lived longer than you, gentlemen; your age does not permit you to recollect, as I do, how revolutions and the revolutionists proceed. I have over you the unenvied advantage of years. I recollect what

occurred in 1789. The first step which my unhappy brother made in retreat before them was the signal of his ruin. They too made protestations of their fidelity to the Crown; they too limited their open demand to the dismissal of its ministers. He yielded, and all was lost. They pretend now to aim at nothing but your dismissal. Their language to me is, 'Dismiss your Ministers, and we shall soon come to an understanding.' Gentlemen, I will not dismiss you,—in the first place, because I am attached to, and have confidence in you; in the next, because, if I dismissed you, they would end by treating you as they have done my son and myself, and us all, and as they have treated my brother. No! Let them conduct us, if they please, to the scaffold; but let us fight for our rights, and if we are to fall, fall sword in hand. I would rather be led to execution on horseback than in a cart."

54. On the 24th July, M. de Chateaufort presented to the King an elaborate and eloquent report, which may be regarded as the preamble of the ordinances, and the statement of the grounds on which they were rested for all future times. "Sire!" said he, "your Ministers would be unworthy of the confidence with which your Majesty honours them, if they hesitated any longer to place before your eyes a picture of our internal circumstances, and to point out, for the consideration of your wisdom, the perils which menace us. At no period, during the last fifteen years, have the dangers presented themselves under an aspect more grave and afflicting. Despite an amount of material prosperity to which our annals can offer no parallel, signs of disorganisation and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves in all points of the kingdom. A malevolence, active, ardent, and indefatigable, labours to sap the foundations of order, and to ravish from France all the happiness it has enjoyed under the sceptre of its king. Skilful in working out all discontents, and in exciting all hatreds, it fomented among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and seeks to sow everywhere the seeds of trouble

* The 14th article of the Charter was in these terms:—"Le Roi est le chef suprême de l'état, commande les forces de terre et de mer, déclare la guerre; fait les traités de paix, d'alliance, et de commerce; nomme à tous les emplois d'administration publique, et fait les réglemens et les ordonnances nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois et la sûreté de l'état."—*Charte*, art. 14.

and of civil war. It is by the violent and ceaseless action of the press that can be alone explained the frequent changes and interior violence of the country. It has not permitted France to establish a regular or stable government, nor to turn its attention to the numerous reforms called for in its internal administration. Every ministry formed since 1814 has been the object, and soon has become the victim, of these incessant and often groundless attacks. The press has thus succeeded in sowing the seeds of disorder in the strongest minds, shaking the firmest convictions, and producing, in the midst of a prosperous society, a confusion of principles which has rendered it ready for the most desperate attempts. It is by anarchy in opinions that the way is prepared for anarchy in the State.

55. "It is impossible to qualify in too strong terms the conduct of Opposition in recent circumstances. After having themselves provoked an address derogatory to the honour and destructive of the rights of the Crown, they have not scrupled to proclaim it as a sacred principle, that the 221 who voted that address should be re-elected, and their offensive principles forced upon the Crown. When your Majesty repelled that address as offensive, and declared your resolution to maintain the just rights of the Crown, so openly compromised, the periodical press has not only made no attempt to soften, but it has renewed and aggravated the offence. With a not less envenomed spirit it has persecuted alike religion and its ministers. It would, were it possible, extirpate to the last drop the religious sentiments of the people. Can it be doubted that, in attacking the foundations of the faith, in drying up the fountains of public morality, and turning into ridicule the ministers at the altars, the object is to overturn the throne? Listen, Sire! to the cry of indignation and terror which arises from all parts of the kingdom, from all persons of property, intelligence, and wisdom. All implore you to preserve them from a return to the calamities which their fathers or them-

selves have had so much cause to lament. These alarms are too real not to be attended to, too legitimate not to command attention. We must not deceive ourselves: we are no longer in the ordinary circumstances of a representative government. The foundations on which it is rested have been destroyed. A turbulent democracy, which has penetrated into the sanctuary of the laws, strives to substitute itself in place of the legitimate powers. It disposes of the majority of elections by means of journals and election committees. It has paralysed so far as it could the exercise of legitimate authority, by denying it the prerogative of dissolving the Chamber. By that very attempt the constitution has been shaken, by the next it will be overturned. Your Majesty has alone the power to prevent such a catastrophe, and place authority on its legal and just foundations.

56. "The Charter has provided the only remedy against such calamities. The 14th article has invested your Majesty with the power, not, without doubt, to change our institutions, but to consolidate and render them immovable. Imperious necessity forbids any further delay in the exercise of that supreme power. The moment has arrived in which it is necessary to have recourse to the measures which may restore the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the reach of all ordinary resources, and in the vain pursuit of which they have all been exhausted. These measures, Sire! your Ministers do not hesitate to recommend to you, deeply convinced that they are those which power owes to justice."

57. "It must be admitted," says an eloquent historian of the Liberal school, "that the grievances recounted in this eloquent preamble were too well founded in truth. The abuses of the press and the violence of public opinion were real evils. The new impulse which the press and freedom of discussion had given to thought and liberty, had often led it astray, as it will often do before it assumes the regularity and equilibrium of the divine mind and the power of self-direction, like all other passions

abandoned to themselves, under the guidance only of morality." There can be no doubt that this observation of Lamartine is well founded. In truth, matters had come to such a pass that royalty and the democracy could not coexist in France: no aristocracy, as in England, existed to preserve a balance between them; they stood face to face, each armed for the strife, ready in the lists, and one or other of them must be destroyed.

58. The famous ordonnances, which were the immediate cause of the overthrow of the Crown, and the ruin of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, were six in number, but the three first only were of material importance. The first suspended the liberty of the periodical press, and prohibited the publication but of such journals as were authorised by Government. The licence was to be in force only for three months, and might be recalled at any time. It applied to all pamphlets below twenty leaves. The second dissolved the new Chamber, on the allegation of the arts which had been used to deceive the electors as to the real intentions of the Government. The third, on the preamble of the necessity of reforming the Electoral Law according to the principles of the constitution, and to remedy the evils which experience had brought to light, and of the powers applicable to such cases vested in the King by the 14th article of the Charter, reduced the number of deputies to 258, being the number fixed by the 36th article of the Charter; the colleges of departments were to elect an equal number of representatives with those of arrondissements; and the electoral franchise was reduced to the possession of property paying the requisite amount of direct taxes by the exclusion of the suffrage founded on patents; the duration of the Chamber of Deputies was fixed at five years; and the colleges of departments, composed of the fourth of the electors paying the highest amount of direct taxes, were to choose at least a half in the general list of candidates proposed for the colleges of arrondissements. The prefects were re-invested with all the

powers with which they had been invested prior to the act of 1828. Neither the intervention of third parties, nor an appeal to the ordinary courts of law, were permitted to interfere with the prefects in the preparation of the electoral lists.

59. The King and Ministers met at St Cloud on the morning of the 25th July to sign the ordonnances. The vast interests at stake, the crown of France about to be put in peril, its liberties, which seemed to be menaced, had caused many to pass a sleepless night, and impressed all with the solemnity of the occasion. The Baron de Vitrolles, who, albeit not in the secrets of the Cabinet, had a suspicion of what was going forward, had entreated the Minister of Public Instruction the day before to pause before it was too late, for Paris was in a state of extreme agitation. The prefect of the police, however, gave the most satisfactory assurances on the state of the capital, concluding with the words, "Advance boldly: I will answer with my head for the immobility of Paris." Notwithstanding these statements, however, the Ministers were deeply impressed with the step which was about to be taken; every countenance was grave and serious; reflection had added to their anxiety, but not taken away from their courage. Prince Polignac, after reading the preamble and the ordonnances, presented them to the King to sign. Charles turned pale: he hesitated some time before taking the irrevocable step; and at length, after casting his eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, "The more I think of it, the more I am convinced that it is impossible to do otherwise than I do;" and with these words he signed the ordonnances. The Ministers all countersigned them in silence; despair was painted on every visage; none really hoped anything from the step, but all felt it was a duty to take it. They did so with the resignation of martyrs, not the spirit of conquerors.

60. Whatever opinion may be formed of these ordonnances—which were the death-warrant of the French monarchy—one thing is perfectly clear,

that however adverse to the passion for self-government which had sprung up with the mild government and freedom of the Restoration, they were noways at variance either with the letter or spirit of the constitution, as settled by the Charter, or with subsequent practice as approved by the Liberal party themselves. The most important change they effected was that which they made on the electoral system, the corner-stone of all representative government; and they brought it back, both as to the numbers of the Chambers and the qualification of the electors, to what had been fixed by the Charter. This was done, no doubt, by an *ordonnance*, not an act of the legislature; but the alteration on the constitution which it abrogated had itself been introduced by an *ordonnance* alone (14th July 1815); and the change on the Electoral Law, on 5th September 1816, which gave such additional weight to the Liberal party, was effected also by a royal *ordonnance*, not only without the opposition, but with the cordial approbation of the whole Liberal party in France. What an *ordonnance* had done, an *ordonnance* could competently undo. All the subsequent changes on the electoral system, with the exception of the one passed by the Chambers in July 1820, had been effected by *ordonnances* alone, in virtue of the powers conferred on the King by the 14th article of the Charter, and not a whisper had ever been heard that he had exceeded his powers in introducing them. And although, without doubt, the restrictions on the press were of so violent a kind that they were inconsistent, if long continued, with the existence of freedom, or the free action of the people on the Government, and could not have coexisted long with a real representative constitution; yet, considered as a mere *temporary* restriction, to enable the Government to surmount a passing difficulty, they were not beyond the powers vested in the King by the 14th article of the Charter, like those conferred on the consuls by the Roman senate in arduous times—"Caveant consules ne quid

detrimenti res publica capiat." And subsequent experience has abundantly proved that a severe restriction on the liberty of the press was absolutely indispensable in France; for every government that has since arisen, whatever its origin had been, has been obliged to commence a war to the knife with the press, and that which supplanted Charles X. has itself been overturned by it.

61. But whatever opinion may be formed on this point, upon which men, according to their previous prepossessions, will probably be divided to the end of the world, one thing is perfectly clear, and will admit of no doubt, that the *coup d'état* was determined on by the French Government with a want of preparation to meet its consequences, which was not only highly reprehensible, but absolutely inconceivable. The preamble of the *coup d'état* proves that the Ministry were fully aware how violently the current of public opinion was running in favour of Liberal opinions, how strong was the passion for self-government, and that the most strenuous resistance might be expected to any regulation tending to abridge these dispositions. By the *ordonnances* the Government drew the sword, threw away the scabbard, and perilled the Crown and constitution of France upon the doubtful issue of arms. Prince Polignac was at once Prime Minister and Minister at War in the absence of Marshal Bourmont; and he had assured the Cabinet in reply to a question as to the means of resisting any insurrection in the capital, that "no popular movement was to be apprehended, and at all events Paris was sufficiently garrisoned to crush any rebellion, and guarantee the public tranquillity." What, then, were the forces with which Prince Polignac proposed to coerce Paris, when in the most violent state of effervescence, and when supported by a large and powerful party in every town of France? They consisted in all, at the very highest estimate, of 11,550 men, and twelve pieces of cannon, with six rounds of grape-shot to each

gun! Of this diminutive force only the Royal Guard, 4600 strong, could be relied on in a contest with the people, or, in fact, did its duty in that which immediately succeeded. This was the more reprehensible, as fifteen battalions and thirty-four squadrons of the Guard were at towns at no great distance from Paris, who might easily have been brought up before the conflict commenced, but were too far off to take a part in it when it actually arose. Such were the forces with which Prince Polignac proposed to combat a city containing two hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, of whom at least a half had actually borne them in the line or the civil service; forty thousand discontented National Guards *who still had their arms*; and one-third of which male population consisted of natural sons, without either known parents, children, or property, ready to engage in or second any rebellion, however desperate, which promised them elevation or plunder. And to make the thing complete, the

command of this little garrison was given to Marshal Marmont, an able and experienced officer, but extremely unpopular with the army, on account of the share he had in the capitulation of Paris in 1814; and he was kept entirely in the dark as to the *coup d'état*, or the necessity which existed for previous preparation or vigorous measures.*

62. The ordonnances agreed to by the Cabinet and the King, and signed on the 25th, were secretly printed on the night of that day, and appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* and affixed to the walls of Paris on the morning of the 26th. The first effect was such as in appearance to justify the assertions of Prince Polignac and the Minister of Police, that the public peace would not be disturbed, and that no reason for apprehension existed. Though a *coup d'état* had long been predicted by the Opposition journals, and was generally looked for at no distant period, it was not expected at that particular time; and the Pa-

* The garrison of Paris, when the conflict commenced, consisted of—

Royal Guard.	INFANTRY.		CAVALRY.	
	Batt.	Men.	Squad.	Men.
Infantry,	8	3,800	..	..
Cavalry, . . . . .	..	..	8	800
Artillery, 12 pieces, . . . . .	..	150	..	..
		3,950		800
<i>Line.</i>				
Infantry,	11	4,400	..	..
Fusiliers, 14 companies, . . . . .	..	1,100	..	..
Gendarmerie, . . . . .	..	700	..	600
		6,200		600
		3,950		800
Total,		10,150		1400

The remainder of the Guard, fully 18,000 strong, was thus stationed—

	INFANTRY.		CAVALRY.
	Batt.		Squad.
Caen,	3	Compiègne,	1
Rouen,	3	Meaux,	6
Versailles,	5	Melun,	1
St Denis,	2	Fontainebleau,	6
Vincennes,	1	Corbeil,	6
Orléans,	3	Versailles,	12
	17	Sèvres,	2
In all, 15,000 men.		In all, 3400 men.	34

—*Etats Militaires*, given in CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, i. 397, and *Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 112. Marmont makes this force still less. He says he had, Infantry of the Guard, 5500; Infantry of the Line, 4000; Cavalry, 750; in all, 10,250 men, with 12 guns. Of these he lost 1200 in detached posts when the revolt broke out, so that he actually fought with only 9050 men.—See MARMONT, viii. 268.

risians, in full enjoyment of the most magnificent weather, rose on the morning of that day, expecting only to inhale the enjoyments of summer in their highest perfection. The appearance of the ordonnances, which were instantly repeated from mouth to mouth, excited at first surprise and stupor rather than indignation. Men knew not what to think of such an audacious step. Crowds, not of rioters, but of anxious and agitated persons, were formed at the doors of the offices of the public journals, and in some of the most frequented parts of the city. Some applauded, many blamed, none were indifferent to the step which had been taken. The day, however, passed over without any alarming demonstrations having taken place, although in the universal anxiety which prevailed the experienced eye might discern the symptoms of an approaching storm. The truth was, the people had no leaders as yet prepared for such an emergency; and though it was known that the chief Opposition barristers, M. Odillon Barrot, Dupin aîné, Mauguin, Barthès, and Merithon, had met with the leading editors of journals and writers on the Liberal side, and consulted on what was to be done, nothing had transpired as to the result of their deliberation, and the day passed over without any disturbance.

63. Appearances, however, rapidly changed on the morning of the 27th. The editors and proprietors of the Opposition journals, deeming, according to the opinion of these celebrated lawyers, the ordonnances illegal, had resolved on resisting them; and a solemn protest had been agreed upon, in which they were denounced as unconstitutional, and resistance was openly threatened. "The Government," said these courageous men, "has lost the character of legality which commands obedience; *we resist it* in so far as we are concerned: it is for France to determine how far resistance should extend." Forty-four proprietors, contributors to, and editors of journals, met in the office of the *National*, and signed the memorable protest, which became in a manner a patent of nobility in after

times. M. de Laborde was the president of that meeting; and, among others of lesser note, the protest bore the signatures of M. Thiers and M. Correl, M. Corte, the editor of the *Temps*, and M. Baude. And however much we, who have been instructed by the event, may lament the consequences of this decisive step, which first hoisted the standard of insurrection against the ordonnances, it is impossible to refuse a tribute of admiration to the gallant men who, inspired by the love of freedom and their country, hazarded their heads in open resistance to what they deemed illegal acts on the part of the Government.

64. Matters were brought to a crisis by an event which occurred on the forenoon of the 27th. The majority of the journals, and all the Royalist ones, had yielded to the ordonnances, and taken out the requisite licences from the Government. The latter were loud in their praise of the *coup d'état*, and maintained it was imperatively called for by the circumstances of the country. But the editors of a few of the ultra-Liberal journals were determined to make no such concession, and conceiving, perhaps with justice, that an act of the legislature could alone deprive them of their legal rights, resolved on resistance. Their journals accordingly appeared without the requisite licence, and with the protest of the Opposition journals in their columns. This open defiance of Government was immediately followed by an order issued to seize the refractory papers, and close their printing-offices and places of sale; and a commissary of police, accompanied by two gendarmes, repaired to the offices of the *National* and the *Temps*, situated in the Rue de Richelieu and Boulevard des Italiens, to enforce the order. The editors and proprietors of these journals, however, opposed the most resolute resistance to the police. When summoned to submit in name of the Government, they called on the police to abstain in the name of the law. A blacksmith, who was sent for to force open the door of the hôtel occupied by the *Temps*, declined to act in obedience to the orders of the police;

a second was sent for, and the mob took his tools from him; and the doors were at length only forced open, and seals put on the printing-presses, by a workman who was said to have been employed in making fetters for the convicts in the galleys. These proceedings, which occurred in the most populous and frequented parts of Paris, excited the most vehement agitation. A vast crowd assembled in the streets where the seizures had been effected, whose language and gestures bespoke the extreme passions with which they were animated. The general ferment was worked up to a perfect frenzy by a judgment of the Tribunal of Commerce, a court in the first instance at Paris, which ordained a printer in the employment of the *Courrier Français*, who had refused to print that journal without a licence, for fear of contravening the ordonnance, to do so within twenty-four hours, on pain of imprisonment, seeing "that the ordonnance, being contrary to the Charter, would not be held obligatory, neither on the sacred person of the King, nor on the citizens whose rights it infringed."

65. The King and Ministers, who had been overjoyed at the success with which the ordonnances had been received on the 26th, were not awakened from their delusion by the events of the 27th. On the first of these days, so little had any serious resistance been anticipated, that the King had gone on a hunting party to Rambouillet; and even on the day following, the Court remained at St Cloud, which, for the service of the palace, deducted twelve hundred men from the few battalions of the Guard, the only ones who could be relied on for the defence of Paris. Reports were received from all the police-offices; but though they in general spoke of crowds in the streets, a general suspension of business, and great agitation in the public mind, yet, with an infatuation that now appears inconceivable, no efficient steps were taken to guard against the approach of danger. None of the Liberal leaders were arrested; no additional troops were brought into Paris, though eighteen thousand of the Royal Guard

were quartered in the towns in the vicinity; and no instructions were sent to the prefects in the departments to take any extraordinary precautions, or how to act at all in the critical circumstances which were approaching. By a negligence still more reprehensible, no provision whatever was made for furnishing rations or water, or extra ammunition, to the troops on active service; and during the conflicts of the succeeding days, when they were under arms almost without intermission night and day, under a burning sun, they remained without any regular supplies, and were for the most part indebted for food to the humanity or policy of their enemies.

66. When, on the morning of the 27th, Marmont commenced the active duties of the command of the garrison of Paris, with which he had been invested by the King, he was petrified at its small amount; for after deducting the non-effective and the Guard on service at St Cloud, it did not exceed ten thousand men, of whom not more than four thousand were of the Guard, upon whom reliance could be placed in a conflict with the people. He immediately made his dispositions; but before his orders could reach the troops, the agitation had assumed a very threatening appearance, and it was evident that a most serious conflict was approaching. The people everywhere descended into the streets, and collected in immense multitudes in and around the principal points in the city. The Rue de Richelieu, the avenues of the Palais Royal, and the neighbourhood of the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, where the council of Ministers sat, were soon beset by vast crowds. The Rue St Honoré and the boulevards, the whole way from the Place de la Bastille to the Place de la Madeleine, were filled with multitudes, as yet unarmed, but whose looks and gestures told that they were prepared for any enterprise, however audacious. Cries of "*Vive la Charte!—à bas les Ministres!*" were heard from the crowd. So threatening did the aspect of things soon become, that orders were given to close the gates of the

Palais Royal, and some detachments of gendarmerie and troops of the line were stationed around it to enforce the order. Soon the ominous cry was heard in the crowd, "*Vive la Ligne!—vivent les frères et enfants du peuple!*" The grievous mistake was committed of leaving the troops, under arms but inactive, close to the people, and in communication with them. Soon their sympathy with the multitude was made manifest by their opening their ranks, and letting the human torrent flow through without resistance, amidst loud cheers from the people. The only symptom of collision which appeared was in front of the palace of the Duke of Orléans, where the troops were fired upon from the windows of a house. They answered by a general discharge at the windows, by which several persons were killed, among whom was an American, who had fired the first shot, and struck one of the soldiers.

67. Meanwhile an assembly of the leaders of the Liberal party had taken place at the house of M. Laborde, in the Rue d'Artois, on the evening of the 26th, and another, more numerous attended, at the hôtel of M. Casimir Perier. Thirty persons, nearly all members of the Chamber of Deputies, were there assembled. Their names, many since known in the rolls of fame, prove how large a part of the intellectual strength of France was already arrayed against the Government.* Opinions, as might have been expected in an assembly of men of such information and intelligence, were much divided as to the course which should be pursued. All agreed in condemning the ordonnances, and holding them illegal, and a violation of the Charter; but as they had been promulgated by authority, and were obviously to be enforced by power, it

was not so clear what course should be pursued by the friends of liberty and order. The young and courageous were clear for instantly taking up arms; the more reflecting and prudent hesitated at openly resisting the Government, and hazarding the newborn liberty of France on the perilous issue of the sword. The discussions were still going on, when a deputation arrived, professing to come from the electors of Paris, which cut the Gordian knot, by declaring that, as the ordonnances had evidently and openly violated the constitution, and the Government were preparing to support them by force, nothing remained but to have recourse to INSURRECTION; that many of the master-manufacturers had already thrown their workmen into the streets, and that they were prepared in a body to support them with their whole moral and physical strength. Deputations from various bodies of young men succeeded, who, with the courage and rashness of youth, declared that they were ready instantly to take up arms, and praying the deputies to place themselves at their head. The discussion, which now became very animated, was still going on, when the sound of discharges of musketry in the streets, and the clank of charges of cavalry on the pavement, interrupted the deliberations; and the persons assembled separated, without having come to any other resolution but that of meeting on the following day at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau, in the Faubourg Poissonnière.

68. Marmont's plan of operations was based, like that of Napoleon in repelling the attack of the sections in 1795, on the defence of the Tuileries, Louvre, and Carrousel, as a vast fortress in the centre of the city. The 3d regiment of the Guard, with four guns, was stationed in the Place Carrousel and in the Palais Royal; the Swiss regiment of the Guard, with six guns, in the Place Louis XV.; the 1st regiment of the Guard, with two guns, in the Rue des Capucins, in front of the Hôtel des Affaires Etrangères, where the Ministers were assembled; the 15th line regiment on the Pont

* They were MM. Mauguin, Bavoux, Char-del, De Lobau, Voisin de Gartempe, Persil, Louis, Dupin aîné, Charles Dupin, Berard, Mechin, Camille Perier, Odier, Lefebvre, Vassal, Audry de Puyraveau, Sebastiani, Gerard, Villenain, Guizot, Auguste St Aignan, Labbey de Pompières, Baillot, Bertin de Vaux, Delessert, Maréchal Duchaffant, Milleret, Mathieu Dumas, Salvete, De Schonen.—*Tribune*, 28 July 1830; *Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 130.

Neuf; the 53d, with the Cuirassiers, on the Place of the Bastille; the 50th on the boulevards, from the Place of the Bastille to the Madeleine; and the 5th on the Place Vendôme. Unlike Napoleon, however, he resolved to send out detachments in various directions into the interior of the city, to disperse assemblages and overturn BARRICADES, which were already beginning to be formed in its most narrow and crowded districts. The first barricade which was met with was across the Rue St Honoré, where it passed the Palais Royal. After a volley in the air, which had not the effect of intimidating its defenders, the troops fired a point-blank discharge, which killed one old man and wounded several. The barricade was immediately stormed, but the combatants succeeded in carrying off the dead body, which they paraded through the streets in the centre of the town, to excite the ardour of the people. The other detachments which were sent out were successful in passing all the barricades, and restoring a certain degree of order in the crowded centre of the city; but the effervescence, so far from being diminished, was hourly on the increase; dropping shots, heard in several directions, kept alive the excitement, and the frequent cries of "*Vive la Ligne!*" wherever the troops of the line were stationed, proved with how much reluctance that portion of the military found themselves in the conflict, and how confidently the people trusted to their being faithful to their duty, and joining their cause. Meanwhile several armourers' shops were broken open in the centre of the city, and the most vigorous preparations were made to prepare for the conflict which was approaching on the succeeding day. The only measure of defence adopted on the other side was to declare Paris in a state of siege, which was done by an ordonnance signed by the King at St Cloud, at eleven at night—a step which, without adding to the military strength at the disposal of the marshal, tended only still further to inflame the public mind.

69. The night of the 27th passed over without disturbance, but it was the calm which precedes the tornado. Early on the morning of the 28th, the populace appeared in the streets in the Faubourg St Antoine and St Marceau, so well known in the worst days of the Revolution, in great numbers, armed with muskets, pistols, swords, bayonets, axes, and pickaxes. "Furor arma ministrat." This huge and disorderly multitude, which swelled as it advanced, rolled onwards to the Rue St Denis, and, passing that thoroughfare, began to approach the position occupied by the military. The people were everywhere to be seen unpaving the streets, felling trees on the boulevards, overturning omnibuses, dragging furniture out of houses, and fastening together carts to form barricades. The small detachment of troops who could alone be spared from the central position around the Tuileries could not be everywhere. In most places these operations went on without opposition of any sort, and with an order and rapidity which was inconceivable. Nor did the multitude remain long unarmed behind their intrenchments. With equal rapidity they betook themselves to all the places where arms were to be found; the whole gunsmiths' shops in the central parts of the city were soon broken open and pillaged of their contents; many of the police stations and guard-houses were forced, and the arms they contained taken out and distributed among the people. Soon the arsenal, the powder-manufactory des Deux Moulins, and the dépôt of artillery of St Thomas Aquinas, were broken into, and everything they contained divided among the multitude. Nearly the whole arms belonging to the National Guard, above forty thousand, were now put in requisition, and not a few of their uniforms were to be seen in the streets. Encouraged by these cheering appearances, the people surrounded the Hôtel de Ville; its slender garrison of sixteen men withdrew without opposition, and that important post fell into the hands of the insurgents. Instantly they ascended

to the top of the building, sounded the tocsin, and displayed a huge tricolor flag from its roof. The well-known symbol excited universal enthusiasm, the gates of Nôtre Dame were soon broken open, another tricolor flag waved from its summit, and the dismal clang of its tocsin recalled to the few survivors who had witnessed it the appalling commencement of the 10th August 1792.

70. All this, which was so important in its results, that, literally speaking, it amounted to a revolution, passed under the eyes of the constituted authorities without any serious resistance having been anywhere attempted. Four-fifths of Paris were already in the hands of the insurgents, the tricolor flag was displayed from twenty churches, a hundred barricades were erected in the streets, a hundred thousand men in arms, without anything more having been attempted to resist the movement than a few charges of gendarmerie in the streets, a few shots from the foot-soldiers, and a few guard-houses resolutely maintained by the troops intrusted with their defence. These events, succeeding each other with stunning rapidity, at length roused the Government to vigorous measures, and Marshal Marmont received orders to act offensively against the insurgents. The few troops at his disposal were rapidly concentrated around the Tuileries; five battalions of the Guard arrived in the Place of the Carrousel; two Swiss battalions were posted in the Place Louis XV.; three squadrons of lancers and eight guns were placed in the Carrousel beside the former, being the only ones employed that day—for the four howitzers which completed the battery were, from motives of humanity, left in the Hôtel des Invalides, and never used at all. These eight guns had only four rounds of grape-shot! Five hundred men arrived at eleven o'clock from Vincennes, and three squadrons of *grenadiers-à-cheval* from Versailles, which raised the force intrusted with the defence of that central point to three thousand infantry and six hundred horse, all tried men of the Guard.

The 1st regiment of the Guard was on the Boulevard des Capucins. The foot-soldiers had twenty rounds of ball-cartridge each, but no provisions or water, though the sun of the dog-days shone with extraordinary severity. There was no persuading the Government that anything more than a military promenade would take place. Two regiments of the line occupied the Place Vendôme; one with the cuirassiers of the Guard the Place of the Bastille. The 15th light infantry on the Pont Neuf was despatched to occupy the Pantheon and the Palais de Justice, but these were in the hands of the insurgents before it arrived at them.

71. Encouraged by this addition to the slender military force at his disposal, Marmont resolved on offensive operations. With this view, he formed three movable columns, with orders to penetrate into the centre of the city, now wholly in the hands of the insurgents. The first was to march by the quays to the Hôtel de Ville, the second by the boulevards to the Place of the Bastille, and the two were to unite at the entrance of the Rue St Antoine, and bar the exit from that revolutionary district; while the third, consisting of two battalions of the Guard, was to march through the heart of the city to the Marché des Innocens, after occupying which it was to debouch on the Rue St Denis, and by occupying that important thoroughfare separate its eastern from its western portions. Success in the first instance attended these operations. The first column, consisting of a Swiss battalion and one of the Guard, under the orders of General Talon, a bold and experienced officer, advanced, preceded by two pieces of cannon, along the quays, and, opening their fire at the entrance of the Place de Grève, which was crowded with insurgents, by a few discharges cleared the square, and regained possession of the Hôtel de Ville. This important success might have been rendered decisive had there been an adequate number of troops at hand to occupy the post in force, and pursue the ulterior operations which had been directed. But at this critical moment

the treachery of the troops of the line paralysed all the successes of the Guard. The 15th regiment refused to support the Guard at the Hôtel de Ville; the officers broke their swords, the soldiers drew their cartridges in presence of the people. The insurgents, headed by the scholars of the Polytechnic School, who now lent to the cause of insurrection the fire of their enthusiasm and the assistance of their skill, filled the quay opposite the Place de Grève, from whence they opened a heavy fire on the battalion of the Guard in possession of the place; while the 15th regiment, which had got under shelter, quietly beheld the destruction of their comrades, now surrounded in their conquests. Encouraged by this defection, some of these gallant youths rushed across the bridge, and fell under the balls of the Guard. One of the foremost, who bore a tricolor flag, exclaimed, with his last breath, "My friends, recollect that my name is D'Arcola."

72. The second column, consisting of the 5th and 50th line regiments, which was to advance by the boulevards to the Place of the Bastille, encountered no serious opposition till it arrived at the Porte St Denis, when it was met by the huge multitude which was proceeding to the westward from the Faubourg St Antoine. After a few discharges, the insurgents gave way; but it was only to take refuge in the lateral streets which extend into the boulevards, where, under shelter of the barricades, they kept up a vigorous fire on the flanks of the advancing troops. They continued to move forward, however, and reached the Place of the Bastille, where they found the 53d regiment and the cuirassiers; but there the fire was so violent from the windows and loopholed houses with which it was environed, that they were unable to keep their ground, and moved on, following the line of the boulevards to the bridge of Austerlitz, which they crossed, intending to regain the centre of the city by the left bank of the Seine. A detachment, which proceeded up the Faubourg St Antoine, stormed in gallant style six barricades in that

revolutionary quarter; but they were at length obliged to fall back from the incessant fire which was opened upon them from the windows of the houses along the street. In retiring, a battalion of the 50th met a squadron of cuirassiers in the Place de la Bastille; and the two together succeeded in making their way across the centre of Paris by the quays to the Place de Grève. When they arrived there, they found General Talon gallantly defending, with the Guard, the Hôtel de Ville, which he had won; but, instead of assisting him in his heroic resistance, the 50th took refuge in the interior court of the building, and the soldiers composing that corps gave up their cartridges to General Talon, whose firmness nothing could shake, and who, with his faithful Guards, prolonged a now hopeless defence.

73. The third column, which was composed of two battalions of the Guard, had a still more difficult duty to discharge, for it was destined to advance by the Rue St Honoré to the Marché des Innocens, through the densest part of the city, where the narrowness of the streets and the height of the houses exposed the soldiers, almost in single file, to the murderous fire which issued from the windows. It succeeded in storming all the barricades erected across the Rue St Honoré; but on arriving in the Marché des Innocens, the fire from the windows on all sides was so violent and well directed that great numbers of the troops fell. General Quinsonnas, however, who commanded it, at length succeeded in establishing himself in the square, and the sustained fire of the Guard silenced that from the windows. Quinsonnas took advantage of that success to send a battalion, with two pieces of artillery, to clear the Rue St Denis; but though it succeeded in doing that, and reaching the Porte St Denis, it sustained a very severe loss, and the colonel himself was severely wounded. After remaining some hours at the Porte St Denis, expecting the 5th and 50th regiments, which were to have come by the boulevards, but had gone on, as already

mentioned, to the bridge of Austerlitz, the commander, finding himself surrounded by insurgents, resolved to retire; but as the Rue St Denis was again closed by barricades, he could only do this by the boulevards, where the felling of trees and construction of similar barriers was already begun; and it was with great difficulty and considerable loss that he succeeded in making his way back to the Place Vendôme. Meanwhile the situation of Quinsonnas, left with his battalion in the Marché des Innocens, became every moment more critical. After four hours' incessant firing, the ammunition of the men was found to be exhausted; and the communication with the Tuileries was so completely cut off that it was only by disguising one of his officers that he was able to inform Marmont of his perilous situation. The marshal had only one battalion of Swiss left at his disposal, but that he instantly despatched to his relief; and the two together succeeded, after great difficulty, and storming several barricades, in forcing their way to the Seine, from whence they effected their retreat to the central position around the palace. Meanwhile the brave defenders of the Hôtel de Ville sustained with courage the not less valiant assaults of the numerous bodies of insurgents with which it was surrounded; and it was still in the hands of the Guard, when orders arrived at nightfall for its evacuation, and the concentration of the troops from all quarters around the Tuileries. This was effected under cover of the darkness without serious loss.

74. While these bloody combats were taking place, so much to the disadvantage of the royal cause, in the streets of Paris, a sort of Provisional Government had become established on the side of the insurgents. At the meeting agreed on the preceding day at the hôtel of M. Audry de Puyraveau, a much larger number of influential persons was assembled: a gaining cause seldom lacks adherents. M. Lafitte and General Lafayette were there, the latter having arrived in haste the preceding night on the first

intelligence of the disturbance in Paris. His appearance, and the weight of his name, so well known in the most stormy days of the first Revolution, determined the deputies: the violent party, headed by M. Mauguin, M. Audry de Puyraveau, and M. Lafitte, obtained the ascendancy over that of M. Guizot, Villemain, and Thiers, who were desirous to withstand the ordinances as long as possible only by legal means. The latter, disapproving of insurrection, had withdrawn to the country. "Legal means," observed Lafayette, "have been cut short by the ordinances in the *Moniteur*, and the discharges of artillery you hear in the streets. Victory can alone now decide the question." But although resistance was thus resolved on, it was not so easy to agree upon the appointment of a provisional government. Already the cry was heard in the streets, amidst "Vive la Charte!" and "Vive la Ligne!" "*Des Chefs et l'Hôtel de Ville!*" The necessity of a government, the first and greatest want of mankind, was already felt among those who were arrayed against it; and the street leaders had nominated General Lafayette, General Gérard, and the Duke de Choiseul, as a provisional authority. A proclamation, without their knowledge, but signed with their names, was placarded on the walls of Paris on the 28th. But as there was some doubt of their accepting the perilous office of dictators, it was conferred on General Delonny, who on the night of the 28th, after its evacuation by the Royal Guard, took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and issued three edicts in the name of the Provisional Government, for the preservation of the public monuments, the care of the wounded, and the appointment of municipal authorities. But the only body really entitled to appoint such a provisional government had not yet taken a decided resolution; the deputies assembled at M. de Puyraveau's separated at midnight on the 28th, without having determined on anything except a meeting on the following day at the hôtel of M. Lafitte.*

* Their names were M. Mauguin, Lafitte,

75. Meanwhile the alarm had spread to St Cloud, and the court had fallen into a state of consternation great in proportion to the ill-founded confidence of the preceding days. The repeated discharges of artillery heard during the whole day, and which increased in so alarming a manner towards night, spread a mournful panic and sad presentiments over the palace, and already defection, that woeful precursor of revolutions, was to be seen among the courtiers. Persons with telescopes placed on the heights above the palace descried the tricolor flag flying on the summits of Nôtre Dame and St Sulpice; and a despatch from Marmont, dated 4 P.M., announced the alarming state of matters in the metropolis, and the necessity of instant orders how to act. In this extremity the King alone preserved the calmness called for in such a crisis. He sent orders to "Marmont to concentrate his troops and act in masses," and despatched directions to Polignac to recall the regiments of the Guard from the towns in which they were in garrison around Paris, and to the camps at St Omer and Juniville, to break up and move the troops they contained with all haste to the capital;—a wise precaution, which, taken earlier, might have altered the issue of the conflict, but which was now adopted too late to have any sensible influence upon it. The Duchess d'Angoulême was absent; the Duke was at St Cloud, but did nothing but abuse Prince Polignac; the Duchess de Berri, with the ardent enthusiasm of her character, had thrown herself, heart and soul, into the cause of the Ministers, and anticipated the speedy defeat of the insurgents; while her two children, the one ten, the other nine years of age, in the simplicity of childhood, played at a game founded on the events going on in the metropolis, Mademoiselle heading the rebels, and the Duke de Bordeaux at the head

Andry de Puyraveau, Bavoux, Lafayette, Gérard, Sebastiani, Villemain, Casimir Perier, Lobau, Maréchal de Laborde, Vassal, Duchaffant, Guizot, Chardel, Méchin, Bertin de Vaux.—*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 152, 153, notes.

of the Royal Guard repulsing them. The council of Ministers sat in permanence at the Tuileries, but there was no persuading Prince Polignac that there was any serious danger. He persisted in maintaining that putting Paris in a state of siege was all that was required. Even when informed by Marmont on the evening of the 28th that many of the troops of the line had passed over to the people, and that the Guard alone was to be relied on, he said with the most astonishing *sang-froid*, "Well, if the troops have gone over to the insurgents, we must fire upon the troops."

76. The night which followed was a melancholy one in Paris, and not less so to the insurgent leaders than the royal troops. The excitement of the contest was suspended; but the silence and the darkness brought with them what was yet more terrible, for with them came the memory of the past and the anticipation of the future. That the Government would be overthrown there could be little doubt, now that the troops of the line had in great part deserted its defence, and passed over to the people; but what was to succeed it? Was a republic to be installed, with its massacres, its executions, its Marats and Robespierres? and was a second inundation of the Cossacks, perhaps never to retire, to cross the Rhine and overspread the fields of France? No one could tell what a day would bring forth; and great as had been the indignation excited by the appearance of the ordonnances, it was now as nothing compared to the terror excited by the probable success of those who opposed them. The unwounded combatants alone, wearied with a conflict which had now continued almost without intermission for forty hours, sank into sleep, and reposed peaceably, stretched on the pavement or behind their barricades; but numbers passed a melancholy night. Food there was none for the soldiers; scarce a drop of water was to be had to assuage their burning thirst; the wounded, weltering in their blood, lay stretched on the stones, for nothing to remove them had

been provided; and even the bravest felt that the contest was hopeless, now that the troops of the line had deserted them, and that nothing remained but to fall with honour amidst the ruins of the monarchy.

77. On the morning of the 29th, fifteen hundred infantry and six hundred horse of the Guard arrived at the Tuileries; but they did little more than compensate the losses of the preceding day in killed and wounded, and nothing at all to make up the huge gap in the defences of the monarchy which the general defection of the troops of the line had occasioned. Fifteen thousand men and fifty guns would have been barely sufficient to defend the position of the Tuileries against a hundred thousand combatants, the most of them well armed and disciplined, who surrounded it; and Marmont had not more than five thousand effective men and eight guns to repel the assailants. His little army was thus disposed: two Swiss battalions occupied the Louvre; the 3d and 6th regiments of the Guard, with six guns, were stationed in the streets around the Carrousel, the Rue St Honoré, and the Rue de Rivoli; a Swiss battalion occupied the Place de Carrousel; the 1st and 2d regiments of the Guard, two guns, and a regiment of the *chasseurs-à-cheval* were placed in the Place Louis XV. and the Champs Elysées. Of the line, those who remained faithful in the 15th and 50th regiments were in the garden of the Tuileries; and the 5th and 53d in the Place Vendôme. The ground on which they stood was all of Paris that remained to the King; all the rest was in the hands of the insurgents, who with loud shouts pressed in on every side, and kept up an incessant dropping fire on the Royalist outposts who surrounded the palace.

78. The deputies who met at Lafitte's in the morning resolved on one more pacific effort before they openly hoisted the standard of insurrection. Already M. Lafitte, who was, in secret, entirely in the Orléans interest, had despatched a confidential messenger to Neuilly, to inform the Duke verbally of what was going on; and he had re-

turned with the ominous words, "*I thank you.*"* But it was necessary to be cautious, and avoid any step which might seem to unnecessarily precipitate hostilities. For this purpose they had on the preceding day (28th) despatched a deputation, consisting of five members, to confer with Marmont. Its arrival at the Tuileries was preceded by that of M. Arago, the celebrated philosopher, who was an intimate friend of the marshal's. He and Marmont met in the middle of the Carrousel, where the latter was on horseback, surrounded by his staff, while the ceaseless roar of musketry on all sides announced how near the danger had approached. Arago, in the first instance, proposed to the marshal that, like the troops of the line, he should pass over, and unite his arms to those of the people. "No!" replied he instantly; "propose nothing which would dishonour me." Arago next implored him to lay down the command, and retire to St Cloud, offering his sword to the King for his personal defence, but withdrawing from the contest occasioned by the faults of his Ministers. "You know well," said Marmont, "whether or not I approve those fatal and odious measures: but I am a soldier. I am in the post which has been intrusted to me. To abandon that post under fire of sedition, to desert my troops, to be wanting to my prince, would be desertion, flight, ignominy. My fate is frightful, but it is the *arrêt* of destiny, and I must go through with it." Arago still insisted, and the conference was still going on, when officers, covered with dust and blood, came to request reinforcements for the outposts most warmly engaged. "I have none to send them," replied the general, in despair; "they must defend themselves." After a long and melancholy conference, Arago with-

* "*Le plan de M. Lafitte était arrêté. Il s'approche de M. Dudart: 'Hier je vous ai prié de vous rendre à Neuilly. A l'avertissement, que je lui faisais donner, le Prince a répondu, 'Je vous remercie.' Veuillez retourner auprès de lui, Entre une Couronne et un Passeport, qu'il choisisse. Si je réussis, je ne lui serai point payer ma commission de banque: si j'échoue, il me désavouera.'*"—Louis BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, i. 272.

drew, having in vain endeavoured to induce Marmont to desert his duty, but leaving him not the less convinced that further resistance was hopeless, and that the last hour of the monarchy had struck. Arago's departure was followed by the arrival of the deputation, consisting of MM. Casimir Perrier, Mauguin, Loban, Gérard, and Lafitte. They had a long interview with the marshal, of much the same tenor as the last, and which led to no result, but they were refused an audience by Polignac and the Ministers.

79. The deputies assembled at the hôtel of M. Lafitte now no longer hesitated. It was determined to appear no longer as mediators but as principals in the fight, to hoist the tricolor flag, put themselves at the head of the movement, and close the door against all reconciliation, by declaring the King and his Ministers public enemies. This decisive resolution was taken at six in the morning of the 29th, at the hôtel of M. Lafitte. General Sebastiani alone protested against a resolution which amounted to a dethronement of the sovereign. M. Guizot remained silent and pensive; Lafayette was overjoyed at seeing the wishes which he had formed during forty years so nearly approaching their accomplishment. Orders were immediately sent to the Hôtel de Ville to make arrangements for the reception of provisional authorities, and to the insurgents to prepare for the offensive, and a general attack on the position of the Tuileries on all sides. Meanwhile the Royalist outposts which surrounded it, sensible of their weakness, drew back in every direction; and soon the uniforms of the Guard were to be seen only in the close vicinity of the Louvre and the palace. Though the successor to the monarchy, or the form of government, was not yet divulged to the people, they were not the less resolved on by the leaders of the insurrection. Early in the morning, M. Audry de Puyraveau had been despatched to request General Lafayette to come to Lafitte's. In going there, Audry de Puyraveau met in the Rue d'Artois a number of people in a

violent state of excitement, to whom M. Mignet exclaimed, "Be quiet, my friends; this evening you will have the Duke of Orléans for your King." Lafayette, however, had other views; he had visions of a dictatorship for himself. After he had come to Lafitte's, a deputation from the Republicans came to offer the military command of Paris to Lafayette and General Gérard. The second answered in an evasive manner; the first accepted the proffered honour with puerile eagerness. "Gentlemen," said he to the persons assembled at Lafitte's, "I am pressed to take the command of Paris." "If we cannot now find M. Bailly, the virtuous mayor of 1789," cried M. Bertin de Vaux, "let us at least congratulate ourselves that we have found the illustrious chief of the National Guard." Lafayette accepted, and proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, the headquarters of the insurgents, accompanied by an immense concourse of Republicans. For a day he had the destinies of France in his hands.

80. During the night of the 28th the information they received from all quarters of Paris as to the defeat of the Royalist forces, and the report of Marshal Marmont as to the impossibility of his resuming the offensive from his position at the Tuileries with the small force at his disposal, opened the eyes of Ministers to their real situation. Orders were again despatched with the utmost expedition to the regiments of the Guard stationed at Orléans, Rouen, Beauvais, and other places, to move instantly on Paris; but this resolution, which, adopted earlier, might have altered the whole course of events, was now too late: before the directions could even reach the troops, all was decided. The Ministers were on the point of setting out for St Cloud to lay the state of matters before the King, and, if necessary, tender their resignations, when a deputation of four members of the House of Peers made their appearance at the gates of the Tuileries, and in virtue of their privilege as peers demanded an audience. They were M. de Semonville, M. d'Argout, M. de

Vitrolles, and M. de Girardin, who had been at St Cloud with the King the evening before, and came fortified with his last resolutions. They were admitted, accordingly, and painted in the strongest colours, and without either circumlocution or disguise, the frightful state of the metropolis—the entire population in insurrection, the troops of the line joined to the insurgents, and the Royal Guard, the last resource of the monarchy, hemmed in on all sides, and all but made prisoners in the ancient palace of its kings. Prince Polignac answered, “The question at issue is the authority of the King and his prerogative; in my opinion, the monarchy is lost the moment a concession is made.” These representations, however, which were too obviously supported by facts to permit their truth being seriously doubted, had such weight with the Ministers that they consented to take M. de Semonville and M. d’Argout with them to St Cloud. Before setting out they called in Marmont to hear his opinions as to the means of defence which yet remained to them. “You may tell the King,” said the marshal, “that come what may, and though the entire population of Paris should rise up against me, I can hold this position for the time without further reinforcements. It is impregnable.”* When the party arrived at St Cloud at nine o’clock, the whole state of affairs was laid before the King; but, trusting to this representation of Marmont, he remained immovable. “Sire!” said M. de Semonville, on taking his leave, “if in an hour the ordonnances are not revoked, there is no longer either a King or a monarchy.” “You will surely allow me two hours,” replied the King, with polite irony. M. de Semonville upon this threw himself on his knees, and exclaimed, “The Dau-

phin, sire! think of the Dauphin!” But even this appeal to the sensibility and early recollections of the King failed, and the deputation withdrew without having effected any accommodation. Prince Polignac, in entering the royal cabinet, met M. de Semonville coming out. “You have been demanding my head,” said he, making, while smiling, the sign of decapitation. “It matters not; I was determined the King should hear my accuser.”

81. But while these events were in progress at St Cloud, matters were so precipitated at Paris that an accommodation was no longer possible. One by one the whole barracks there, stripped of their defenders, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents; the Hôtel de Ville, where General Dubourg had assumed a fleeting dictatorship, had become their headquarters, where General Lafayette was established; the whole left bank of the Seine opposite the Tuileries was in their hands; and dense masses of them, headed by the scholars of the Polytechnic School, had come close to the artillery of the Guard in the Rue St Honoré, opposite the Louvre. Already a sort of parley had taken place between them; and the officer in command, fearful of taking so strong a step on his own responsibility, had sent to Marmont to say his pieces were charged with grape, and asking if he might fire? He was forbidden to do so, and immediately the guns fell into the hands of the insurgents. At the same time, the 5th and 53d regiments, stationed in the Place Vendôme, yielding to the eloquence of M. Casimir Perier, opened their ranks to let them into the garden of the Tuileries. Informed of this shameful treachery, Marmont ordered M. de Salis, who commanded the three battalions of the Swiss Guard in the Louvre and the Carrousel, to send one of them to occupy the important position of the Place Vendôme, which barred the great entrance by the Rue de la Paix from the boulevards, which were crowded with insurgents. M. de Salis, desirous to relieve the two bat-

* Marmont, however, urged upon the Ministers in the very strongest terms, the necessity of withdrawing the ordonnances, and coming to an arrangement with the leaders of the popular party at once, whilst he yet held a strong position in Paris itself. He could not answer for the defence after twenty-four hours.—See MARMONT’S *Mémoires*, viii. 258-59.

talions which had combated since day-break in the colonnade of the Louvre, with the insurgents in and around the church of St Germain l'Auxerrois opposite, gave orders to one of them to retire, with a view to its being sent to the Place Vendôme, and another in the Carrousel to take its place. During the transposition the fire from the colonnade ceased for a few minutes, and the insurgents opposite, thinking it was a permanent retreat, rushed with the utmost vehemence across the Place St Germain l'Auxerrois, and stormed the building. In an instant the windows were broken through, the gates forced open, the stairs mounted, the inner court of the Louvre carried; and the bravest of the insurgents, forcing their way through the interior doors and communications, penetrated into the gallery of the Museum, from the inner windows of which they opened a plunging fire upon the Swiss, who still remained in the Place of the Carrousel. Upon this, seeing themselves assailed both in front and flank, a sudden panic seized the troops there, and they fled in wild disorder under the arch of the palace into the garden of the Tuileries. By a strange coincidence they passed over the same spot where their predecessors had gloriously fallen on the 10th August 1792. Marmont, regaining his resolution with the approach of danger, hastened to the rear, which was retiring before the insurgents, did everything that courage and conduct could suggest to arrest the disorder, and succeeded in restoring some degree of order, withdrawing the troops in tolerable array into the Champs Elysées. He was the last man who left the garden of the Tuileries.

82. This success proved decisive, as a similar advantage had invariably done through all the phases of the former Revolution. Since the bones and sinews of France had been broken by the Constituent Assembly, by the destruction of the nobility, the Church, and the incorporations, no power has existed in France capable of withstanding any party in possession of the capital, its treasury, post-office, and tele-

graph. They were all soon entirely in the hands of the insurgents. The only posts of importance still occupied by the royal troops—the Invalides and barracks of Babylone, where the Swiss were located—were evacuated, the latter after a severe conflict, in which great numbers of the gallant defenders perished, and the troops in them rejoined their comrades in the Champs Elysées. One melancholy event alone darkened the universal triumph, and cast a tragic yet heroic air over the fall of the monarchy. A hundred Swiss, placed in a house at the junction of the Rue de Richelieu and the Rue St Honoré, who, in the confusion of the retreat, had been forgotten, defended themselves to the last, and perished, like their predecessors on the 10th of August, to the last man. Several Swiss, betrayed by their uniform, were pursued and massacred by the people; but with these exceptions, which happily were not numerous, the insurgents made a noble use of their victory. They broke, indeed, into the Tuileries, the Louvre, and the palace of the Archbishop of Paris, traversed their stately galleries and splendid halls, and evinced their hatred of royalty by firing at several of the pictures, piercing them with their bayonets, and tearing in pieces the gorgeous furniture and decorations of the princesses' apartments. The archbishop's palace was sacked, and the cellars of the Tuileries emptied of their contents. But, with these exceptions, they abstained from acts of pillage; they disdained to sully the victory of the people by the exhibition of vulgar vices; and the municipal authorities at the Hôtel de Ville took the most vigorous measures to arrest the disorder, and preserve the public monuments from injury. At the same time the Royal Guard, sad and dejected, pursued their way under the triumphal arch at the barrier of Neuilly, erected to commemorate the glories of their predecessors in the Grand Army; and the regiments of the line, which had joined the insurgents, withdrew to their barracks, amidst external applause and secret shame.

83. Meanwhile Marmont had sta-

tioned his troops in the Bois de Boulogne, where all pursuit and hostilities ceased, and where he intended to establish himself permanently, when he received an order from the Duke d'Angoulême, now commander-in-chief, to continue the retreat to St Cloud. He put the column in motion accordingly, and galloped across the wood to St Cloud, to lay the account of his disasters before the King. "Sire!" said he on arriving, "it is my painful duty to announce to your Majesty, that I have not been able to maintain your authority in Paris. The Swiss, to whom I intrusted the defence of the Louvre, seized with a sudden panic, have abandoned that important post; carried away myself by the torrent of fugitives, I was unable to rally the troops till they arrived at the Arch of the Etoile; and I have ordered them to continue their retreat to St Cloud. A ball, directed at me, has killed the horse of my aide-de-camp by my side. I regret it did not pass through my head; death would be nothing to me compared to the sad spectacle which I have witnessed." The King, without addressing a word of reproach to the marshal, raised his eyes to heaven; he recognised the fortune of his race. Then he desired Marmont to take his orders from the Duke d'Angoulême, whom he had appointed generalissimo of his armies. He next directed the Ministers to be called in; and before they could enter, intelligence arrived of the complete evacuation of Paris, and retreat of the troops towards St Cloud.

84. The final interview of the King with his Ministers was not of long duration. Events had crowded on one another with such rapidity that there was scarcely any room for doubt or hesitation. The metropolis had been lost, the government changed, the monarchy overthrown, in a single day. Waterloo itself had not been more decisive. The monarch opened the conference by detailing the disastrous news communicated by Marmont, and the concessions pressed upon him by M. de Semonville and M. d'Argout, which were such a capitulation as

amounted to a practical abdication of the crown. Struck with consternation, the majority of the Council thought nothing remained but to yield to a force which they had not the means of resisting. M. Guernon de Ranville, though he had counselled an accommodation the evening before, when the victory was still undecided, now, like a true soldier, strongly supported the opposite side. "The throne is overturned, we are told," said he; "the evil is great; but I believe it is exaggerated. I cannot believe that the monarchy is to fall without a combat. We must recollect that the deplorable fighting in the streets, which we have witnessed during the last two days, though it has unfortunately caused much blood to flow, does not constitute the energetic resistance which we are entitled to expect from the best troops in Europe. Happen what may, Paris is not France; the masses may be for a moment deluded by the promises of Liberalism, but they do not desire revolution. The Chambers desire it still less; the majority of the army is still faithful; the Guard, shaken a moment, will soon resume its fitting attitude; if the Crown does not abandon itself, with such support it will triumph over this fresh revolutionary attempt. If, however, the Genius of Evil is again to prove triumphant, if the legitimate throne is again to fall, let it fall with honour; shame alone has no future. It is indispensable to recall some of the ordonnances, not to satisfy the insurgents, but because it is just to do so—because the interests of the Crown require such a concession. The Government of the King was in the legal path when it dissolved the Chamber, for it had a right to do so; his Majesty will be all-powerful against the revolutionists when he is supported by the Chamber. Should this line be adopted, it will be necessary to postpone, by a few days, the opening of the Chamber, which is fixed for the 3d August; and, above all, to appoint another place of assembly than Paris, which is expressly permitted by the Charter."

85. These courageous sentiments were strongly supported by the Duke d'Angoulême. "I regret," said he, "that the majority of the Council does not go into these ideas. If we are reduced to the terrible necessity of prolonging the strife, we shall find numerous auxiliaries in the fidelity of the provinces; but even if we are abandoned by all—if this sun is to be the last which shines on the monarchy, let us at least dignify our fall by perishing with arms in our hands." Had the King gone into these sentiments he might have preserved the throne, for the insurgents in Paris were powerless out of its streets, and twenty thousand of the Royal Guard, who might speedily have been assembled, would have enabled the Royalists to keep the field till the remainder of the army and the provinces had declared themselves. But, like Louis XVI., he had the resignation of a martyr, not the spirit of a hero. He had the moral courage requisite to undertake bold designs, but not the physical energy necessary for their execution. He discerned, as he thought, the stroke of fate, and prepared to submit with patience to its infliction. Turning to the majority of the Council, who recommended submission, he said, "Do what you think best, my cause is conquered." Upon this, the final resolution was taken; and the King signed an ordonnance, revoking the former ordonnances, dismissing the Ministers, and appointing M. de Montemart President of the Council, M. Casimir Perier to the Interior, and General Gérard Minister at War. It was an attempt at capitulation for the monarchy. The Duke d'Angoulême, silent, but quivering with indignation, paced round the table where the signing of the ordonnance was going on. The Ministers for the last time left the council chamber, with tears in their eyes and despair in their hearts.

86. It belongs to a succeeding volume to recount the important events which at this period took place in Paris, and which prepared the ascent of the Duke of Orléans, so well known afterwards as LOUIS PHILIPPE, to the throne. A

few pages will suffice to narrate in this the melancholy story of the elder branch of the Bourbons, till they left as exiles their native land. Every hour brought intelligence of fresh defections, of the immense agitation in Paris, the insurrection of Versailles and the other towns in the vicinity, of the treachery of new regiments of the line. The Guard alone remained faithful, a glorious example of fidelity and honour amidst the general defection of their companions in arms. M. de Montemart was a nobleman of ancient family, vast possessions, and honourable character, trained to arms, and as brave as steel; but he wanted the political skill and moral resolution to conduct the affairs of the monarchy in the desperate circumstances in which it was now placed. But this was immaterial; had he possessed the talents of Sully, the energy of Henry IV., and the firmness of Cardinal Richelieu, the result would have been the same. The fiat of the Almighty had gone out against the monarchy; nothing remained but to survive the shipwreck. M. de Montemart accepted the perilous duty intrusted to him with the utmost reluctance, and only in obedience to the earnest request and positive mandate of the sovereign. But his mission entirely failed of success. In vain were new ordonnances of a liberal character prepared in haste by the new Minister and sent to the Hôtel de Ville, to negotiate with the Provisional Government there established, of which Lafayette was President. "*It is too late,*" said M. de Schonen, a dependant and intimate friend of Lafayette; "the throne of Charles X. has melted away in blood." In vain the command of the National Guard was offered to Marshal Maison. General Lafayette had already accepted it, and the whole force was by this time arrayed against the monarchy. In vain M. Lafitte, M. Bertin de Vaux, and M. Guizot, and some others, who had become fearful of the rapid progress of the revolution, strove to obtain a hearing for the envoys of the King, and suggested the possibility of still coming to an accommodation. Their voices were drowned

by vehement cries from all parts of the hall. "IL EST TROP TARD!—plus de transactions, plus de Bourbons!" broke forth on all sides; and M. de Vitrolles and M. d'Argout, who had come on the mission, returned to St Cloud with the conviction that the cause of the monarchy was lost.

87. Convinced that it was no longer possible to resist, Charles, on the return of the envoys, signed an unqualified revocation of the ordonnances, and ordered Prince Polignac, whose presence at the court was a continual object of jealousy to the revolutionists, to retire from St Cloud. He had already, in secret, made up his mind that a resignation of the crown had become unavoidable, and he sought time only to be able to fall with dignity and decorum. He abhorred the idea of civil war; he could resign his crown or his life for his people, and what he conceived to be his duty, but he would not be instrumental in shedding their blood. Prince Polignac entirely shared these dispositions. When parting from M. de Montemart at St Cloud, he pressed his hand, and said, "What a misfortune that my sword has broken in my hand! I would have secured the Charter on an indestructible foundation."* It was in the spirit of the Charter, and to secure it in future times, by founding it on the basis of property and religion, that he intended for the time to abrogate it. Meanwhile the popular party at the Hôtel de Ville, amidst cries of "*A bas les Bourbons!*" "*Plus de Bourbons!*" pub-

lished a proclamation, signed by Count Lobau, M. Audry de Puyraveau, M. Mauguin, and M. de Schonen, the sentence of death to the monarchy—Charles X. "has ceased to reign in France." But even this did not satisfy the extreme Liberals, who, as usual in such convulsions, had got the ascendancy. "Nous sommes trahis: on veut nous imposer Henri V.; ce n'est pas pour Henri V. que nous nous sommes battus!" was the general cry.

88. M. de Montemart made a last effort to open negotiations with the revolutionary authorities at the Hôtel de Ville. Alone, in a peasant's dress, with his coat over his arm, as if overcome with the heat, he set out on foot from St Cloud, passed with difficulty the outposts of the two armies, and succeeded in getting into Paris through a breach made in the wall that surrounds it. But he soon saw there that his mission was fruitless. The tricolor flag floated on the summit of every steeple, every tower, every public edifice; the arms of the King, the ensigns of royalty, were nearly all effaced; no one ventured to mention the name of the Bourbons but as an object of horror and derision; death awaited any man rash enough to propose their restoration. Worn out with fatigue, covered with dust and sweat, M. de Montemart yet feared that he would be recognised, and refused admittance at the Hôtel de Ville, and he gave the revocation of the ordonnances to his friend M. Collin de Sussy, who consequently carried them to that centre of the insurrection. They were received only with contempt and derision; and M. de Montemart returned to St Cloud, convinced by the evidence of his own senses that the cause of royalty was lost.

89. The return of the Duke of Orléans to Paris, which took place on the following day, and the lead which he immediately acquired among the revolutionists; induced Charles X. to make a last effort to raise the Crown from the dust. Everything promised success to such an attempt. The Duke had been overwhelmed with acts of kindness from the royal family; he

* In the estimation of Prince Polignac, the contest in which he had engaged the monarchy was a holy war for the support of religion. In his secret meditations he said, "Avec quelle douleur l'examen de certains dispositions de la Charte, nous a-t-il démontré que la foi de nos pères, que la religion Chrétienne, s'y trouve blessée dans des points sensibles et importants! Tous les cultes également autorisés et protégés peuvent offrir, dans l'état du Roi très-Christien, le spectacle d'outrages continnels dirigés contre l'autel du vrai Dieu." With truth does Lamartine observe on this passage, "Là est tout le secret du règne de Charles X et des ordonnances." It was the ambitious intolerant spirit of the Romish faith which was the moving spring of the whole.—See LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Restauration*, viii. 329, note.

had himself owed the final restoration of his immense possessions to Charles X., and he always professed the most unbounded gratitude for the gift. Everything conspired to recommend to him an alliance with the royal family. Their common descent from Louis XIII.; the cause of the throne, to which, failing Henry V., he was the next heir; the noble feeling of disinterested loyalty; the selfish principle of individual interest,—all tended to recommend it. Charles X. offered him the lieutenantancy-general of the kingdom, in order to guard the Crown during his minority for the Duke de Bordeaux, in whose favour the King and the Duke d'Angoulême offered to renounce it. Had he accepted the mission, his descendants would in all probability have sat upon the throne of France, for the Duke de Bordeaux to this day has no heirs, and the Orléans family has ever since been the first in the order of succession. The simple course of honour and of duty would have secured for himself, in the first instance, the substantial power and importance of royalty; for his children, the inheritance of the crown of France. But he refused the offer; he yielded to the whisperings of ambition; he swerved from the cause of duty under the attractions of a diadem, and he was elevated to greatness only to be punished by losing it. He lost the crown for his rightful sovereign, but he lost its reversion also for his own descendants; he died discrowned in a foreign land, and his children, now exiles, and destitute, having lost their property, their honours, their inheritance, remain a lasting monument, not of the mutability of fortune, but of the immutability of the laws of justice in the Divine administration.*

* In making these observations, the Author is well aware of the many extenuating circumstances which may be pleaded in favour of the Duke of Orléans's defection from the throne; and it will appear in the next volume, when his accession comes to be narrated, that full weight is given to them. But he can admit no paltering with honour and duty; treason is not the less treason though it may be less condemned because it succeeds. If the maxim be true, "Noblesse oblige," under what obligation did he lie, who, the second

90. The failure of the attempt to enlist the Duke of Orléans among the supporters of the royal cause, and the increasing spread of desertion and pressure of the revolutionary forces, induced Marmont to issue a proclamation announcing a sort of capitulation to the royal troops, in virtue of which hostilities were immediately to cease. This step, which was in a manner a surrender of the royal cause, excited the most violent indignation in the breast of the Duke d'Angoulême, who, so far from thinking of submitting, was forming plans for the defence of the strong position of St Cloud, where he proposed to rally the whole Royal Guard, call upon the troops from the camps of St Omer and Nancy, and with their united force, eight-and-thirty thousand strong, march again upon Paris, and restore the royal authority in the capital. Such was the indignation of the prince at what he conceived to be the treachery of the marshal that he openly called him a traitor, and in attempting to snatch from him his sword, wounded himself in the hand. Marmont was immediately put under arrest; but the King, trained to endure suffering, and more master of his passions, soon after ordered him to be set at liberty, and re-

in descent of the noblest family in Europe, was at the same time the first subject in France, and the largest recipient of the royal munificence? The readiness with which the French in every age have rallied round the standard of success, renders it probable that, even in the first instance, a cordial union of the Royal and Orléans branches of the house of Bourbon would have secured the throne for both. But even had it been otherwise, what would have been the result in the end of an adherence to the path of honour and duty? Suppose that the torrent of republicanism had been so violent, that in the first instance it was irresistible, and that the Duke of Orléans joined the royal cause only to share its fall, what would have succeeded? A republic so oppressive, so absurd, so ruinous, that it would have run the course of madness, extravagance, and detestation, as quickly as it did when erected on the ruins of the Orléans dynasty in 1848. And when the inevitable hour of its fall came, in what a different situation would the united Royalist and Orléans parties, the cause of the white flag, then *sans peur et sans reproche*, have been from what it now is — disunited, at variance, discredited, an-planted by the Imperial party, the common enemy of both!

stored his sword to him. This violent scene, however, and the near approach of the revolutionary forces, which were now close to St Cloud, induced the monarch to withdraw himself to Trianon, where he assembled a council of his former Ministers, as M. de Montemart had not yet returned from Paris, and had not been heard of for four-and-twenty hours. But while they were still in deliberation, and discussing the formation of a powerful *corps d'armée* at St Cloud, composed of the Guard and such of the regiments of the line as were still faithful, the Duke d'Angoulême, who had been left in command of the rear-guard at St Cloud, arrived with the disheartening intelligence that the regiments of the line had disbanded, and the troops posted at the bridge refused to fire upon the insurgents, who had, in consequence, passed the bridge, occupied St Cloud, and were preparing to march on Trianon. On receipt of this intelligence, it was resolved to fall back at all points on Rambouillet, where the court arrived with the Royal Guard, still twelve thousand strong, at midnight, in the deepest state of depression.

91. Charles arrived at Rambouillet fully determined to abdicate for himself in favour of his grandson; he preferred anything to the horrors and chances of a civil war. He recognised in his reverses the chastising hand of Providence, and he determined to submit in silence and resignation to the infliction of its punishment. The Duke d'Angoulême was strongly of an opposite opinion, and preferred the chances of a conflict, but, submissive in all things to the will of his father, he waived his opposition. On the following morning, accordingly, the King assembled his family around him, and announced his intention of abdicating in favour of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux, as his son, the Duke d'Angoulême, shared his sentiments, and renounced his right of succession to the throne. He intimated this resolution in a letter to the Duke of Orléans, requiring him, in the character of lieutenant-general of the kingdom,

conferred on him by the revolutionary authorities at Paris, and confirmed by the King by royal appointment, to proclaim the accession of Henry V. to the throne, authorising him at the same time to administer the government during his minority.* Here, then, again the path of honour and duty was opened to the Duke of Orléans; but he again declined to follow it, and, instead of obeying the royal mandate, and issuing the proclamation required of him, he made every preparation for resistance. At the same time, however, with detestable hypocrisy, he wrote a letter to Charles X. in answer, so respectful and affectionate that it entirely disarmed the suspicions of the falling monarch.† An

* "RAMBOUILLET, 2 Août 1830.

"Je suis trop profondément peiné de maux qui affligent ou qui pourraient menacer mes peuples pour n'avoir pas cherché un moyen de les prévenir. J'ai donc pris la résolution d'abdiquer la couronne en faveur de mon petit-fils; le Dauphin, qui partage mes sentimens, renonce aussi à ses droits en faveur de son neveu. Vous aurez donc, en votre qualité de Lieutenant-Général du Royaume, à faire proclamer l'avènement de Henri V. à la couronne. Vous prendrez d'ailleurs toutes les mesures qui vous concernent pour régler la forme du gouvernement pendant la minorité du nouveau roi: ici je me borne à faire connaître ces dispositions; c'est un moyen d'éviter bien des maux. Vous communiquerez mes intentions au corps diplomatique, et vous me ferez connaître le plutôt possible la proclamation par laquelle mon petit-fils sera reconnu Roi sous le nom de Henri V.—CHARLES."—*Annuaire Historique*, xiii. 188, 189; CAPEFIGUE, ii. 211, note.

† "M. Dupin conseilla au Prince de faire au message de Charles X. une réponse catégorique, et propre à séparer nettement la cause de la maison d'Orléans de celle de la branche aînée. Il alla jusqu'à se charger de la rédaction de cette réponse. La lettre qu'il écrivit était rude et sans pitié. Le Duc d'Orléans la lut, et dit, Ceci est trop grave pour que je ne consulte pas ma femme. Il passe dans une pièce voisine, et reparait quelques instans après, tenant à la main la même enveloppe, qui fut remise à l'envoyé de Charles X. La lettre, que cette enveloppe contenait, émut doucement le vieux monarque; elle était affectueuse et pleine de témoignages de fidélité. Charles en fut si touché que, dès ce moment, toutes ses hésitations s'évanouirent. Charles X. n'avait jamais eu pour le Duc d'Orléans la même répugnance que beaucoup d'hommes de la Cour. Il en avait donné récemment une preuve éclatante en ordonnant au Général Trogof de confisquer tous les exemplaires des *Mémoires de Maria Stella*, li-

belle dirigée contre le Duc d'Orléans, et que

army, composed of twelve or fifteen thousand men, hastily got together and half-armed, was directed to march out of Paris on Rambouillet, and Messieurs Schonen and Odillon Barrot and Marshal Maison were sent forward as a deputation to impress upon the King the necessity of an immediate and unqualified resignation for himself and his descendants, and every preparation was made to compel his embarkation for England.

92. The cortège of the revolutionary forces set out from the capital on the 3d August; it was deemed at the time no slight stroke of policy, on the part of the revolutionary chiefs, that they succeeded, on this pretext, in getting rid of twelve or fourteen thousand unruly defenders, who, whatever they might be to their opponents, were unquestionably most formidable to their own government. Various arms, with muskets, sabres, pistols, pikes, iron bars, and fowling-pieces, the motley assemblage were conveyed, for the most part in omnibuses and cabriolets, towards Rambouillet. The whole royal carriages had been pressed into the service, and conveyed a considerable number. The advanced-guard, consisting of veterans and National Guards, which alone preserved the appearance or order of soldiers, was under the orders of General Excelmans. General Pajol, who commanded the whole, and who was too experienced a soldier not to know the value of such a disorderly rabble in the open field, trembled at every step lest the opening of a masked battery, or a charge of the cavalry of the Guard, should throw the whole into confusion, and drive it headlong back to Paris. Careless of the future, the strange multitude proceeded gaily

on their way, in great part still blackened by the smoke, and animated by the spirit of the barricades, singing the Marseillaise and other revolutionary songs; while the frequent discharges of muskets from the ranks told the commanders but too clearly how unskilful their followers were in the use of arms, or how little inured to military discipline. Several persons in the staff were wounded by these stray shots, and General Pajol himself feared for his life at the hands of his own troops.

93. When the three commissioners who preceded this revolutionary rabble were introduced to the King at Rambouillet, he asked them with the voice of authority—"What do you wish with me? I have arranged everything with the Duke of Orléans, my lieutenant-general of the kingdom." So thoroughly was the unfortunate monarch, who judged of others by what he felt in himself, persuaded of the loyalty and good faith of that prince, that that very morning he had made the Duke of Luxembourg, who commanded the Guard, publish an address to that body, in which he assured them of the same situations and rank in the service of that sovereign which they had enjoyed in his own. Odillon Barrot upon this took up the word, and impressed upon the King the necessity of submitting, in the interest of the Duke de Bordeaux, whose name had not as yet been implicated in the debates, to a necessity which could no longer be avoided, and of the extreme inexpediency of founding his throne in blood. The King was calm and decided; he was still undetermined whether or not to try the fate of arms. "If the King," said he, "would avoid involving the kingdom in unheard-of calamities, and a useless effusion of blood, it is indispensable that his Majesty and his family should instantly leave France. There are *eighty thousand men* who have issued from Paris, ready to fall on the royal forces." The King upon this took Marshal Maison into the embrasure of a window, and said, "Marshal Maison, you are a soldier and a man of honour; tell me, on *your word*

les courtisans faisaient circuler à Saint-Cloud avec une joie maligne. Il fut donc charmé de trouver dans ce Prince le Protecteur de son petit-fils; et convaincu que la loyauté du Duc d'Orléans était la meilleure garantie de l'avenir royal destiné au Duc de Bordeaux, il réalisa sans retard un projet qu'il n'avait encore conçu que vaguement. Non content d'abdiquer la Couronne, il usa de l'empire absolu qu'il exerçait sur le Dauphin pour le faire consentir lui aussi à une abdication, et il crut au salut de sa dynastie."—LOUIS BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, i. 374, 375.

of honour, is the army which has marched out of Paris against me really eighty thousand strong?" And a French soldier and marshal answered, "Sire! I cannot give you the number exactly, but it is very numerous, and may amount to that force." "Enough!" replied the King; "I believe you, and I consent to everything, to spare the blood of my Guard." * With that he gave orders for the departure of the court for Cherbourg, to embark for England, the common refuge for the unfortunate of all ranks and parties and countries. Marshal Maison had not long before been placed by Charles X. at the head of the army which he had sent to Greece, as has been already narrated in the history of that country. France and its army were far from the day when the dying Chevalier Bayard said to the pursuing and conquering Constable de Bourbon, "Pity not me; pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath."

94. The die being now cast, and the final resolution taken, the King gave

* M. Louis Blanc's account of this important interview is substantially the same. "M. Odillon Barrot prit la parole avec assurance. Il parla des horreurs de la guerre civile, du danger de braver des passions encore incandescentes. Et comme Charles X. insistait sur les droits du Duc de Bordeaux formellement réservés par l'Acte d'Abdication, l'orateur lui représenta, d'une voix caressante, que ce n'était pas dans le sang qu'il fallait placer le trône de Henri V. '*Et soixante mille hommes menacent Rambouillet*,' ajouta le Maréchal Maison. A ces mots le Roi, qui marchait à grands pas, s'arrêta et fait signe au Maréchal Maison qu'il désire l'entretenir en particulier. Après quelques moments d'hésitation le Maréchal y consent. Alors le regardant fixement, 'Monsieur,' lui dit le Roi, '*je crois à votre loyauté—je suis prêt à me fier à votre parole; est-il vrai que l'armée Parisienne qui s'avance soit composée de soixante mille hommes?*' "OUI, SIRE,' Charles X. n'hésita plus. Le Duc de Luxembourg publia un Ordre du Jour, pour apprendre aux Gardes que leur position sous Henri V. serait la même que sous Charles X.: tant le vieux Monarque avait de peine à se persuader qu'il eût un successeur dans le Lieutenant-Général. Il le croyait si peu qu'il chargea M. Alexandre de Girardin d'aller prendre à Paris 600,000 francs sur le trésor; et comme il était revenu qu'on craignait qu'il n'emportât les diamants de la Couronne, il repoussa cette supposition avec beaucoup de véhémence et de dignité. Pourquoi d'ailleurs aurait-il emporté des diamants qu'il savait faire partie de l'héritage de son petit-fils."—LOUIS BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, t. 400, 401.

orders for the journey to Cherbourg on the following day. The intelligence of this determination caused the few regiments of the line which still adhered to his standard to take their departure. But nothing could shake the fidelity of the greater portion of the Guard, which, in diminished strength, though with sad hearts and mournful visages, followed the long cortège of carriages which was conveying their sovereign and the royal family into exile. They halted the first night at Maintenon, the splendid seat of the family of Noailles, built by Louis XIV. for his favourite queen, where they were received with noble generosity by its illustrious owners; and there, on the following morning, the King bade adieu to the greater part of the Guard, reserving only for his escort to the coast the *Gardes-du-corps* and *Gendarmerie d'Elite*, with six pieces of cannon, under the command of Marmont, on whom he had generously bestowed it, to show he retained no rancour for the events at Paris and St Cloud. The whole Guard was drawn up in the park and on the road as the royal cortège passed them, and they presented arms for the last time to their sovereign. No words can express the emotion which was felt on both sides. His faults, his imprudences, were forgotten in the magnitude of his fall; they saw only their monarch in misfortune, and the last of a long race of sovereigns, with his whole family, driven into exile by his own subjects. Grief swelled every heart; few dry eyes were seen in the vast and noble array. The countenance of the King was sad, but calm; conscious of the purity of his intentions, he submitted to the chastisement of Providence with the resignation of a martyr. The Duchess d'Angoulême, inured to suffering, appeared to rise in dignity and heroism, amidst all the disasters which surrounded her. The Duchess de Berri, in male attire, and with her children in her hand, seemed scarce able to comprehend more than they the magnitude of the stroke which had deprived them of their inheritance. The King at length was melted into tears, and not a dry eye remained in

the ranks when the royal infants were, for the last time, presented to their aching eyes.

95. The journey to Cherbourg lasted twelve days—a prolonged period of agony, during which the discrowned King and his unhappy family tasted, drop by drop, the cup of humiliation, suffering, and exile. The route was made to avoid the great towns, so that the King had never the mortification of seeing the royal arms supplanted by those of the Duke of Orléans, who had been proclaimed King on the 6th August. The peasantry in the villages through which they travelled, and where they passed the night, were silent and respectful: they neither received them with acclamations nor with scoffs. There is something in great reverses which, in all but the most savage bosoms, melts to pity, or overawes into silence. Marmont, during the whole journey, rode on horseback at the right of the King's carriage, and many of the greatest nobles of France added to the lustre of their historic names by their fidelity to misfortune. The Duke of Luxembourg was there, and the Duke de Guiche; the Duke de Levis and the Duke de Polignac; Auguste de la Rochejaquelein—a name which sustained itself with honour amidst every reverse of the monarchy—and the Prince of Croz; the Count de Mesnard, the Count de Brissac, Baron Dumas, preceptor of the Duke de Bordeaux, and Madame Gontaut, governess of his young sister. Madame de St Maure, the Countess de Bouillé, and several other ladies of distinction, were there also, and added to the dignity of their rank by the display of the fidelity by which it is ennobled. Great apprehensions were entertained of some disturbances in Normandy on their passage through, as there had been many acts of incendiarism during the preceding convulsions, but everything passed over in peace. The fall of the monarchy had hushed into silence every lesser passion. No tricolor flag or ensign of revolution met his eye. At Carantan only he received, in the *Moniteur*, the account of the successful usurpation of Louis Philippe. He read it in silence, and laid down the paper without

uttering a word of reproach. The only act of treason which he heard of during the journey was by his first subject.

96. The exiles remained two days at Valognes, to give time for the vessels which were expected to come round to Cherbourg; and as the districts where danger had been apprehended were now passed, Charles took the opportunity to dismiss the remains of his faithful Guard. He assembled around him the officers and six of the oldest privates of the companies and squadrons which yet composed his escort. The Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, the Duchess de Berri, and the royal infants, were by his side. The King received from them the standards on which their fidelity had shed so much lustre, and thanked them for their devotion in words interrupted by sobs. "I receive," said he, "these standards, and this child will one day restore them to you. The names of each of you, inscribed on your muster-rolls, and preserved by my grandson, will remain registered in the archives of the royal family, to attest for ever my misfortunes, and the consolation I have received from your fidelity." Sobs here choked his voice; the whole royal family which surrounded him, all the circle around, were melted into tears. The King and royal family then put off all the ensigns of royalty, and assumed the garb of exiles, suited to their destiny and their misfortunes.

97. From Valognes Charles wrote two letters, one to the King of England, and another to the Emperor of Austria, recounting his dethronement, and requesting an asylum in their dominions. As he received the requisite permission from the English Government first, he set out for Cherbourg on the 16th. Before quitting St Cloud he had ordered Prince Polignac to leave him. He did not, like Charles I., offer his Minister as a holocaust to appease the wrath of his people. "Set off," said he; "I order it. I recollect only your courage; I do not impute to you our misfortunes. Our cause was that of God, of the throne, and the people. Providence often proves its servants by suffering, and defeats

the best designs, for reasons superior to what our limited faculties can discern; but it never deceives upright consciences. Nothing is yet lost for our house. I go to combat with one hand, and to negotiate with the other. Retire behind the Loire, where you will find an asylum from the vengeance of the people in the midst of my army, which has orders to assemble at Chartres." Profoundly moved, the Prince kissed the King's hand and retired. His arrest, trial, and imprisonment, will form an interesting episode in a subsequent volume of this History.

98. From the summit of the hill which overlooks Cherbourg, the King first beheld the sea on which he was about to embark. It was thought an attempt would be made on his life on going through the streets. The Duchess d'Angoulême no sooner heard this than she mounted the chariot with him, determined to share his dangers. Nothing of the kind, however, occurred. The streets were crowded as the exiles passed along, but no seditious cries or murmurs assailed their ears in the last city of their country which was impressed by their footsteps. The tricolor flags were removed from the windows as they moved along, to spare the vanquished monarch the sight of his humiliation. The carriages did not stop in the town, but passed on at once to the place of embarkation, from which the crowd were excluded by barricades. On descending from the carriage, at the place of embarkation, the whole royal family burst into tears; the infants even, unconscious as yet what they were losing, wept bitterly. Such was the emotion of the Duchess d'Angoulême that she sank in a swoon. M. de la Rochejaquelein aided her to step on board, and leave her country for ever. At least, the last arm on which she rested was that of one of the noblest of its sons. M. de Charette, another Vendean officer, whose name was a presage alike of heroism and misfortune, conducted the Duchess de Berri. Charles himself, who alone retained his self-possession, was the last who stepped

on board—like the captain who, on a shipwreck, sees all the crew out of the vessel before he leaves it himself. The few faithful officers who yet attended him then kissed his hand, which they bathed with their tears. The dis-crowned sovereign then shut himself up in his cabin to conceal his emotion. The *Great Britain* packet-boat had the honour of conveying the illustrious exiles. Not a gun was fired as the last of the long line of sovereigns left his country. In silence the vessel ploughed through the melancholy main, and steered for Scotland, where the cold courtesy of the English Government had for the second time offered them an asylum in the ancient palace of Holyrood; very different from what Louis XIV. had given, in his misfortunes, to James II. They there rested at last in the scene of the sorrows of Queen Mary, and of the transient gleams of prosperity which illuminated, ere they were shrouded in darkness, the fortunes of Charles Edward.

99. Thus fell the dynasty of the Restoration—and fell, to all appearance, never, as a hereditary house, to be restored. The main object of the first Revolution having been the abolition of hereditary privileges, and the extinction of hereditary descent, it was scarcely to be expected that the highest rank and station in the country was to be exempted from its influence. To throw open all objects and situations to all, to tender to all alike the career of ambition, was the end to which the nation so passionately aspired; and was it to be supposed that the highest prize in the lottery was not to be placed in the wheel? This, accordingly, is exactly what has happened. With the exception of the fifteen years of the Restoration, during which the ancient race, imposed upon them with difficulty, bore the weight of a crown of thorns, every monarch since 1789 has been elected, as in ancient Rome, by the people and the army. Napoleon, Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon, have been successively chosen from different families amidst

general transports, and the two first precipitated from the throne amidst universal obloquy. Fickle in everything else, the French have been faithful to one thing only—their love of change. But we are not to ascribe this to any peculiar inconstancy of character in the French nation from which other races are exempt. All people under similar circumstances would do the same. The destruction of a hereditary aristocracy renders the maintenance of a hereditary throne impossible. One successful revolt, which overturns a throne, leaves the nation which has effected it no alternative but a repetition of similar violent changes. It was so in ancient Rome, when the fervour of the Gracchi and the civil wars of Marius terminated in the elective military despotism of the Cæsars. Even that family could not long keep the throne. The great name of the Dictator could not secure it for any considerable time for his successors. It passed into other hands, and became the prize of the most popular citizen, the most fortunate soldier. An elective military despotism is the natural, and perhaps inevitable, compromise between the popular passion, which, having once tasted of the sweets of choosing a master, will never after forego the gratification, and the state necessity, which renders it indispensable that the power, when once conferred, should be of the most despotic description.

100. It is evident that the fall of Charles X. was immediately brought about by his refusal to submit to the first principle of a representative government—that of taking his Ministers from the majority of the popular branch of the legislature. There can be no doubt that it is often very galling to a sovereign to be obliged to do so, and that it seems very like depriving him of the liberty in choosing his confidential servants, which is accorded to the meanest of his subjects. Still it is the fundamental principle of a constitutional monarchy; and if a sovereign accepts such a throne, he is bound to conform to its conditions. The point at issue between Charles and the Chamber of Deputies was,

whether he was to maintain, contrary to their wishes, the ultra-Royalist Administration he had chosen; and although not absolutely bound to defer to their wishes in the first instance, yet, having tried the last resort of a dissolution, and received from the nation a legislature equally determined on the subject, it was his undoubted duty, as a constitutional monarch, to obey. Chateaubriand has recorded his opinion that if he had done so, and given office to five or six Liberal leaders, who were dying to be ministers, he would have weathered the storm, and transmitted a peaceful and honoured throne to his descendants.

101. In justice, however, to Charles X. and his last Administration, it must be observed, that the question of a change of ministers presented itself under a very different aspect to them from that which it wears in this country. With us, for above a century past, the rivalry of dynasties has ceased; no one but a few heated Radicals dreams of an entire change in the form of government. Immense efforts are frequently made by one party to displace another, but it is with no intention of altering the constitution, but only of dislodging their political opponents, and placing themselves at the head of government. But the case was very different in France. There the contest of dynasties and of forms of government not only continued, but was in full force. The Orléans family still in secret nourished their pretensions to the throne, and not a few of the leading men in Paris were in their interest; the Napoleonists openly conspired to overthrow the Bourbons, and restore Napoleon II. and the tricolor flag; the Republicans held the threads of a vast conspiracy, which extended over the whole country, embraced a considerable part of the army, and even some of the Guard, and was headed by men of the greatest talent and most revered names in France.

102. It is now known by the best of all evidence—the admission, *after success*, of their ablest and best-informed partisans—that during the whole Restoration the Liberal party were en-

gaged in one vast conspiracy for the overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, that their parliamentary leaders were at its head, and that, veiled under ceaseless protestations of inviolable respect for the royal family, was a secret design to extirpate them by all possible means, not even excepting the dagger of the assassin and the torch of the incendiary. With shame must history confess that the most renowned leaders of the Assembly, General Lafayette, M. Benjamin Constant, M. Manuel, M. Audry de Puyraveau, M. d'Argenson, and, in fact, all the chiefs of the Opposition, were the heads of the secret conspiracy, which had for its object to accomplish this end by these detestable means, and by the aid of this detestable hypocrisy.* In these circumstances it was a very different thing for Charles X. to take his ministers from among these sworn and secret enemies, from what it would have been for George IV. to send for Earl Grey instead of Lord Liverpool. It was more analogous to the situation of Queen Anne, with whom a change of ministry from Marlborough and Godolphin to Bolingbroke and Harley was equivalent to, and the first step towards, a change of succession from the Hanoverian to the Stuart family; and the risk of such a substitution was probably not less than it would have been, in the days when

Cicero risked his life in defence of the constitution of his country, for the Roman people to have chosen their consuls from among the companions of Catiline.

103. But admitting all this—conceding that the Liberal party were irrevocably alienated from the Bourbons, and leagued together in secret, by every means, legal or illegal, to effect their overthrow—still it is not the less apparent that the King committed a signal and fatal mistake in inducing the conflict on the ground which he actually assumed. He took his stand upon his prerogative; he insisted upon his right to choose his ministers without control, as Charles I. had done upon his right to appoint officers to the militia without the concurrence of Parliament. In form, and according to the letter of the constitution, he was entitled to do so; in substance and reality he was not. Even if there had been no doubt on the subject, it would have been wise to have tried the experiment of dividing the Liberal party, by taking their leaders into office, before perilling all upon the irrevocable issue of the sword. Great is often the effect of such a transposition upon the ideas of men. Power is a very different thing when wielded by ourselves, and when exercised over us by others. Many who go to church to scoff, remain to

* “La Charbonnerie s'étendit en fort peu de temps dans tous les quartiers de la capitale. Elle envahit toutes les écoles. Je ne sais quel feu pénétrant circula dans les veines de la jeunesse. Chacun gardait le secret, chacun se montrait dévoué. Les devoirs des Charbonniers étaient d'avoir un fusil et cinquante cartouches, d'être prêts à se dévouer, d'obéir aveuglément aux ordres de chefs inconnus. Il existait alors un comité parlementaire dont M. de Lafayette faisait partie. Lafayette averti du secret de leurs efforts, consentit à entrer dans la Charbonnerie. Il entra dans la Haute-Vente, et parmi ses collègues de la Chambre les plus hardis le suivirent. Les choses en vinrent au point que, dans les derniers jours de l'année 1821, tout était prêt pour un soulèvement à la Rochelle, à Poitiers, à Niort, à Colmar, à Neuf-Brisach, à Nantes, à Béfort, à Bordeaux, à Toulouse. Des Ventes avaient été créées dans un grand nombre de régiments, et les changemens même de garnison étaient, pour la Charbonnerie, un rapide moyen de propagande. Le comité supérieur, chargé de tous les préparatifs du combat, déploya une acti-

vité extraordinaire. Trente-six jeunes gens reçurent l'ordre de partir pour Béfort, où devait être donné le signal de l'insurrection. Ils partirent sans hésitation, quoique convaincus qu'ils marchaient à la mort. Les bases de la constitution de l'An III. étaient adoptées, et les cinq directeurs du Gouvernement Provisoire furent MM. de Lafayette, Corcelles père, Koechlin, d'Argenson, Dupont de l'Eure : c'est-à-dire, un homme d'épée, un représentant de la Garde Nationale, un manufacturier, un administrateur, un magistrat. Manuel usa de son influence sur quelques-uns d'entre eux, et notamment sur M. de Lafayette, pour les dissuader du voyage de Béfort; toutefois il partit, et le 1^{er} Janvier 1822, à quelques lieues de Béfort, la chaise de poste qui transportait le Général et son fils fut rencontrée par une voiture où se trouvaient MM. Corcelles fils et Bayard. ‘Eh bien! quelles nouvelles?’ ‘Tout est fini, tout est perdu, Général.’ Lafayette, désespéré, changea de route et retourna à Lagrange, sa maison de campagne.”—LOUIS BLANC, *Histoire de Dix Ans du Règne de Louis Philippe*, t. 1, 96, 99.

pray. Even supposing that the republican tendency of the Liberal party was unchangeable, and that their leaders would have dethroned the King by acts of Parliament as effectually as they did by the erection of barricades, still it was to the last degree unwise for Government to take its stand on a doubtful ground, and still more to maintain it by unlawful means. Everything in such a conflict depends on external appearances and the *first* acts; the vast majority of men are entirely governed by them. It is of the utmost importance to let the first illegal step be taken by your adversaries. The clearest knowledge obtained of an intention on the part of a body of men to commit high treason, will not justify the arrest of their leaders before some overt act demonstrating that intent has been committed: a party will always deny illegal intentions till they have been irrevocably manifested by deeds, and they will be believed by all who sympathise with them in opinion, till the contrary is forced upon them by incontrovertible evidence.

104. Still more deserving of reprobation was the conduct of the Polignac Administration in the preparations which they made to support the Crown when the conflict was once engaged. They were well aware that the ordonnances would provoke resistance; it was not to be supposed that a party which had been conspiring for fifteen years to overthrow them would abandon the contest without a struggle, especially when they had gained the immense advantage of beginning the conflict on legal grounds, with a great majority in the Legislature, and to resist what was in appearance at least an invasion of the constitution. The Ministers had themselves been the first to draw the sword, and must have made up their minds to abide its issue. What preparations, then, had they made to meet a conflict on which the salvation of the dynasty, and with it the liberty of France, depended, in a city which could turn out a hundred thousand combatants, of whom nearly a half were old soldiers or national

guards, who *still had their arms*? They had collected eleven thousand men, of whom only one-half were Guards, upon whom reliance could be placed, twelve guns, and four rounds of grape-shot for each gun! Magazines of provisions, carriages for the wounded, stores of any kind, there were none. Not a loaf of bread was to be had by men who had been eighteen hours under arms; not a drop of water to assuage the thirst produced by the sun of the dog-days, then darting his rays with unwonted intensity. Prince Polignac, calm and serene, not because he had provided against danger, but because he shut his eyes to it, flattered himself that he had forty thousand men at his disposal, because there were that number quartered within a circuit of twenty-five miles round Paris; forgetting the rapidity with which events succeed each other when the conflict once begins in the streets of a city, and that it was of little moment what number of men were at Versailles, St Cloud, or Courbevoie, if the insurgents were in possession of the Hôtel de Ville, the Tuileries, and the telegraph. When Marshal Soult suppressed the insurrection at the cloister of St Meri, in the following year, he assembled eighty thousand men and a hundred pieces of cannon—a force as great as that which fought at Austerlitz. With truth did Metternich say, when the proceedings at Paris were reported to him, “I would be less alarmed if Polignac was more so.” Talleyrand was well aware of the vital importance of maintaining the Tuileries, on the part of any who would retain the government of France. When informed, on the 29th, that they had been evacuated, he walked to the timepiece on the mantelpiece, and observing the hour, said, “Mark it well for future time, that to-day, at ten minutes past twelve, the elder branch of the Bourbons ceased to reign in France.”

105. Equally characterised by incapacity was the conduct of Government in not at once, when the insurrection began, arresting its known

leaders, and all those who, from their position in the Chambers or in society, were likely to be at its head. During the whole time it continued, those leaders were in consultation at the hôtel of M. Lafitte, without any escort; Louis Philippe, who supplanted Charles X. on the throne, was at Neuilly, without guard or protection of any sort. A squadron of gendarmes could have arrested all who, when the crisis was at its height, either disposed of or accepted the crown. Yet nothing of the kind was thought of until the morning of the 29th, when a warrant to arrest the Liberal leaders was put into the hands of Marmont, who refused to execute it. Such infatuation appears almost inconceivable; but its ruinous consequences are put in the clearest light by the decisive effects which, on a similar crisis, attended the opposite course pursued by Prince Louis Napoleon. On the night of 1st December 1852, on the eve of his *coup d'état*, the whole chiefs of the Liberal party and two-thirds of the National Assembly in Paris were arrested, and quietly lodged in Vincennes, or the other forts adjacent. The consequence was, that next day, when the insurrection broke out, it speedily died away from want of leaders; and the astonished Parisians, who never fail to range themselves on the side of success when it is once decisive, instead of attempting to avenge the insult on the majesty of the legislature, amused themselves with anecdotes of the consternation evinced by some of its members when roused from their slumbers at midnight by the gendarmes.

106. Notwithstanding, however, these immense faults in preparations and conduct, which sufficiently proved that the Royalist Ministry were wholly unequal to the crisis which they themselves had induced, it is more than probable that, if the troops had all remained steady, and done their duty, the insurrection would have been suppressed, and the monarchy, and with it the liberties of France, preserved. It was the defection of the troops of the line, who constituted the half of the whole

disposable force, which ruined everything. At the decisive moment, it was the treachery of the two regiments of the line stationed in the Place Vendôme, which, by rendering the removal of the battalion of Swiss from the façade of the Louvre necessary, occasioned the loss of that important post, and with it the fall of the monarchy. When it is recollected that the whole weight of the contest, during the three days, fell on the Royal Guard, not five thousand strong, which with heroic fidelity performed its duty, while the regiments of the line were worse than useless, because they betrayed important posts confided to them, it is evident that the conflict might have had a very different issue had the whole garrison of Paris, small as it was, remained faithful to its oaths. Here, as in the commencement of the first French Revolution, and afterwards in that of Spain, it was the shameful defection of the troops of the line which rendered the insurrection in the first instance successful, and in the end utterly subversive of the cause of freedom, for which its disgrace was incurred.

107. What has been the final result to the liberties of France, and with them the cause of freedom throughout the whole world, of this desertion by the French soldiers of the first of military duties, that of fidelity to their King? Has it been to confirm those liberties, and extend that freedom? Has it not, on the contrary, been to destroy the first and check the growth of the last? Historians of all parties now refer to the fifteen years of the Restoration as the only period in which real freedom prevailed in France; in which individual liberty was safe, public discussion unrestrained, the authority of the Crown tempered by the weight of the legislature, general prosperity established on the firm basis of universal security. Is there any one who will refer to the reign of Louis Philippe, the National Assembly, or Louis Napoleon, as exhibiting similar features? What is to be expected from the insurrection of soldiers—or, what is the same thing, the desertion of

their duty in presence of insurrection—but the establishment of the empire of the sword?—and was the fair superstructure of freedom ever erected on such a foundation? Which proved most difficult for the Republicans to deal with—Prince Polignac and his priests, or Marshal Soult and his cuirassiers? Who induced the iron rule of the last, instead of the feeble administration of the first? Who but the soldiers who forgot their oaths amidst the cheers of the multitude, and for ever ruined the cause of freedom in their country by establishing it on the basis of treachery and treason? There was no danger to liberty from the ordonnances of July, even had they been carried into full execution; Polignac and his feeble Cabinet could never have withstood the united resistance, exerted in a legal channel, of a whole nation. But the case was very different with Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon, who were supported by the bayonets of four hundred thousand men, directed by the vigour and capacity of the empire. A nation may well despair of freedom which, after half a century of conflicts, in which victory has always remained to the strongest, finds itself in presence of such an armed multitude.

108. In justice to the soldiers who were guilty of this disgraceful tergiversation, however, it must be observed that the Government and military authorities committed a signal mistake in leaving the troops as they did, for days together, in presence of the mob, without either food to support their strength or action to invigorate their spirits. Marshal Victor had long ago pointed out the danger of such measures. "Soldiers," said he, in a Cabinet Council, "are easily seduced from their duty, when long kept in presence of the multitude in a state of inactivity; when in action or movement the military spirit revives, and they may be fully relied on." The Duke of Wellington evinced his thorough appreciation of this important truth, when on the memorable 10th April 1848 he kept the powerful array of troops which he had collected to

guard the avenues to the capital *entirely out of sight*, but with orders to turn out and act with the utmost vigour the moment they were directed to do so. The troops during the three days that the contest lasted in Paris, were kept constantly standing in the open street close to the insurgents, generally in conversation, and often provided with food and water by them. It was thus that they heard the words which soon circulated with fatal rapidity through their ranks: "The nation promises a marshal's baton to the first colonel who joins the cause of the people."

109. The treachery of the troops, however, which beyond all question was the immediate cause of the fall of the monarchy, though in some degree owing to this imprudent disposition, must in the last resort be ascribed to a different and more powerful cause. It is in the composition of the army, and especially of the officers, that the real origin of the disaster is to be found. Louis XVIII. meant well, but he signed the death-warrant of the monarchy when he affixed his name to the regulations, at the time so popular, which provided for the progressive rise of the *privates* to the rank of officers. The effect of this system, coupled with the general destruction of the class of gentry in the country by the first Revolution, was that, as already mentioned, the Minister at War assured Charles X. that there were not three hundred officers in the whole army who had 1000 francs (£40) a-year independent of their "pay." The great majority of the officers had originally been privates; they still associated, even messed with them; were little superior either in station or circumstances to their former comrades, and were thoroughly imbued with their ideas and wishes. The class was entirely wanting, so well known in Britain, of gentlemen for the most part connected with the landed aristocracy, whose younger sons generally, from choice or necessity, entered the army as a profession, and who, when there, still were influenced by the feelings and guided by the honourable

habits of their ancestors. The French army, until the fatal era of the Revolution, when the nobility were so largely imbued with the Liberal delusions of the times, and in many cases took the lead in revolt, was perfectly faithful through all changes to their oaths. The uniform steadiness and fidelity of the English army to its duty under all circumstances, to which under Providence our happy exemption from the horrors of revolution is mainly to be ascribed, is beyond all question the result of its officers being drawn from a superior class of men. When that class is changed, its fidelity will no longer be beyond the risk of temptation. The purchase of commissions is the great security for the continued fidelity of those intrusted with the sword, for it confines their acquisition to the class which is influenced by the sentiments of honour. Let us hope that this inestimable advantage will not be lost by the adoption of the Chinese system of competitive examination for the appointment of officers.

110 Experience, on occasion of the Revolution of July, had not as yet taught military men the mode of combating an urban insurrection, or enabled discipline and skill to assert their superiority in street fighting and the storming of barricades, as it has since done. The force, too, at the disposal of Marmont, was, after the defection of the troops of the line, so utterly inadequate to the defence of the principal posts in the capital, especially from the small amount of artillery, that it would be unfair to ascribe any fault to that gallant but ill-fated commander on that account. Napoleon with five thousand regular troops and fifty guns defended the position of the Carrousel in 1795, against the assault of thirty thousand national guards; and if Marmont had possessed an equal number of guns, he would probably have done the same. But with twelve pieces of cannon, and four rounds of grape-shot to each gun, the thing was impossible. Still, without ascribing any fault to him, it must be observed, for the instruction of mili-

tary men on similar crises in future, that with the limited means at his disposal his dispositions were eminently hazardous. To send three columns of troops, not mustering more than eighteen hundred combatants each, into the heart of a city in a state of insurrection, and when fifty thousand old soldiers or national guards were to be encountered, was to expose them to certain destruction. The long columns approaching through the narrow streets were exposed as they advanced to an incessant dropping fire from the houses; and when they halted in a square or open place, every avenue to it was of course closed with barricades, and the troops, isolated from each other and from the general-in-chief, were besieged in the position they had won. Dreadful loss, discouragement, and disaster were inevitable under such circumstances. What Marmont should have done with his little force was what Napoleon did in 1795 — viz., concentrated all his troops in the Place of the Carrousel and around the Tuileries, and not attempted offensive operations in the heart of the city till the arrival of reinforcements from the adjacent towns had quadrupled his tiny array.

111. The way of combating an urban insurrection, as now ascertained by experience, is this: If the general in command has only a small and inadequate force at his disposal, let him concentrate it in the strongest position he can get, and defend himself there till reinforcements enable him to resume the offensive. When he is in a condition to do so, he should make no attempt to storm the barricades at first, but advance with two guns and a howitzer in front towards the nearest, and fire as rapidly as possible at the barricade with round shot, while the howitzer, with *small charges* of powder, throws shells over it among the crowd behind. In nine cases out of ten a few rounds of this sort will shake the barricade, unless it is of stone and great strength, so as to render it passable, and disperse its defenders. Meanwhile foot-soldiers in file should advance before the guns,

on each side of the street, close to the wall, with orders to fire instantly into every window from which a shot issues. As each of these files can only be exposed to the fire from the windows *opposite*, or from the barricade, they will sustain much less loss than if they moved forward in close column in the middle of the street, exposed to a plunging fire on both sides. If the barricade still holds out, a few sappers and miners, who should be with each of such columns, or soldiers armed and equipped as such, should be sent into the houses adjoining it, with orders to work their way through the partitions, till they come into the rear of the barricade, when a plunging fire from the windows will speedily render the position no longer tenable.

112. The great cause of the unpopularity of the Government of the Restoration, during its later years, was the influence which the *Parti-prêtre* had acquired in the Cabinet, and the efforts which they were visibly making to acquire the direction of the education of the young, and with it of the entire country. This influence was much less, so far as Charles X. was concerned, than was generally supposed; for though strongly impressed in his later years with religious ideas, that monarch was far from being the slave of the priests, and went into their measures rather from the belief that it was by them alone that a counterpoise to the influence of the revolutionary passions could be obtained, than from a blind submission to their authority. But the ruin which those measures brought on the monarchy affords a memorable proof of the extreme danger of surrendering the national councils to the direction of such a party, especially when they belong to the Roman Catholic religion. Often highly estimable in private life, invaluable when their labours are confined to their proper sphere—works of religion, instruction, and charity—ecclesiastics are in general the most dangerous of all councillors in affairs of state. They are so, precisely on account of the very qualities which in their own sphere

render them so valuable. They regard the furthering of the tenets of their faith, and the extension of their political influence, as a matter of conscience—a sacred duty, which at all hazards must be fulfilled. Thus they acquire the habit of looking only to the tendency of measures, and disregarding altogether all considerations connected with their practicability, or the consequences which, under existing circumstances, they are calculated to have. Such a disposition may be a suitable preparation for the crown of martyrdom, but it is the one of all others most calculated to cast temporal crowns to the ground; and if a monarch, in an age of advancing intelligence, desires to lose his throne, he cannot take any means more effectually to attain his object, than by surrendering himself to the direction of such a party.

113. Even, however, after giving full weight to this consideration, there is something very strange, and almost inexplicable, in the violent opposition which the Government of the Restoration experienced in France. It had bestowed on the inhabitants of that country the whole objects for which they contended in the first Revolution, and which they had so passionately endeavoured to attain through such oceans of blood. They enjoyed in the highest degree the great elements of liberty, freedom of conscience, universal and unrestrained discussion on public affairs, trial by jury, representative institutions; and in addition to this, the race of their ancient monarchs had conferred upon them, what they had proved incapable of earning for themselves, internal prosperity and external peace. Such had been the blessings which these circumstances had induced, that they had not only given the people unexampled general prosperity, but entirely restored the national finances, and all but healed the wounds which, in the chase of more popular institutions, the nation had inflicted upon itself. Writers of all parties now concur in these sentiments; they all contrast the mild government and general freedom of the

Restoration, with the stormy dissensions, corrupt influences, and iron rule which have alternately prevailed since its fall.

114. If the constituency was small, and the franchise high, subsequent experience gives no countenance to the idea that either could have been established on a more popular basis, with any advantage to the cause of freedom. Universal suffrage, by an overwhelming majority, placed the imperial crown, with absolute power, on the head of Louis Napoleon. It is difficult to imagine the freedom of the press more fully established than it was in a country where it proved itself adequate to overturn a dynasty; and even the few extracts from the parliamentary debates contained in these pages will demonstrate how thoroughly the independence of the tribune was secured. Yet with all these advantages, alike social and political, with which it was attended, the Government of the Restoration, from first to last, was the object of the most impassioned and persevering hostility in France: the leading members of the Opposition, in and out of Parliament, were engaged in a ceaseless conspiracy to overturn it by all means, legal or illegal; and though, in the final struggle, it appeared as the aggressor, yet it was so in form, and not in reality. The Crown was driven to the desperate expedient of a *coup d'état*, because the parliamentary opposition had brought matters to such a pass that the government could no longer be carried on without an entire abandonment of the prerogative—just as the weaker state is often forced to be the first to commence hostilities, from the ceaseless pacific encroachments of the stronger.

115. Without doubt this general and long-continued hostility is in some degree to be ascribed to the disastrous circumstances which had preceded the return of the ancient kings. Though the Bourbons were in no degree implicated in the wars of the Revolution, and, on the contrary, had done their utmost to avert them, yet they were never able to get over the obloquy cast upon them, in common esti-

mation, of having succeeded to the throne in consequence of the greatest external calamities France had ever known. It was notorious that they had approached Paris in the rear of the allied armies; that, but for the overthrow of the national arms, they would never have ascended the throne. Indescribable was the mischief which this unfortunate circumstance did to the royal cause. "*Post hoc ergo propter hoc*" is a rule of thought sufficiently common with mankind under any circumstances; and when the events which fortune had placed in close juxtaposition were the double capture of Paris and the replacing of the ancient dynasty on the throne, it was no wonder that they were generally considered to be cause and effect. In vain did the Royalist writers observe that the Bourbons were not responsible for the wars of the Empire; that they were undertaken by a usurper, in opposition to their interest and against their will; that they were not brought in contact with them till the defeats had been experienced, and then interfered only to mitigate their effects, and obtain better terms for the vanquished than they otherwise could have gained. All this, how true and just soever, was as nothing in assuaging the soreness of the public mind: the Count d'Artois had first appeared with Schwartzemberg's army; Louis XVIII. had entered Paris the day after Blücher and Wellington; his ministers had signed the treaties abandoning the frontier of the Rhine,—and that was enough.

116. The national disasters which preceded the fall of Napoleon, however, might in the progress of time have come to be forgotten, had the Government of the Restoration been able to continue the system of universal conquest, and of making war maintain war, which he so successfully pursued. But, unfortunately for them, though fortunately for the world, this had become impossible. The memory of the double capture of Paris operated as a continual restraint, if not upon the wishes of the people, at least on the measures of Govern-

ment; the Germanic Confederation stood ready with four hundred thousand men to check any attempt to cross the Rhine. So far from pursuing schemes of foreign conquest, the wisest and most far-seeing governments, after 1815, were employed with anxious schemes to avert a *third* capture of the capital, by surrounding Paris with a girdle of detached forts. As much as this prudential awe was a blessing to the other states of Europe, by averting the scourge of war, which had so often been let loose upon them from behind the iron frontier of France, did it augment the difficulty of governing and retaining in subjection its gallant and aspiring inhabitants. For the first time for two centuries, the French were kept in a state of compulsory peace. This was not only the utmost violence to the warlike propensities which in every age have been their great characteristic, but in an especial manner imposed a barrier to the passions which brought about and were fostered by the Revolution.

117. The grand object and moving power in that convulsion was individual ambition. Their cry was not for liberty, but equality: their object was not that every man should be left in peace to enjoy the fruits of his toil in his own sphere of life, but that every man should be elevated into a sphere above that in which he had been born and bred. Hence the animosity against the aristocracy, whether of rank or talent, by which it was characterised through all its phases, and the outcry for an equal division of property, which was gratified by the Revolutionary law of succession. Napoleon, well aware of the strength of this passion, and the extent to which it had been fanned by the marvellous glory won and fortunes made by plebeian ability during the Revolution, contrived to avoid the difficulty, and avert the tempest from his own head, by turning it upon those of his neighbours; and hence his constant affirmation that conquest was to him the condition of existence, and that the moment he ceased to advance he would begin to decline. So great was the difficulty of

governing revolutionary France without the aid of foreign war to drain off the national passions, that it is more than doubtful whether the vast genius and iron hand of Napoleon would have been equal to the task. Certain it is that he shrank from undertaking it. To the Bourbons, with inferior ability, and without the prestige of his name, was left the difficult duty of governing France when in a state of compulsory peace, and coercing the strength of the Revolution without any gratification to its passions. It is not surprising that they failed in the attempt.

118. Chateaubriand was so well aware of the difficulty of it, that he undertook the Spanish contest mainly to avoid it, by reviving the passion for war in France, and contemplated breaking through the treaties of Vienna, and establishing Bourbon monarchies in South America, to afford a vent to the ardent desires of his countrymen. So great was the effect of the Duke d'Angoulême's expedition upon the feelings of the French, that it had wellnigh established the elder branch of the house of Bourbon on the throne: followed by the regaining the frontier of the Rhine, it would unquestionably have done so. The expedition to Algiers was undertaken with the same view; and it was to have been followed, as already mentioned, by an attempt at a coalition of the Continental powers against England, which was to have been stripped of Hanover, out of which Holland and Prussia were to have been indemnified for the loss of Belgium and the Rhenish provinces. Had this project been adopted, and proved successful, it is more than probable that Henry V. would have been on the throne of France at this moment, and all its subsequent convulsions would have been prevented.

119. That such a breach of the treaties of Vienna would have been a flagrant violation of national faith, and a most ungrateful return for the aid given to the house of Bourbon during the war, is sufficiently evident. But, considered in reference to the mere interests of that dynasty, it must be re-

garded in a different light. It promised stability to that Government, if stability can ever be acquired by acts obviously based on injustice. Before we absolutely condemn Châteaubriand and Polignac for entertaining such projects, we must recollect the situation in which they were placed, and the country they had to govern, when placed at the helm of affairs after the Revolution. Passionately thirsting for military glory, and looking back with idolatrous veneration to the recent period when so much of it had been acquired, the French suddenly found themselves stripped of, and without the means of regaining it. Universally desirous of individual elevation, the great majority of them were destitute of the means of obtaining it: panting for wealth, they were without commerce; sighing for territorial distinction, they were without land; colonies they had next to none, for they had lost them all during the war, and regained few on the peace; foreign commerce, domestic industry, were only beginning slowly to recover under the tutelary arms of the Bourbons from the disasters of the Revolution. The soil of France, almost entirely divided among five millions of separate proprietors, could afford scarce the means of the most wretched subsistence to any of its owners. Thus the ambition and necessities of thirty millions of men were thrown back upon the Government; and even the thirty thousand commissions in the army, and hundred and thirty thousand civil situations at the disposal of the Government in the Tuileries, were as nothing among such a multitude. Each place given away made one ungrateful and three discontented. Thus a change of dynasty came to be desired in France, after the Restoration had existed a few years, from the same reason which invariably, after a similar period, renders an administration unpopular in Great Britain—viz., the multitude of expectants who are kept out of place. And this pressure was much more strongly felt in France than it has ever yet been in Great Britain, from the want of the invaluable vent which extensive colo-

nies and an immense foreign commerce have so long afforded to the ceaseless energy of the inhabitants of the latter country. France, with a weak and discredited Government, was left, without commerce or colonies, in presence of the most formidable of all domestic foes—a mass of revolutionary energy and educated indigence.

120. Had the aristocracy survived in France, as it did in England, the storms of the Revolution, it would perhaps have been possible for the Government to have withstood these difficulties, because the press, and with it public opinion, would have been divided, and then a counterpoise to the excesses of one party might have been found in the determination of the other. But as the aristocracy had to all practical purposes been destroyed during the Revolution, and the House of Peers was little more than an assembly of titled placemen, this important element in national stability was wanting. The vast majority of the press was on one side, and hostile to the Government, simply because the vast majority of its readers were, from the causes which have been mentioned, leagued together for its overthrow. So far from being a preservative against error, the journals had become the greatest possible propagators of it, for they incessantly re-echoed its delusions, and gave additional publicity to its misrepresentations. Pleading in open court is an admirable thing, if both sides are heard; but if one side only is allowed to speak, justice will be better administered if it is left to the charge of the judge. In France one side only was allowed to speak, for there was no party to fee the other side. The Royalist journals, though conducted with much energy and ability, and often adorned by the genius of the greatest men in France, could not produce any lasting impression on the nation, simply because they had so few readers—because the classes were so limited in number, and so impoverished in fortune, whose interests or feelings led them to take in their effusions. Whoever will reflect on this circumstance, and observe how entirely in

Great Britain the balance of parties is preserved by that free discussion on all sides which results from the existence of great and opposite nearly balanced parties in the State, will readily perceive what important effects must have resulted in France from the concentration of nearly all the argument and all the declamation on one side.

121. In these circumstances the only bond of union left which could have united the higher and lower orders was that of a common Religion, and its precepts were the only effective restraint which could have been imposed on the national passions. But as if everything had conspired to render impossible the establishment of freedom in that country, the influence of this mighty agent was not only lost to its cause, but turned over to the other side. Revolutions are often the consequence of a diseased state of the public mind, and they occur at times and under circumstances when there are no real grievances either to justify or explain them. The malady in France was mainly owing, in the first instance, to the intolerant domination of the Roman Catholics; the movement in 1789 was more against the altar than the throne. Voltaire was its apostle rather than Rousseau. Freedom of thought, intellectual liberty, the birthright of man and the chief spring of human improvement, was their great aspiration. So strong was this feeling that it survived all the changes of the Revolution: the Jesuits were the objects of antiquated dread, when they should have been perhaps rather an object of pity; and the Church was regarded as the worst enemy of freedom, even when, stripped of their property, cast down from their station, its members had become state pensioners, nineteen-twentieths of whom were "passing rich on forty pounds a-year." By the concurrent voice of all the annalists and historians of the time, the unpopularity of Charles X., and the combination of parties against him, which ultimately produced the *coup d'état* of July 1830, was mainly owing to the advances

which the priests made during his reign, and the belief that their influence in secret ruled the determinations of Government. Incalculable were the effects of this jealousy of the sacerdotal power, this divorce of the cause of order from that of religion. "God and the King" was no longer the cry of the French monarchy; the throne and the altar were severed in general thought. The example of Great Britain, where the union of these great principles has in every age produced such important effects in upholding the cause of freedom and order, is sufficient to prove what must have resulted from their entire separation in France.

122. In addition to all this, there was another circumstance also, a consequence of the disruption of all moral principles at the Revolution, which had throughout the whole Restoration an important effect in rendering the populace of towns ungovernable during pacific periods, and which, when the conflict commenced, operated with decisive and fatal effect against the Government. This was the multitude of *natural children* who had come to form part of the population of the metropolis, and all the other great towns in the country. From the statistical tables, published by authority of the French Government in that magnificent work, the *Statistique de la France*, it appears that in them all the proportion was about two legitimate to one illegitimate; in other words, the natural children formed *a third* of the entire population. Accordingly, M. Dupin says that "every third child you see in the streets of Paris is a bastard." In London the proportion is one in thirty-six—the effect, it is to be feared, of the immense mass of promiscuous concubinage which there prevails, under circumstances where a law of nature renders an increase of the population from that source impossible. Social and political writers have hitherto considered the state of things chiefly in reference to the index it affords to the state of public morality; but the example of France proves that it is

also attended with most important effects in a political point of view.*

123. Foundlings and natural children do not always remain children; they grow up to be men and women. When they do so, in what state do they find themselves? For the most part ignorant of their parents, and bred up in infancy at a distance from the place of their birth, and without the education of the parental roof, they are at the age of puberty thrown into society without any of the safeguards which under other circumstances afford a barrier against the indulgence of the passions, whether political or personal. In the female portion it is easy to foresee the result: a *soubrette* speedily finds herself a mother, and gets quit of her offspring by depositing it in the basket of the foundling hospital, in the same way in which she herself had been deposited. But what comes of the boys? The answer is obvious. An "enfant trouvé de Paris" at a certain age turns into a "gamin de Paris," just as naturally, and almost as necessarily, as a chrysalis after a certain time becomes a butterfly. It is impossible it can be otherwise. Without known parents or relations, uneducated in infancy, destitute of property, incapable of succession, he is liberated from all the restraints which in the case of other men act as a restraint on the passions. Paternity even, that powerful moulder of the feelings, has little effect on him; the foundling hospital relieves

him at once from the burden and affections of a father. The effect of a *third* of the entire population in great towns being composed of persons of this unsteady and dangerous description cannot be over-estimated, and has never yet received due consideration.

124. There were in 1830 about a million of persons in Paris and the villages in its immediate vicinity. A third of this number, or three hundred and thirty thousand persons, were bastards, without either property, relations, domestic education, or hopes of succession. A fourth of these, or eighty thousand men, were capable of bearing arms. Here, then, was constantly in Paris a mass of eighty thousand combatants, utterly destitute of all the restraints which in the case of other men affect the passions, and ready at any time to join in any tumult which promised to overturn the Government, and open to them the agreeable prospect of immediate plunder and ultimate command of the country. Truly the sins of the Revolution had come home to roost; Paris had become ungovernable, from the effect of the very licence of manners which the Revolution had introduced. And it was in such a city, and in presence of such a force, that Prince Polignac thought he was quite safe in hazarding a *coup d'état* with eleven thousand men, one-half of whom could alone be trusted, eight pieces of cannon, and four rounds of grape-shot to each!

* LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN THE THREE PRINCIPAL CITIES IN FRANCE, FROM 1825 TO 1831.

YEARS.	PARIS.		LYONS.		BORDEAUX.	
	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.	Legit.	Illegit.	Legit.	Illegit.
1825	19,214	10,039	3354	1965	2375	1170
1826	19,468	10,502	3637	2022	2563	1214
1827	19,414	10,392	3547	2093	2508	1164
1828	19,126	10,475	3712	1966	2520	1283
1829	18,563	9,953	3543	1980	2488	1156
1830	18,580	10,007	3361	1836	2594	1239
1831	19,152	10,378	3550	1940	2441	1270

—*Statistique de la France*—Population, pp. 421, 460.

Foundlings over all France, 1831 to 1835, 618,849
Total births in same period, 4,874,773

Or somewhat more than 1 to 8. It is in the great towns the natural children are so numerous; in the country they are comparatively rare.—*Statistique de la France*—Administration Publique, pp. 89, 143, 227.

125. In truth, the evils arising from this prodigious accumulation of natural children in a densely-peopled and corrupted metropolis were so great, that they would have worked out their natural result in overturning a free, and establishing in its stead a despotic government, were it not for a very curious circumstance, which in a considerable degree counteracted their pernicious tendency. This was, that the foundlings were for the most part not brought up at Paris. The directors of the foundling hospitals wisely sent the greater portion to the country to be nursed; and so great was the number of children which there required to be provided for, that wet-nurses came up to Paris from the whole country round, to the distance of a hundred and fifty and two hundred miles, got the children away with them, and were soon to be seen walking on the roads from Paris with the little innocents on their backs. Arrived at home, the foundling was almost always carefully tended: the allowance from the hospital was sufficiently large to form a considerable addition to the earnings of the family; natural affection soon came to the aid of interested motives; the little stranger was bred up with his foster brothers and sisters; when he grew up, he sat at the same board, played at the same games, attended the same school, and shared the same bed; and so strong was the attachment which thus sprang up among the playmates, that the recall of the little strangers by the hospital was regarded as the most dreadful misfortune by the whole family. So keenly do the foster-mothers feel the severance, that they have been seen running for days together beside the caravan which carried away their little ones, entreating with piteous cries to get them back, and offering to keep them for nothing.*

* M. de Lamartine made a most interesting speech on the subject in the Chamber of Deputies, on 30th April 1838. "Demandez à votre propre cœur, demandez-le à ces convois presque funèbres de ces enfants expatriés, que nous rencontrons par longues files sur nos routes,—le front pâli, les yeux mouillés, les visages mornes, et qui semblent interroger les passants du regard et demander à quel supplice on les mène. Demandez-le

It is estimated that ten thousand children are in this way annually sent out of Paris to be nursed in the country, and out of the corruption of cities is poured a pure stream of life into the country. Yet is this alleviation of the evil greater in appearance than reality; for the foundlings, when they grow up, even though trained to rural labour, find they cannot, from the want of considerable proprietors, find employment in the country; they have no little freehold of one or two acres, like their foster brothers and sisters, whereon to exert their hands; the destitution of their situation at length breaks upon them, and they in general are driven to take refuge in the crowd of towns, to conceal their descent and procure subsistence.

126. In justice to the people of Paris, however, it must be observed that their distress had, towards the latter years of the Restoration, come to be such, that a convulsion of some sort was almost unavoidable. The decline of the material comforts of the working classes, from the effects of the Revolution, had been incessant, and had now reached an alarming height. The prosperity which existed was confined entirely to the bourgeois or trading classes. Between 1789 and 1840, the supply of animal food for the metropolis had not materially increased, although, during the same period, the number of inhabitants had *doubled*, having advanced from 500,000 to 1,000,000; in other words, the share falling, on an average, to each inhabitant, had sunk to a half of its former amount. The annual consump-

(j'ai été vingt fois témoin moi-même de ces lamentables exécutions)—demandez-le à cet enfant que votre gendarmerie vient enlever de force à celle qui a été jusque-là sa mère, et qui se cramponne à la porte de la chaumière, dont on vient l'arracher pour jamais! Demandez-le à ces pauvres mères qui courent de chez elles chez le Maire, de chez le Maire à la préfecture, pour faire révoquer l'ordre inflexible; qui, ne pouvant se décider à le voir partir, prennent l'engagement de le nourrir gratuitement; qui le livrent quelquefois au conducteur du convoi, puis, se repentant, courent à pied jusqu'à vingt ou trente lieues après lui, pour le redemander et le rapporter dans leurs bras."—*Œuvres de LAMARTINE—Tribune et Politique*, t. 149, 150.

tion of beef, by each inhabitant of Paris, was in 1830 little more than *half* of what it was before the Revolution broke out in 1789: in the former period it was 24 kilogrammes, in the latter it was 47.* Even including the richest rural districts of France, the consumption in Paris of animal food had sensibly declined during the Restoration: in 1816, though a year of uncommon distress, it was 62 kilogrammes per head; in 1833 it was only 55.† Compared with the situation of the working classes in England, the condition of those in France is miserable in the extreme. The animal food consumed on an average by each Frenchman is not a *third* of what is eaten by an Englishman: in the former country it is 20 kilogrammes in a year; in the latter, 68. Each Frenchman consumes on an average *sixteen* ounces of wheaten bread a-day, each Englishman *thirty-two*; the former one ounce and two-thirds of meat, the latter six ounces. The difference would be incredible, were it not substantiated down to the minutest particulars by the admirable statistical returns obtained by the French Government, and arranged with consummate skill, in that magnificent book, the *Statistique de la France*, published at Paris during the reign of Louis Philippe, a work which speaks as much for the powers of administration and research possessed by the French people, and the public spirit of their Government, as its contents do as to the

widespread disasters occasioned by the Revolution.

127. It appears, at first sight, no easy matter to account for this rapid deterioration in the condition of the working classes in France, and especially in its capital, when it is recollected that by far the greatest part of the landed property of the country was divided amongst them during the Revolution, and that since the Restoration the country had been constantly at peace, and its imports and exports had both increased nearly a half. But a little consideration must be sufficient to show that this division of the land was the very thing which had reduced the working classes, especially in towns, to such a deplorable condition. The great trade in every country, as Adam Smith long ago observed, is that between the town and the country; in Great Britain, even with its comparatively narrow territory and gigantic commerce, the home trade is double that of all the branches of foreign trade put together. When the landed aristocracy was destroyed in France, the church hierarchy confiscated, and two-thirds of the property of the fundholders swept away, by far the greatest part of the home market for the industry of towns was annihilated. Scarce any purchasers of the luxuries of the metropolis, the silks of Lyons, or the finer cotton goods of Rouen, were to be found but in the employés of Government, the diplomatic body, and strangers whom the splendour of Paris had at-

* POPULATION AND CONSUMPTION OF ANIMAL FOOD IN PARIS DURING THE FOLLOWING YEARS:—

Years.	Population.	Oxen.	Cows.	Calves.	Sheep.
1789	524,186	70,000	18,000	120,000	350,000
1812	622,636	72,268	6,929	76,154	347,568
1830	885,558	71,634	16,439	73,947	364,875
1840	1,000,000	71,718	20,684	73,113	437,359

—Rapport par la Commission Royale, Aug. 31, 1841; and MOUNIER, *Stat. de la France*, ii. 175, 201.

† CONSUMPTION OF ANIMAL FOOD IN THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENTS.

Year.	Population of northern Department.	Kilogrammes consumed.	Proportion per head.
1816	1,193,000	74,896,871	62.78
1820	1,184,000	77,630,907	60.28
1833	1,532,783	85,630,686	55.86

—*Stat. de la France* (Archives Stat.), 203, 219.

tracted within its walls! The five or six millions of landed proprietors among whom the territory of France had come to be divided, the majority of whom had not *five pounds a-year of annual income*, while only 6684 had an income above £400 a-year, could not by possibility furnish any market for the luxuries or manufactures of the great cities. The utmost which the vast majority of them could do, was to maintain themselves in the most economical and miserable manner.*

128. This extraordinary and unparalleled division of land in that country, the result in the first instance of the confiscation, and next of the equal law of succession established at the Revolution, operated to the prejudice of the industry of towns in two ways. In the first place, it deprived the artisans and producers of all the finer or more costly fabrics, of the vast market for their produce, which they should, and, but for

these confiscations, would have found in the surplus produce of the labour of the country, and in the wants of its labourers. It was all eaten up at home, and scarce any was left for them. In the next place, by extinguishing the class of employers of rural labour in the country, and vesting the land in hands so miserably indigent that they could hardly support themselves, far less give employment to others, it necessarily threw a crowd of workmen from the country into the great towns in quest of employment. How could the 3,500,000 proprietors having from £2 to £8 each a-year from their properties, find money to employ labourers on their little patches of ground? or employment on them if they had the money? The thing is obviously out of the question; and so vast and universal was the effect of this circumstance during the Restoration, that it appears from a report† of the Minister

* The separate *properties* contained in the Tax-office books in France were, in

1815,	10,083,751
1826,	10,296,693
1835,	10,893,526

But as several properties in different places often belong to one owner, the Government authorities calculated in 1835 that there were 5,446,768 separate landed proprietors in France. There are 43,000,000 hectares (107,500,000 acres) of cultivable land in France; being about 20 acres on an average to each proprietor. They are thus distributed:—

2,602,705 have an income of 50 francs, or £2 a-year.

875,997	.. .. 100	.. 4	..
757,126	.. .. 200	.. 8	..
369,603	.. .. 300	.. 12	..
342,082	.. .. 500	.. 20	..
276,615	.. .. 1000	.. 40	..
170,579	.. .. 2000	.. 80	..
23,777	.. .. 5000	.. 200	..
16,598	.. .. 10,000	.. 400	..
6,684	.. above 10,000	above 400	..

—*Stat. de la France*—Agricult., p. 179; MOUNIER and RUBICHON, *Stat. de la France*, i. 101.

† AVERAGE ANNUAL PRODUCE OF FRANCE IN GRAIN CROPS, &C., AND AREAS ON WHICH GROWN.

CEREAL CROPS.	PRODUCE.		AREAL.	
	Hectolitres.	Or Quarters.	Hectares.	Or Acres.
Wheat,	69,154,463	23,051,484	6,546,869	14,000,000
Barley,	16,444,030	5,481,816	1,164,632	3,082,000
Oats,	48,899,652	16,277,884	3,000,623	7,514,262
Rye,	27,772,613	9,257,534	2,573,100	7,560,000
Maize,	7,610,280	2,543,423	631,194	1,534,231
Meslin,	11,824,914	3,941,304	910,426	2,342,000
Spelt,	132,055	44,015	4,733	9,781
Total in Cereal Crops, .	181,842,079	60,597,954	13,831,877	32,800,000
„ Potatoes, . . .	96,180,714	32,060,240	920,689	2,280,000
„ Buckwheat, . . .	576,321	1,439,122	651,235	1,564,000

—*Statistique de la France*—Agriculture, pp. 187, 241; and MOUNIER, i. 309-313.

of the Interior in 1829, that the average produce of grain crops was under two quarters an acre, there being 32,800,000 acres under cereal crops, and their entire produce 60,597,000 quarters. In England, the average produce of grain crops is two quarters and five bushels; and in Scotland, with a much inferior climate and soil, three quarters. In France, the entire profits of cultivation from 124,000,000 acres are £63,000,000 annually, or not quite ten shillings an acre; while in England, during the period from 1815 to 1831, 32,332,000 acres under cultivation yielded annually £45,753,000 of rent, being about £1, 8s. an acre, besides the profit of the farmer (probably 12s. more)—in all, £2; being just FOUR TIMES that yielded by a similar space under cultivation in France! And so far has this wretched system gone in destroying the class of respectable farmers in France, that the great military monarchy which in 1812 sent 100,000 horses into Russia, and in 1815, from its own resources alone, produced the 18,000 splendid cavalry which, at Waterloo, all but replaced Napoleon on the imperial throne, was, at the close of the Restoration, obliged to *import* annually from 37,000 to 40,000 horses to mount the cavalry, at an expense of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds.*

129. Small as is the produce of the soil, under the present system of cultivation and division of property in France, in proportion to the extent of arable land in the country, the proportion of that produce which is really enjoyed by the owners and cultivators of the soil is still smaller. Such is the weight of the direct taxes, rendered unavoidable by the known impossibility of levying an adequate revenue by the indirect, and such the magnitude of the burdens attaching to the soil in the shape of government taxes, interest of mortgages, expenses of conveyances and judicial sales, and law charges consequent on its division among such a prodigious multitude of separate proprietors, that *not a third* of the entire produce of the land remains at the disposal of the proprietors. The land-tax is about 300,000,000 francs (£12,000,000) annually. The mortgages on the land amount to the enormous sum of 11,000,000,000 francs, or £440,000,000; the interest of which, with the relative charges, is 600,000,000 francs, or £24,000,000. The law expenses connected with the judicial sales and transfers of landed property cost annually 200,000,000 francs (£8,000,000) more.† This leaves only 480,000,000 francs, or £19,200,000, to be enjoyed by the 5,500,000 proprietors of land,

* In ten years, from 1831 to 1840, there were *imported* into

France, 346,181 horses—or annual average,	38,164
Exported, 71,973—or annually,	7,997
Cavalry horses bought abroad in 1831,	37,038
Which cost 17,808,343 francs, or £712,000.	
Do. bought in 1848,	37,643
Which cost 23,138,253 francs, or £920,000.	

—*Statistique de la France*—Agriculture, pp. 127, 210; MOUNIER, ii. 110.

† The enormous taxes levied on succession and transfer of land in France, and the law expenses consequent on them among such an immense body of small proprietors, is one of the greatest evils bequeathed to France by the confiscations of the Revolution. In 1837 and 1838, the number of properties transferred in France by compulsory sale and succession, and the sums realised by them to the exchequer, stood as follows:—

Year.	No. of Jud. Sales.	Produce of Tax.	Successions.	Produce of Tax.
1837	1,163,626	79,348,552 fr., or £3,214,000	522,221	30,764,124 fr., or £1,234,000
1838	1,176,563	85,622,449 „ 3,428,000	502,389	32,738,013 „ 1,309,000

—*Rapport du Ministre des Finances*, 1839; MOUNIER, i. 130, 131.

Value of lands transferred in France from 1825 to 1835:—

By inheritance,	9,317,287,867 francs, or £372,000,000 nearly.
By gift,	2,145,199,412 „ 85,800,000 „
By sale, voluntary and judicial,	11,885,799,262 „ 475,000,000 „

—*Tableau du Ministre des Finances* (M. Martin), 1837; MOUNIER, i. 111.

or less than FOUR POUNDS A-YEAR EACH PROPRIETOR. On this miserable pittance are to be maintained 24,000,000 persons engaged in the cultivation of the soil! In these circumstances, it is not surprising that there is so little surplus produce left to be employed in encouraging the industry of the four millions of persons who inhabit thirty-nine of its principal towns, including Paris: the only thing to be wondered at is, how the rural inhabitants can exist at all. In fact, they could not do so were it not that, as is the case with the ryots of Hindostan, or the fellahs of Egypt, necessity had taught them the means of supporting life upon the smallest possible amount of subsistence.

130. Not only does this ruinous division of land, and consequent impoverishment of the rural population, preclude the possibility of any improvement in the cultivation of the soil, or the commencement of any undertakings which require capital to carry them on, but it operates in the most serious manner, and with overwhelming force, upon the urban population. Unable to find employment in the country, the rural inhabitants, who have not land enough to maintain them and their families, are driven by necessity to take refuge in the great towns, where alone there is any regular provision established for the poor. In the rural districts there is none. Thus the towns, and especially the capital, become burdened with an immense mass of needy persons, clamorous for bread, who have permanently left the country, and taken up their abode there, in search of employment, legal relief, or charity. This evil is felt, in a certain degree, in all the great cities of old and long-civilised communities; but it was experienced in an extraordinary manner in France, in consequence of the combination of circumstances which had deprived labour of its ordinary encouragement in the country, and driven it into the great towns. And when there, the same circumstances deprived it of the employment which it otherwise would

have found in the expenditure of the nobility and wealthy landed proprietors; for their estates were all swept away, and divided among a swarm of indigent peasants, who, so far from having any surplus produce to expend on the luxuries, could barely find the means of existence in their own habitations.

131. Two other circumstances, of overwhelming importance, contributed in a powerful manner to the same disastrous result. The first of these was the almost entire destruction of commercial and manufacturing capital in France, from the profuse issue of assignats during the Revolution, the confiscation of two-thirds of the national debt at one blow in 1797, and the long-continued stoppage of foreign commerce from the English blockade during the war. Such was the effect of these concurring circumstances, that almost the whole wealth existing in France in 1789 had been swept away, and the only capital which existed in the country was in the hands of a few bankers, who had made fortunes during the terrible game of hazard of the Revolution, and a great number of tradesmen, who had made money from the expenditure of the Government *employés*, the diplomatic body, and the affluence of strangers since the peace. The second circumstance which told with disastrous effect upon the national industry was the loss of nearly all its colonies, partly by the insane emancipation of the negroes, in 1790, in St Domingo, and partly from the English conquests during the war. When it is recollected that the colony of St Domingo was in so flourishing a state in 1789, that its exports to France were to the value of 119,000,000 francs or £5,000,000 sterling nearly, and its imports 189,000,000 francs, or £7,567,000; and that the trade between the two countries maintained 1600 vessels and 27,000 sailors—more than *double* the trade of the whole West India islands to Great Britain at this time,—it may be conceived how serious has been the loss to the mother country from the train of disasters which has deprived her of this in-

valuable vent for its surplus population.

132. The result of this disastrous combination of circumstances was an extreme, and to the poor most ruinous, degradation of situation in the labouring classes. *Excessive competition* was the grand characteristic of the period which succeeded the Revolution. It pervaded all classes, penetrated all ranks, affected all situations. In the more elevated in station or affluent in circumstances, it appeared in an unbounded and insatiable thirst for Government employments; in the burgher class, in an incessant struggle for business; in the working, in a terrific strife for employment. In all it was produced by one cause, perfectly sufficient to explain the phenomenon, and of universal application—viz., absolute inability to procure a livelihood in any other way. The middle and working classes had cast down the barriers which heretofore had guarded with unjust and jealous care the exclusive domain of the aristocracy; the portals were thrown open to all, but the multitude which rushed in at the vacant entrance encountered a still greater difficulty in the struggle with each other. Multitudes were pressed to death or trodden under foot in the strife at the doorway; those whose robust frames enabled them to make good their entrance, found themselves, when they had got in, squeezed and jostled by a clamorous crowd in as needy circumstances as themselves. There was not a single trade, profession, or employment which was not choked by multitudes threefold greater than could be provided for.* To such a length did

this go in beating down the wages of labour and degrading the condition of the working classes, that the earnings of workmen in Paris were *not half* of those enjoyed during the same period in London, even when the difference in the price of provisions was taken into account; and two-thirds of its whole inhabitants died in public hospitals.

133. The causes which have been mentioned arose from such deep-rooted sources of evil, and were so obviously the consequence and punishment of the sins of the first Revolution, that it is probable that no legislative measures of any sort could have afforded the nation any sensible relief. But in addition to all this there was a peculiar evil, felt with acute suffering by the working classes: they had not even the comfort of complaining. By the constitution of the Chamber of Deputies, as fixed at the Restoration and by the *coup d'état*, 5th September 1816, with the cordial concurrence of the Liberal party over all France, *the working classes were entirely shut out of the representation*. As the franchise was confined to those paying 300 francs

petites; le commerce en grand ruinant le petit; l'usure s'emparant peu à peu du sol; la féodalité moderne pire que l'ancienne; la propriété foncière grevée de plus d'un milliard, les artisans qui s'appartiennent faisant place aux ouvriers qui ne s'appartiennent pas: les capitaux s'engouffrant sous l'impulsion d'une avidité honteuse: tous les intérêts armés les uns contre les autres, les propriétaires des vignes contre les propriétaires des bois, les fabricants de sucre de betteraves contre les colonies; les provinces du Midi contre celles du Nord, Bordeaux contre Paris: ici, des marchés qui s'engorgent, désespoir du capitaliste; là, des ateliers qui se ferment, désespoir de l'ouvrier; le prolétaire valet d'un millionnaire, ou, en cas de crise, cherchant son pain entre la révolte et l'aumône; le père du pauvre allant à soixante ans mourir à l'hôpital, et la fille du pauvre forcée de se prostituer à seize ans pour vivre, et le fils du pauvre réduit à respirer, à sept ans, l'air empesté des filatures, pour ajouter au salaire de la famille: le lit du journalier, imprévoyant par la misère, horriblement fécond, et le prolétariat menaçant le royaume d'une inondation de mendians. Voilà quel tableau présentait alors la société."—LOUIS BLANC, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, iii. 90, 91. A picture of the effects of revolution, by one of its most ardent supporters!

* In Paris, in 1841, there were 105,087 persons admitted into the public hospitals, of whom 15,583 died there. The total deaths in the metropolis in that year were 24,524, so that nearly two-thirds of the deaths were in public hospitals.—*Statistique de la France (Administration Publique)*, 227.

"Que de désastres! Les gros capitaux donnant la victoire dans les guerres industrielles, comme les gros bataillons dans d'autres guerres, et le LAISSEZ-FAIRE aboutissant, de la sorte, au plus odieux monopole; les grandes exploitations ruinant les

(£12) of direct taxes, equivalent to about £20 in Great Britain, it was of course confined to the wealthier classes; and as the landed aristocracy was almost entirely destroyed, those wealthier classes were to be found only in the burgher or trading part of the community, or the persons in the employment of Government. The *bourgeoisie*, accordingly, was alone represented, and they were under a hundred thousand in number, while the immense mass of the working class, who numbered above thirty millions, were wholly unrepresented. The Liberal press, being entirely under the direction of the burgher class, in whom power was substantially vested, afforded no vent for the sufferings of the *Proletaires*, whatever it did to the discontent of the shopkeepers; and thus society was in the most perilous of all states—with the passions of a revolution still burning, the forms of representation in existence, but the reality of class government established.

134. When so many causes tending to produce a disruption in society were in operation, and so many treacheries undermined the Government, the merit or demerit of the final act by which the collision was induced is of comparatively little importance. Sooner or later, and probably ere long, it must have come on. It has been already stated that the Polignac Cabinet acted most unwisely in making themselves even the aggressors on the public liberties, and still more imprudently in doing so with but inadequate preparations for a contest. But if the question be put, whether the ordonnances were absolutely illegal, and justified the resistance they experienced? a very different opinion must be formed. According to our ideas in England, where any invasion of established law, except by the act of the three branches of the legislature, is illegal, they unquestionably were a breach of the constitution. But that was *not* the constitution of France, either according to the letter of the Charter or the interpretation put upon it by the united voice of the whole

Liberal party in France. The 14th article of that deed expressly recognised an overruling power to alter the constitution as residing in the sovereign, to be exercised when the safety of the state imperatively required it. Thenceforward it was only a question of circumstances whether the existing state of affairs called for or warranted the exercise of that dictatorial power; and it had repeatedly been exercised, under circumstances less critical than those in which Charles X. was at last placed, not only without any opposition from, but with the cordial and loud approbation of, the whole Liberal party in France.

135. When Napoleon fell, after the Hundred Days, and a new legislature required to be convoked, the deputies existing when he landed at Cannes were not summoned, but a royal ordonnance was issued on 13th July establishing the representation on an entirely new basis; and on that footing the Chamber assembled, and all the subsequent acts were rested. On 5th September 1816, a royal ordonnance was again issued, establishing the representation in many respects on a basis so essentially different that it at once altered the character of the legislation, brought the Liberal party at length into a majority, and changed all the subsequent measures of Government. When a vote of the House of Peers condemned this great innovation, the Executive again interposed, and by the creation of sixty-three peers gave the Liberals the same majority in the Upper House which the previous *coup d'état* had given them in the Commons. All these stretches of the Executive, being in favour of the Liberal party, were not merely nowise opposed, but lauded to the skies, by their leaders both in the legislature and the press, as not only dictated by consummate wisdom, but entirely constitutional. When the reaction took place in consequence of the Spanish War, and a new *coup d'état* on the Royalist side was deemed necessary in the House of Peers, it was effected by the royal ordonnance of 1827, which created seventy-six new peers; and

though this stretch was condemned as unwise, it was never stigmatised as unconstitutional by the Liberal party. When the undefined powers vested in the Crown by the 14th article of the Charter had been thus explained and understood by the subsequent practice of all parties, and especially the Liberal, on so many occasions, it is impossible to say that the ordinances which induced no greater change than the preceding ones had done were illegal. They might well be condemned by the Liberals as unwise and inexpedient; but their own previous conduct had shut them out from the plea that they were a violation of the constitution. *Coups d'état*, how violent soever, have in truth, ever since the Revolution, been part of all French constitutions. The 14th article of the Charter only recognised a dictatorial power in the sovereign, which previous as well as subsequent experience has proved to be indispensable.

136. It had become so, in consequence of the magnitude of the changes effected and sins committed during the first Revolution. This is the essential point of distinction between the English and the French Revolutions, and the cause of the great difference in the subsequent history of the two countries. Both the Great Rebellion and the change of dynasty in 1688 passed over England without any material alteration in the distribution of property, the representation of the people, or the balance of power in the state. The last convulsion, so far from being of a republican, was decidedly of an aristocratic character: it fixed the Government upon a firmer basis—that of landed and moneyed wealth united—than it had ever before rested upon; it revealed, by the family it placed on the throne, and the party it seated for seventy years in power, the secret of constitutional government, which is to sway the legislature by influence, not brave it by prerogative. In France, on the other hand, this was rendered impossible, because the influence of the aristocracy on the material interests, and of the church on the moral

feelings of the country, had been destroyed during the Revolution. The *third* element in constitutional monarchy—that of landed property collected round the throne, and identified with its interests—was wanting; what little power was left to it was all thrown on the other side. The only influences left in the state were those of the Executive and the *bourgeoisie*, and between them, accordingly, the contest exclusively lay; the cultivators, cast down to the rank of the felahs of Egypt or the ryots of Hindostan, were of no weight in the political system. There being thus only two powers in the state, politics were reduced to a perpetual struggle between them; and when it became very violent, the machine of government was brought to a dead lock, and a *coup d'état* became indispensable. It will appear in the sequel whether this observation does not afford the key to the whole history of France since the Revolution. “The French Revolution,” said Napoleon, “has proposed a problem as insoluble as the direction of balloons.”

137. Ill-judged at first, ill-advised during the progress of the convulsion, weak and irresolute towards its close, the conduct of Charles X. was dignified and magnanimous when the crisis was over, and Providence, as it appeared to him, had cast him down from the throne as a punishment for his sins. In this respect he was as superior to Napoleon in adversity, as he had been inferior to him in prosperity and in the previous conduct of the struggle. There was no fretting against the calamity which had befallen him, no repining against destiny when its decree was once irrevocably pronounced. No longing after past greatness, no womanish anxiety for the retention of title when the reality of power was gone, disgraced the last days of the fallen monarch. In silence and meekness he bowed to the stroke of fate; magnanimously, but yet simply, he descended from the throne of his fathers. The discrowned heir of a long line of kings stands forth at Holyrood in bright contrast

to the dethroned soldier of fortune at St Helena—a memorable proof of the eternal truth, that it is in the heart that the real issues of life are to be found,

and that the highest intellectual gifts fail in inspiring that equanimity in adversity which religion confers upon the humblest of her votaries

CHAPTER XVIII.

LITERATURE OF FRANCE DURING AND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

1. IF the literature of England after the war gave proof of the animating influence of the contest in drawing forth the national talent, and giving a more lofty and dignified tone to the national thought, the same effect was conspicuous in a still more remarkable degree in the sister kingdom. The literature of France during the Restoration presents one of the most brilliant epochs of which modern Europe can boast—certainly inferior to none which have adorned the annals of that celebrated country. If it was not so measured as that of Louis XIV., it was more varied; if it exhibited less of the rules of art, it had more of the originality of nature. The dreadful tragedies with which the period commenced, the unparalleled glories by which they were followed, the mournful catastrophe in which they terminated, had roused every feeling of the human heart, and called forth every power of the human mind. The principles of composition, the maxims of taste, the rules of art, which had been all-powerful in a former period, were at once broken through by the wail of nature. Her passions, roused to the very highest pitch, absolutely required vent; they burst through the conventional restraints of ancient days with the force of a deluge. Then was seen how strongly both the thought and composition of a country are impressed by the events which have agitated it, and how indelible were the traces which the *débauche* which had passed over the world had left in the human mind.

2. The great characteristic of the new school of French literature was mingled *Reaction and Romance*. The experience they had had, the sufferings they had undergone, had taught them the former; the thirst for excitement, the *besoin* of strong emotions, had rendered necessary the latter. The days had gone past when the theatre was to resound only with the pompous eloquence of Corneille, the refined tenderness of Racine; they were equally over when history could find vent in the sonorous periods of M. Fontanes, or the graceful flatteries of the Empire. The visions of Rousseau had expired, at least in all thoughtful minds, with the blood of Robespierre; the dreams of Sièyes with the despotism of Napoleon. The universal suffering which had been undergone had produced a universal reaction against the political measures, a general distrust in thoughtful minds of the principles of the Revolution. A quarter of a century in time had given centuries of experience; and the great moral lesson was not lost upon the gifted spirits of that eminently intellectual people. The multitude in towns, indeed, still blindly adhered to the doctrines of the Revolution, and execrated its sufferings without abjuring its principles; but the thinking few, who went beyond the surface of things, and sought in delusion in thought the remote but certain cause of disaster in event, came to discover the sources of present suffering in the errors of former opinion. The passion

for innovation had worn itself out; it had led to its natural results in an immense augmentation of human suffering, and produced a reaction as violent, in consequence, as the former enthusiasm in its favour. The love of novelty in men of original thought was succeeded by its direct opposite, the reverence for antiquity; and in the highest class of minds the study of the olden time came to supersede the reveries of a dreamy futurity. The ancient faith and the ancient times resumed their sway over the leaders of thought; and while Chateaubriand portrayed to an admiring world the genius and beauties of Christianity, Guizot in a philosophic spirit traced its historical blessings; and the two Thierrys investigated, with antiquarian learning and critical acuteness, the most important epochs in the dark ages.

3. But it was not unmixed good which resulted from this reaction; the usual proportion of good and evil, of truth and falsehood, appeared in the mingled streams of visionary ideas and experienced knowledge which flowed forth on the unlocking of the fountains of thought. The dreams of the Revolutionary school, the prospects of social amelioration which they had presented, were too flattering to the great body of the people, too charming to all inexperienced minds, to be relinquished without a struggle as violent in the realms of thought as had taken place in the tented field. Hence there arose opposite schools at this period in France, each of which was headed by leaders of the highest abilities, and whose works have taken a lasting place in the literature of their country and of Europe. The one supported the ancient faith and the ancient institutions, the other the modern ideas and the modern speculations. The former at this period, indeed, numbered all the greatest men in its ranks; and its doctrines were too strongly supported by recent experience to admit of their being rejected by many who had minds capable of discrimination or reflection. But no one need be told that the great majority in all

ages and countries have neither the one nor the other; nor is it less certain that the bulk of those who read in every period are regulated in their opinions, not by the great of their own, but the great of the preceding age. It takes a generation or two for the light of new ideas to flow down from the elevated summits where it first strikes, to the plains and valleys below. Hence the wide gulf between the principles of the two great schools into which France was divided on the termination of the Revolution, and a degree of antagonism between the opinions of the urban masses and the ideas of the highest class of writers, fraught with melancholy presages for future times.

4. But while there was this wide difference between opinions on political or philosophic subjects in France in the lighter branches of literature, no such struggle was visible. The classical school was at once and universally superseded by the romantic. On the theatre, in poetry and romance, the same change was conspicuous. The stately verses of Corneille, indeed, were still the subject of general admiration at the theatres; the exquisite pathos of Racine was felt as charming as in the days of the Grand Monarque. But no more Corneilles or Racines appeared. The necessity of event, the thirst for excitement, the passion for tragic incident, swept over the world with the force of a deluge. It invaded and speedily overwhelmed every department of literature, every branch of thought, every class of society. Not only no one withstood, but no one attempted to withstand it. The strongest supporters, the most devoted adherents of the ancient ideas, adopted the new system in composition even more readily, and with more effect, than their opponents: it was their boast that they would combat their enemies with their own weapons—wound them by a shaft out of their own wing. Hence the communication of a new and as yet unknown charm to compositions intended to stem the progress of innovation. The old thoughts were clothed in new language; the old doctrines

arrayed in modern garb; the truths of reason decked with the charms of imagination. Instead of resting only on the precepts of the schools, the traditions of the Church, the modern writers borrowed the aid in supporting them of all that could attract the fancy or warm the heart. Abundance of materials were at hand to awaken these emotions in the romantic incidents and picturesque manners of the olden time, and the chivalrous feelings which, despite all attempts to extirpate them, still lingered in every noble heart in modern Europe. So skilful was the use made of these auxiliaries, so vast the aid which the ancient doctrines received from modern genius, that it may safely be affirmed they never have been so powerfully supported; and whoever wishes to have his conservative principles aided by all the charms of imagination, will do well to devote his days and his nights to the great authors who have risen out of the French Revolution.

5. But in works addressed to the imagination merely, and intended to amuse or excite the great body of readers, the pernicious influence of the overturning of all principle by the Revolution, and the incessant craving for excitement which its catastrophes had produced, was painfully conspicuous. There no reaction was to be seen against evil; on the contrary, the most unreserved obedience to its dictates was evident. The writers who strove to amuse or interest the public, whether in novels, the romance, or the drama, soon gave token of the confusion of ideas in the vast majority of readers which the Revolution had produced, and the necessity under which every author who aspired to be popular, or desired to make his labours profitable, lay, of bending to the prevailing tastes, and pandering to the too general depravity. Not merely were the ideas and the incidents romantic, but they were too often flagitious: if one chapter interested the imagination, and another moved the heart, it too often happened that a third was calculated to inflame the

senses or excite the passions. So general has this pernicious and too seductive style become, that it may be considered as the grand characteristic of the modern school of French romance; which, if it contains more knowledge, and embraces a far wider field, and is written with much greater ability than that which preceded, and in part occasioned, the Revolution, is only on that account the more dangerous, and the more calculated to corrupt and degrade the people to whom it is addressed.

6. But if this is true of nearly the entire school of modern French novels, what shall be said of its drama, or the numerous pieces which have appeared on the boards of the French opera and theatres? Here revolutionary confusion has appeared in its very worst aspect; and if the pieces which for the last thirty years have been popular on the Parisian stage are to be taken as an index of the general mind, it will not appear surprising that all moral influences have been extinguished amongst the people, and that, after trying in vain every form of freedom, no government should have been found practicable except the rude one of force. It is little to say that the unities, so long the subject of debate, have been perpetually violated; the far more important principles of morality, faith, and honour, have been systematically set at nought. To interest the feelings and excite the passions has been the universal object, not merely without any regard to the tendency of such productions, but with a decided preference for the more depraved. Murders and rapes, seductions and adulteries, incest and poisonings, succeed each other with a rapidity not only never exhibited in real life, but never before thought of in works of fiction. If the German drama is the glory, the French is the disgrace of our contemporary European literature; and whoever considers both with attention, and regards them, as they undoubtedly are, as indexes to the national mind in the two countries, will cease to wonder that the Fatherland was in the end victorious in the strife

which so long existed between them ; and that to the tragedies of the former has been awarded the immortality of virtue—to the melodrama of the latter the ephemeral success of vice.

7. CHATEAUBRIAND is universally, and by all parties, recognised as the first writer in France during the Restoration, and second to none that ever appeared even in that intellectual land. The style of his compositions is very remarkable, and singularly descriptive of the influences which were at work in its formation. It breathes at once the spirit of the olden time and the aspirations of the Revolution : it is redolent of the piety of the Crusader not less than the ardour of the Republican. He has all the gallantry of chivalry in his heart, all the devotion of loyalty in his bosom, but not a few of the dreams of republicanism in his head. He himself said, that he was "aristocrat du cœur, mais démocrate par pensée ;" and the spirit of his writings, not less than the tenor of his actions, prove that the combination, how unusual soever, really existed in his case. The descendant of an ancient family in Brittany, having had his earliest impressions formed by his mother, a woman of uncommon abilities, in the solitude of the family château, which was washed by the waves of the Atlantic Ocean, he was rising into manhood when he beheld his nearest relations cut down by the scythe of the Revolution, and was himself driven, bereft of everything, in the extremity of poverty, to seek refuge in London, where he maintained himself for several years with great difficulty by his pen, and where his earliest composition, the *Essai Historique*, was first ushered forth to the world.

8. His ardent spirit, however, longed for action, and, debarred by the Revolution from service in his own country, he sought a vent for it in the excitements and dangers of foreign travel. His imagination had been strongly excited by the hopes of discovering a north-west passage ; and he set out from England, supported by borrowed money, to engage in the perilous adventure of exploring it by land. He

was not so fortunate, and in truth had not the means, which have since given such celebrity to other names ; but literature has no cause to regret his failure as a geographical discoverer, for his travels in Canada have given birth to many of the most brilliant images, and not the least interesting of his works—his *Travels in America*, and beautiful tale of *Atala and René*. After the accession of Napoleon to the consular throne had opened to him the theatre of his own country, he returned to Paris, and published his immortal *Génie de Christianisme*. The fame which this great work immediately acquired, attracted the notice of Napoleon, who was always on the look-out for genius in any department ; and he had just accepted from him the situation of Minister in the Republic of the Valais, when the execution of the Duke d'Enghien took place ; and Chateaubriand had the courage to hazard his own life, by resigning his appointment. Owing to the intercession, however, of Napoleon's sister, the Princess Eliza, he escaped that peril, and was permitted to leave France. He spent the time of his exile in a pilgrimage to Greece and the Holy Land, the fruit of which is to be seen in his charming *Itinéraire*, and brilliant romance of *Les Martyrs*, in both of which the glowing skies and deathless associations of the East are portrayed with graphic power and a poetic spirit. The wrath of Napoleon having passed away, as it generally did, after the first burst was over, he was enabled to return to Paris, where he lived in retirement, occupied with literary pursuits, till the restoration of the Bourbons, to which he powerfully contributed by his celebrated pamphlet, *Buonaparte et les Bourbons*, opened to him, after a life of toil and poverty, the reward and the promotion of political power.

9. The previous events of Chateaubriand's life may be read in almost all his writings, as clearly as in the very interesting Memoirs which he has bequeathed to the world as the record of his eventful career. His great characteristic is the impassioned and enthusiastic turn of his mind ; and this, as

in all other persons of a similar temperament, has not only impressed his imagination with all the varied images which have at different times been reflected on his mind's retina, but deeply affected his thoughts, by all the reflections which genius could gather or combine from the varied events or objects which have been presented to it during an eventful career. All that he has seen, or read, or heard, seems present to his mind, whatever he does, and wherever he is. Master of immense information, thoroughly imbued at once with the learning of classical and the traditions of Catholic times, gifted with a retentive memory, a poetic fancy, and a painter's eye, he brings to bear upon every subject the stores of erudition, the images of imagination, the charms of varied scenery, and the eloquence of impassioned feeling. Hence his writings display a reach and variety of imagery, a depth of light and shadow, a vigour of thought, and an extent of illustration, to which there is, perhaps, nothing comparable in any other author, ancient or modern. He illustrates the genius of Christianity by the beauties of classical conception; inhales the spirit of ancient prophecy on the shores of the Jordan; dreams on the banks of the Eurotas of the solitude of the American forests; contrasts the burning sands of the Nile with the cool waters of the Mississippi; visits the Holy Sepulchre with a mind alternately excited by the devotion of a pilgrim, the curiosity of an antiquary, and the enthusiasm of a Crusader. He combines in his romances, with the ardour of chivalrous love, the heroism of Roman virtue and the sublimity of Christian martyrdom. His writings are less a portrait of any particular age or country, than an assemblage of all that is grand or generous or elevated in human nature.

10. He drinks deep of inspiration at all the fountains where it has ever been poured forth to mankind, and delights us equally by the accuracy of each individual picture, and the traits of interest which he has combined from every quarter where its footsteps have trode. With the instinct of genius,

he discovers at once the grand or the charming alike in every action he recounts or object he describes, and never fails to throw over the whole the glow of his own rich and impassioned mind—"Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit."* But while every page of his writings reveals in thought or expression the genius by which he was inspired, it betrays also the peculiar predilections to which he was inclined. He was a man of the olden time, stranded by fate on the storm-beaten shores of the Revolution. His sympathies were all with the fœdal and Catholic, but his intercourse was with the modern and freethinking world. This tendency appears not less clearly in the character of his writings than the tenor of his thoughts. His style seems formed on the lofty strains of Isaiah, or the beautiful images of the Book of Job, more than on all the classical or modern literature with which his mind is so amply stored. He is admitted by all Frenchmen, of whatever party, to be the most perfect master of their language in the period in which he lived, and to have imported into it beauties unknown to the age of Bossuet and Fénelon. Less polished in his periods, less sonorous in his diction, less melodious in his rhyme, than these illustrious writers, he is incomparably more varied, rapid, and energetic; the past, the present, and the future rise up under the touch of his magic hand before us, and we see how strongly the stream of genius, instead of gliding down the smooth current of ordinary life, has been broken and agitated by the cataract of Revolution.

11. To this writer must be ascribed the principal share in the great moral revolution which characterised France in the half-century which succeeded the Revolution—the reaction in favour of Christianity. It was in the disastrous days which succeeded the triumph of infidelity and democracy in France that he arose, and, like all great men destined by nature to be the leaders of thought, he immediately broke off from the herd of ignoble writers, * "Nought has he touched and not adorned."

who followed the stream of public opinion. Amidst a deluge of infidelity, he bent the force of his lofty mind to restore the fallen but imperishable faith of his fathers. In early youth, indeed, he was at first carried away by the fashionable scepticism of the times, and in his *Essai Historique*, which he published in London in 1792, in which the principles of virtue and natural religion are unceasingly maintained, he seems to have doubted whether the Christian faith was not crumbling with the institutions of society, and speculated what system of belief was to arise on its ruins. But misfortune, the great corrector of the errors and vices of the world, soon changed these faulty views. In the days of exile and adversity, when by the waters of Babylon he sat down and wept, he resorted to the faith of his fathers, and inhaled in the school of adversity those noble maxims of devotion and duty which have ever since regulated his conduct in life. Undaunted, though alone, he placed himself on the ruins of the Christian faith, renewed with herculean strength a contest which the talents and vices of half a century had to all appearance rendered hopeless, and, speaking to the hearts of men, now, in some degree, purified by suffering and cleansed by the agonising ordeal of revolution, scattered far and wide the seeds of consolation in the resources of religion. Other writers have followed in the same noble career; Guizot, Barante, and Amadée Thierry, have traced with historic truth the beneficial effects of Christianity on modern society, and deduced from revolutionary disaster the last conclusions as to the adaptation of its doctrines to the wants of humanity; but it is the glory of Chateaubriand to have come forth alone, the foremost in the fight, to have planted himself on the breach, when it was strewed only with the dead and the dying, and, strong in the consciousness of gigantic power, stood undismayed against a nation in arms.

12. The peculiarity of the contest in which this great man was thus involved, both explains the object he

had in view in his writings, and the new style of language and species of imagery which he introduced into religious composition. The days were gone past, and he knew it, when Rome could speak, at least to the highly-educated portion of mankind, in the voice of authority, or in which a submissive world would receive on its knees whatever pontifical pride or priestly cupidity might prescribe for belief. It was the assumption of these powers, the spreading and drawing close of these chains, he well knew, which had occasioned the general revolt against the Romish Church. Equally in vain would it be to address a world heated by the passions and roused by the sufferings of the Revolution, in the calm and argumentative strain in which the Protestant divines taught their contented and prosperous flocks the doctrines of the Reformation. For the new times a new style was required. To effect his purpose, therefore, of reopening in the hearts of his readers the all but extinguished fountains of religious feeling, he summoned to his aid all that learning, or travelling, or poetry, or fancy could supply; he called in the charm of imagination to aid the force of reason, and scrupled not to make use of his powers as a novelist, a historian, a descriptive traveller, and a poet, to forward the great work of Christian renovation. Nor was he mistaken in his estimate of the effect which these new weapons in the contest would produce. It is by persuasion, not constraint, that all great revolutions in opinion in ages of intelligence are effected. It is the indifference, not the scepticism, of men that is chiefly to be dreaded: the danger to be apprehended is, not that they will say there is no God, but that they will live altogether without God in the world. It is therefore of incalculable importance that some writings should exist which lead men imperceptibly into the ways of truth, which should insinuate themselves into the tastes and blend with the refinements of ordinary life, and perpetually recur to the cultivated mind, with all that it

admires, or loves, or venerates in the world.

13. If with these many brilliant and noble qualities Chateaubriand had united an equal amount of strength of mind and solidity of judgment, he would have been one of the most remarkable men that modern Europe ever produced, and equally eminent in the cabinet as a statesman, as in the fields of literature as an author. But this was very far from being the case: indeed, till the fleetness of the racer is found combined with the strength of the charger, such a combination may be regarded as hopeless. The very circumstance which constitutes the greatness of the leaders of thought—clearness and originality of conception—disqualifies them, in the general case, from being successful as practical statesmen, or even renders them dangerous if they attempt it. They strive to carry their ideas into execution too early, and when the people are not prepared to adopt them; they forget how slowly original thought descends from the higher to the inferior strata of society; that the bulk of mankind are governed by the illustrious few among their grandfathers, not themselves. In addition to this, they are in general distinguished by an unbending disposition, and not unfrequently irritability of temper, the accompaniments or the failings of strong mental powers and profound internal conviction, but the qualities of all others least calculated to command esteem or conciliate affection among the majority of their countrymen. In addition to these defects, which Chateaubriand had in no small degree, he was consumed by a thirst for applause, and an inordinate vanity, wholly unworthy of his genius, and which in a manner disqualified him for the lead in the practical concerns of men. His *Mémoires d'outre Tombe*, amidst many brilliant ideas and much eloquent writing, contain pitiable proofs of weakness in this respect. The same propensity led him on many occasions to sacrifice his usefulness to his love of approbation, and rather to sink down in gloomy apathy at the progress of

changes which he foresaw would prove ruinous, even to those who introduced them, than to exert his great powers in a manly spirit in the endeavour to counteract them.

14. Contemporary with Chateaubriand, and, like him, moulded both in sentiment and opinion by the events of the Revolution, was another writer, of the other sex, but at the very head of all that female genius has ever effected in the works of imagination—MADAME DE STAËL. The daughter of M. Necker, and bred up in an amiable but exaggerated idea of his greatness as a statesman, she was, as a matter of necessity, early imbued with all those ideas of human perfectibility, and the unbounded virtue and intelligence of the middle and working classes of society, which, when practically applied, as a matter of necessity brought on the Revolution. The strength of this original bent was such that it survived all the experience of that convulsion, and consequently rendered her political writings estimable, rather from the genius they display, and the enthusiasm by which they are animated, than the judgment they evince, or the facts on which they are rested. Yet in cases where the influence of this disturbing element was less strongly felt, the native strength of her understanding made her take a just view of human institutions; and nowhere—not even in the writings of our own political philosophers—are more profound views to be found on the working of the English Constitution than in the eloquent treatise on the French Revolution.

15. But the real greatness of Madame de Staël is to be found in her romances and critical writings: *Corinne* and *De l'Allemagne* have rendered her name immortal. Notwithstanding the strength of her understanding, her imagination was still stronger: she was a perfect woman in all her emotions; and she both felt and has portrayed the affections with a truth and beauty which, if it ever has been equalled, has assuredly never been surpassed. The tender feelings in her were heightened by all that ima-

gination, taste, and refinement could add to the native strength of passion; and her delicacy as a woman has led her to portray them with a pathos and refinement which must command the admiration of every succeeding age. Considered merely as novels, there is much that may be objected to both in *Corinne* and *Delphine*; in both the story is, in part at least, improbable, the catastrophe painful. Unfortunate love, ever the strongest and most lasting in this world, in both occupied her thoughts. If it be true, as has been often said, that a woman's imaginary conceptions are nothing but a picture of what has passed in her own breast, Madame de Staël had suffered much in life from the strength of her affections; and there was more reason than is ordinarily supposed in her well-known saying, that she would give all her talents to have Madame Recamier's beauty. But in the delineation of sentiment, in both these works, she has displayed a truth and knowledge of the human heart, as well as depth of feeling, which perhaps never was equalled. Her brilliant imagination and ardent genius appear not less conspicuously in the numerous disquisitions on subjects of taste, literature, and antiquity, which enrich the former. They are so skilfully introduced, that while they fascinate the mind of the reader by the justice of the sentiment, and the eloquence of the language in which they are conveyed, they all tend to enhance the interest felt in the heroine from whose impassioned life they chiefly emanate, and unfold the growth of the mutual passion from the identity of feeling in which it originated.

16. As a critic, Madame de Staël possessed equal merits. She was distinguished by that first and greatest quality in judging of others—a vivid appreciation of their beauties, and a generous enthusiasm in discussing them. Unlike the generality of critics, who are too often envious and second-rate men, she admired greatness in others because she felt it in herself: she was so powerful that she could afford to be generous, and felt a

sympathetic glow when she approached the works of genius, which she was conscious she was capable of emulating. Other critics, Schlegel and Bouterwek, may have exceeded her in the discrimination with which they have pointed out the blemishes in the great works of the German drama, but none have equalled her in the generous enthusiasm with which she appreciated its excellencies. The masterpieces of Schiller, Goethe, and Klopstock are discussed with the ardent admiration of kindred genius, but at the same time with the discriminating judgment of genuine taste. It is said in Germany that it is no wonder the criticisms on Schiller are first-rate, for he wrote them himself; but probably that is the very reason why it may with safety be concluded that they are to be ascribed to the authoress whose name they bear. No man is a good judge of his own performances; and there is nothing in the prose writings of Schiller which either approaches to the genius of his poetical compositions, or warrants the belief that he could have written the eloquent pages of *De l'Allemagne*.

17. As a philosophic writer, Madame de Staël cannot be assigned so high a place. It is seldom that women are equal to men in that department; and nothing is more certain than that, if they were, they would lose the distinctive mark and principal charms of their sex. A philosophic woman may be the object of respect, but never by possibility of love, and there are probably few women who would willingly make the exchange. The peculiarities of Madame de Staël's mind, which rendered her so admirable in criticism, so charming in romance, made her little qualified to grapple with the evils or unfold the real principles of action in a world in which the selfish bear so large a proportion as they do in that which surrounds us. We read her disquisitions on the French Revolution and the English Constitution with pleasure, not unmixed with admiration; but it is the admiration of a fairy tale, in which fancy is so largely mingled with

reality that it is regarded, on the whole, as a work of imagination. Her ardent mind led her to indulge in the dreams of perfectibility, her enthusiastic temperament to embrace the visions of optimism. Had she been a less charming woman, she would have been a much better philosopher. A practical acquaintance with mankind in all grades, such as a man only can acquire, and an elegant woman is necessarily without, is indispensable to a right appreciation of the probable working of the human mind in the complicated relations of society; and such an acquaintance will probably lead to conclusions very different from those formed by the benevolent dreams of the philanthropist, or the ardent soul of the dramatist.

18. If Chateaubriand, notwithstanding the brilliancy of his genius, or in consequence of that very brilliancy, was little qualified to act in public affairs, or to form a dispassionate opinion regarding them, the same cannot be said of the next great author who rose into greatness with the Restoration—M. Guizot. This very eminent and accomplished man followed the King to Ghent, and contributed so powerfully to support the cause of the Bourbons during the Hundred Days by his pen, that on their second Restoration he was appointed to a situation of trust under Government. But he was not in the Cabinet; his political greatness had not yet begun. He is one of the men, few in England, but many in France, who have risen to political greatness solely from the force of their literary talents, and have been not so much selected by their sovereign for a minister, as forced upon him by the concurrent voice of their country. He is one of the still smaller number, too, who has proved himself equally qualified for both departments, who is not less eminent as a man of letters than as a practical statesman. His public career began as a lecturer on history; it ended by his playing the most important part on the theatre which forms history itself. The reason is, that in his mind, as in that of Marlborough, the intel-

lectual and imaginative faculties are equally balanced; the judgment is not less matured than the conception is vast, and the *coup d'œil* extensive.

19. While this rare combination explains how it has happened that he has risen to eminence in both those generally inconsistent careers, it teaches us what to expect and what not to expect in his literary compositions. He is neither imaginative nor pictorial; he neither speaks dramas to the soul, nor pictures to the eye. He seldom aims at the pathetic, and has little eloquence save what springs from the intensity of his thoughts. He is not a Livy nor a Gibbon, still less a Lamartine or a Macaulay; nature has not given him either poetical or descriptive powers. He is a man of the very highest genius, taking that word in its loftiest acceptation—the faculty which discerns the laws of nature; hence it appears not in the narrative of particular events, but in the discovery of general causes. It is in the tracing the effects of these causes through all the mazes of human events, in developing the operations of changes in society which escape ordinary observation, in seeing whence man has come in this world, and whither he is going, that his greatness consists; and in that, the loftiest region of history, he is unrivalled. There is no writer, ancient or modern, who has traced the different phases of human affairs, and the general causes which determine the fate of nations, with such just views, and so much sagacious discrimination. He is not so much a historian as a discourses on history. If ever the spirit of the philosophy of history was embodied in a human form, it is in that of M. Guizot. Robertson and Montesquieu are the only authors who approach to him in that respect, and, being the first, their merit was perhaps the greater. But Guizot has followed out the subject with a wider glance and more varied learning than either, and he has embodied in his views a more extensive view of human affairs, and more wisdom, from the stormy period in which he himself lived.

20. The style of this great author is in every respect suited to his subject. He is by no means destitute of pathetic powers; many passages in his *History of the English Revolution*, as well as in his literary essays, prove that he has a mind feelingly alive to the impressions both of the beautiful and the touching. But it is only when his subject absolutely requires it that he gives the reins to his disposition in this respect: in general he does not aim at the higher flights of fancy, and appears to coerce, rather than indulge, what perhaps, as in many men of kindred genius, was the original bent of his mind. He scarce ever attempts to warm the soul or melt the feelings; he is seldom imaginative, and never descriptive, although his *Essay on the Fine Arts* proves the absence of this has not arisen from want of power to be either. But he is uniformly lucid, sagacious, and discriminating, deduces his conclusions with admirable clearness from his premises, and occasionally warms, from the innate grandeur of his thoughts, into a glow of fervent eloquence. He seems to treat of human affairs as if he viewed them from a loftier sphere than other men—as if he was elevated above the usual struggles and contests of humanity, and a superior power had withdrawn the veil which shrouds their secret causes and tendency from the gaze of sublunary beings. He cares less than most historians to dive into the secrets of cabinets; attaches little, perhaps too little, importance to individual character, but fixes his steady and piercing gaze on the great and lasting causes which in a durable manner influence human affairs.

21. He views them not from year to year, but from century to century; and when considered in that commanding view, at a distance from the din and interest of individual action, it is surprising how much its importance disappears. It seems in the highest degree important while they live, because the men who ostensibly govern society appear at first sight to be the real authors of the changes which they introduce, or in which

they bear a part. But the lapse of time, or the succession of other actors, generally reveals their secondary agency, and brings to light the real persons who put in motion the tide, by the ebb or flow of which society has been so violently agitated. Statesmen, or even generals, scarcely ever accomplish anything which had not been already prepared by general causes. They sail often triumphantly along the stream, and make an able use of its strength and swiftness, but it is not they who put the current in motion; they embark on the waves when they see them flowing impetuously forward, and aim only at shaping their own course according to their direction. It is the men who had previously determined this direction, who had imprinted their own on the general mind, who are the real directors of human affairs: it is the giants of thought who in the end govern the world. Kings and ministers, princes and generals, warriors and legislators, are but the ministers of their blessings or curses to mankind. But theirs is only a posthumous power; it is seldom that their dominion begins till they themselves are mouldering in their graves.

22. Guizot's largest undertaking is his edition of Gibbon's *Rome*; but though he has enriched the *Decline and Fall* with some notes of value, and many observations of interest, he cannot be said to have added much to that wonderful History. Even his learning and industry, though they found much to subtract from, could discern little to add to, the work of the immortal Englishman. He has also begun a *History of the English Revolution*, to which he had been led by his publication of a collection of memoirs relative to that convulsion, in twenty-five volumes; but this work has only got the length of four volumes, and comes to the conclusion only of the second act in that mournful tragedy. It is lucid, able, and impartial, but it wants dramatic power, and has attained no great success. It was in his lectures from the chair of history at Paris that his genius shone forth in its pro-

per sphere and its true lustre; and there he has produced works stamped with the signet-seal of immortality. His *Civilisation en France*, in five volumes, and *Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, and *Civilisation Européenne*, each in one volume, are the fruit of his labours in that chair, and in all the same profound thought, sagacious discrimination, and lucid view are conspicuous. But by far the greatest of them all is the *Civilisation Européenne*, and it throws a clearer light on the history of society in modern times, and the general progress of mankind from the exertions of its inhabitants, than any other work in existence. The accession of Guizot to the Ministry of Louis Philippe for several years put a stop to his literary labours, to which his expulsion from office and ruin of fortune by the Revolution of 1848 has given a fresh impulse. But though the same mind may be discerned in them all, it is in his earlier works that the originality of his genius and vigour of his thought are chiefly conspicuous. Experience and reading often add much to the illustration of original conception, or the facts by which it is to be supported, but they seldom extend the conception itself. Intellectual capacity often exists to a very advanced age, but the creative power is seldom seen except in early life; and there is perhaps no man of original thought, the germ of whose ideas had not been formed before he was thirty years of age.

23. If ever two great men stood in striking contrast to each other, it was Guizot and his victorious antagonist in the strife which overturned the throne of Louis Philippe. If the turn of their respective minds is considered, it will not appear surprising that Guizot was the conservative minister, LAMARTINE the democratic leader, on that occasion. As much as the former is distinguished by historical knowledge, patient research, and sober judgment, the latter is characterised by ardent imagination, dramatic power, and pictorial splendour. Such is the vividness of the conceptions of this charming writer, such the fervour of his eloquence, and the bril-

liancy of his fancy, that they have tinged truth itself with the colours of fiction, and led to much really true being discredited in his writings, merely from the glow of the language in which it was conveyed. Like Macaulay, he is at once both a poet and a historian—a strange combination, according to the ordinary idea formed of the qualities requisite for the latter, but not unlikely to lead to greatness, if the former character is in due subordination to the latter; and the opinion of Mr Fox is well founded, that history, in the art of composition, is to be placed next to poetry and before oratory.

24. If Lamartine's accuracy of research, patience of investigation, and sobriety of judgment, had been equal to his vividness of fancy, warmth of imagination, and fervour of eloquence, he would have made the greatest and most popular historian of modern times. But, unfortunately, this is very far from being the case; and in truth, these qualities of mind are so opposite, that probably to the end of the world they never will be found united in equal proportions in the same individual. He forms his opinions from his impressions, not his impressions from his opinions; "impressionnable comme une femme" is his true characteristic. Not that he wants a clear intellect or the reasoning faculty; on the contrary, he possesses both in a very high degree, as several *short* passages and passing reflections in all his works demonstrate. But such is the ardour of his mind and the brilliancy of his conceptions, that these qualities are kept in abeyance, or concealed amidst the lustre of the language in which they are enveloped. He thinks from what he feels, not feels from what he thinks; and the former impressions are in general so forcible that he loses all control over them by the power of the latter. So great is the power of his descriptions, and his passion for dramatic effect, that even in portraying or narrating what is strictly true, his works pass for a creation of imagination, and those who follow in his footsteps are often sur-

prised to find how much they are founded in reality. Whoever has tracked his wanderings along the shores of the Mediterranean, must be aware that he has not so much exaggerated what he had seen in his descriptions, as seen them through a Claude Lorraine medium; and those who have followed his steps in the History of the Girondists and the Restoration, as the author has done, must often do him the justice to say, that much of what passes with ordinary readers for fiction, is in reality only a dramatic narrative of real events.

25. He is a sincere and devout believer in human perfectibility—a circumstance which explains how it has happened that, though of noble birth, he is attached to democratic principles; though inspired with generous feelings, he was instrumental in establishing a sordid and vulgar republic. Nearly all of similar habits and descent, who become the partisans of such changes, are led into them by that amiable illusion. Of course it deprives his historical and political writings of all weight in the formation of rational and lasting opinion; the first requisite in all productions which are to have that effect, is a correct estimate of the average character of, and of what may reasonably be expected from, human nature. Like all fanatics, whether in religion or politics, he is wholly inaccessible to reason, and beyond the reach of facts, how clear or convincing soever. Accordingly, his belief in human perfectibility and the virtue of the masses is unshaken, although he has himself confessed, in his *History of the Revolution of 1848*, that he himself and all his followers would have been thrown by the mob into the Seine, when assaulted in the Hôtel de Ville on April 10 of that year, if they had not been protected by three battalions of the Garde Mobile.

26. He never on any occasion gives the authority on which any historical statement is founded,—a defect which not only deprives his works of all value as books of reference, but often does great injustice to himself, by leading his readers to imagine that the

whole narrative is fiction, and that he gave no authorities because he really had none to give. He is inspired, like Chateaubriand, with the most inordinate and contemptible vanity, which is in an especial manner conspicuous in the history of the important events in which he himself bore a share, and has made his beautiful episode of “Raphael,” which none who know the human heart can doubt is in the main founded in truth, to pass with the generality of readers for a mere romance, in which a vain man has recounted imaginary *bonnes fortunes*. But these, and many other weaknesses, which have proved fatal to his political weight and reputation, must be forgotten when we recollect what is really estimable in his character and elevated in his sentiments; and in particular, the admirable presence of mind and heroic courage with which he contended with the savage multitude in the Hôtel de Ville in the beginning of the Revolution of 1848, and prevented the convulsion which he himself had so large a share in producing from terminating in a second Reign of Terror.

27. SISMONDI, if the most valuable qualities of a historian are considered, is the greatest writer in that department which France has ever produced. He is by no means, however, the most popular, and never will become such. He has much, as a historian, which we desiderate in Lamartine; but, unfortunately, Lamartine has much which we desiderate in him. Indefatigable in research, patient in investigation, cautious in conclusion, benevolent in feeling, he is at the same time philosophic in thought, liberal in religious, and independent in political principle. He has interspersed his lengthened narrative with general reflections, which for depth of thought and justice of observation never were surpassed. But he is neither dramatic nor pictorial, seldom kindles the imagination, and still seldomer touches the heart. Extensive research and copious information are his great characteristics, and in these respects it is impossible to consult a more valuable writer.

Unlike Lamartine, he gives his authority for every material fact asserted, and has filled his pages with such a multitude of official documents, that they often rather wear the aspect of a collection of state papers than a literary composition. This patient examination of, and constant reference to authority, render his works invaluable as books of reference, and as a storehouse of authentic information; but, unfortunately, they have very much impeded their popularity. No human ability can render lengthened quotations from state papers, letters, or deeds interesting; and where the judicious system is not adopted, of throwing them into notes or an appendix, though the work may be valuable as a repertory of information, it will never be interesting as a history. This defect is so conspicuous in Sismondi, whose *Annals of the Italian Republics* have swelled to sixteen, of France to two-and-thirty volumes, that perhaps no reader has ever got through the whole of both; and he himself is so sensible of it, that he has published admirable abridgments of each, which contain nearly all the philosophic conclusions that render the larger works so valuable, and have attained deserved popularity. But this very circumstance shows a great deficiency in the original works; no abridgment of histories, written with pictorial ability or dramatic power, ever had any success; you might as well attempt to abridge *Waverley* as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*.

28. Least popular with the present generation of all his works, because most adverse to general opinion, the *Social and Political Essays* of this profound thinker and erudite scholar are perhaps the most valuable. They are entirely original, and they run directly against the current of general thought; it is not surprising, therefore, that they have made very little impression on the generation among which they appeared. He himself has told us that they have had very few readers, and that he does not think they would have had one if the English parliamentary reports had not established facts which could be ex-

plained on no other principle. It by no means follows from this, however, that the doctrines he has advanced are not in themselves just, and in the highest degree important to the future happiness of mankind; present popularity in works of abstract thought is an indication of coincidence with general opinion, but by no means either of truth or ultimate success. Few physicians, and none above forty, would admit during his life Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood; ages elapsed before the Copernican system forced itself on general belief; and public opinion in Italy unanimously supported the Inquisition when they prosecuted Galileo for asserting that the earth moved.

29. Sismondi is a Protestant and a Republican; he deems kings and nobles are useless excrescences upon society; and his political *beau idéal* is a collection of republics, with no established faith, and held together, like the American Union, only by the slender bond of a federal alliance. It is from the influence, therefore, of no prepossession against the present tendency all over the civilised world to popular institutions, that he has so strongly and ably at the same time inculcated the doctrine that this tendency is fraught with the most serious evils which at present desolate, and in the end will occasion the entire ruin of Europe. These evils, according to him, do not arise from forms of government, nor are they to be ascribed to faulty legislation; they originate in the nature of things, and are the direct consequence of that state of society which is generally considered as fraught with unlimited blessings. The accumulation of capital, the increase of machinery, the spread of manufactures, the growth of large towns, the cheapening of provisions, the free circulation of labour in an old community, which are commonly regarded as the surest symptoms of general prosperity, in his view are the unmistakable indications of social disease and the prognostics of approaching ruin. In them he sees the sad effects of the undue preponderance of capital, and the desper-

ate consequences of the principles of unlimited competition and free trade, when applied to the labouring classes of the community. Probably there is no disinterested person who contemplates the present state of society, whether in France or the British Islands, who will hesitate to admit that these views are well founded, and that the causes of decay which proved fatal to the colossal fabric of the Roman empire are even now in full activity in both countries. But they do not warrant the gloomy and desponding conclusions in regard to human affairs *in general*, which Sismondi draws from them, any more than the increasing ills which accumulate round individual old age justify melancholy views in regard to the human race. The evils arising from the sway of capital and the principle of competition to the great bulk of the community are not imaginary, but they are partial, and are the means by which Providence, at the time when such a change has become necessary, checks the growth of aged communities, and provides for the dispersion of the human race. He who is not convinced of this by the simultaneous growth of the evils in the Old World and the opening of the reserve treasures of nature in California and Australia in the New, would not be persuaded though one rose from the dead.

30. The two THIERRYS belong to the same school as Sismondi, but they have eschewed the chief faults which have impeded the popularity of his voluminous publications. We perceive in them the same untiring industry and patient research by which the historian of the Italian republics is distinguished, and the same combination of antiquarian lore and accuracy of fact with general views and philosophic thought, which render his works so valuable. But the method taken of communicating this information is infinitely more skilful. Not less than he, they give the authorities for every paragraph, often for every sentence; but, unlike him, they do not swell the text with long and tedious quotations from original documents,

but quote the material words relied on in a few lines, or even words, in a note. Perhaps this is sometimes carried too far; for, by giving only detached expressions or sentences from the original writers, they suggest a doubt whether the sense is truly conveyed, and whether the context, if fully given, would not in some material respects contradict it. But there can be no doubt that it is a very great improvement on the more voluminous system, for it not only renders the text much shorter, but more continuous and uniform in style, and therefore interesting, than when there is a frequent interruption to make way for antiquated quotations. And the result appears in the different success of the different writers; for the *History of the Conquest of England by the Normans*, by Auguste, and of the *Princes of the Carolingian Race*, and of *Gaul under the Romans*, by Amadée Thierry, each in three volumes, have attained very great popularity, and gone through several editions; while the forty-eight volumes of the *History of France and of the Italian Republics* slumber in respected obscurity amidst the dust of our libraries.

31. Although brothers, belonging to the same school of history, equally fond of antiquity, and adopting the same style of composition, the thoughts of these two very remarkable men are widely different from each other. Auguste, the author of the *Conquest of England by the Normans*, and of the *Essays on the History of France*, belongs to the Liberal school; he is almost a republican in politics, and, like others of his sect, anything but strongly influenced by religious impressions. But he is humane and philanthropic, and not only eminently dramatic, but often pathetic, in his narrative of important events. Amadée is the very reverse in thought of his brother; he is devoutly Christian in his ideas, and has directed his great powers with remarkable success to the illustration, from historical and antiquarian sources, of the blessings which the Gospel has conferred upon mankind. Upon con-

sidering his luminous writings, and comparing them with the arrogant dogmatism of the Roman Catholic writers at an earlier period, which all the eloquence of Bossuet could scarcely disguise, it is impossible to avoid seeing how much the cause of true religion has been advanced by the experience of suffering, and the wrench to general thought induced by the Revolution; and on how much more solid a basis the truth of Christianity is now erected than it was in the days of papal bulls and sacerdotal domination.

32. MICHAUD belongs to the same school, both in religious thought and historical composition, as Amadée Thierry, and he is an author of very great merit. His *History of the Crusades*, in six volumes, is by far the best narrative that has yet appeared of those memorable wars; and although it is not free from the great defect of the antiquarian school, in being somewhat overloaded with long quotations from monkish chronicles or contemporary annalists, it promises to be the most durable. For its success it is mainly indebted to the remarkable combination which the author exhibits of antiquarian research with an ardent imagination and remarkable powers of description. So enthusiastic was his disposition, that it led him to make a pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land, in order to be able to describe from his own observation, and verify with his own eyes, the scenes of the exploits of his heroes. This has led to one of the most interesting books of travel which ever was written, in which, perhaps even more than in his *History of the Crusades*, the accomplished and enthusiastic author has shown how much interesting association and historical knowledge can add to the attractions even of the most beautiful scenes of nature. If Chateaubriand has visited the Holy Sepulchre with the mingled feelings of a classical scholar and a devout pilgrim, and Lamartine with the highly-wrought imagination of a poet and brilliant conceptions of a painter, Michaud has gone over the same ground with the

heroic spirit of a Crusader; and the reader has now the extraordinary advantage, in the travels of these charming writers, of combining *all* the associations which can recur to the cultivated mind, in visiting the scenes which must ever be the most interesting of any on earth to the human race.

33. BARANTE belongs to the same school as Michaud, and, like him, is an example of the reaction of genius against the infidel principles and innovating ideas of the Revolution. His greatest work, the *History of the Dukes of Burgundy*, has the same fault as the works of Sismondi and Michaud, that of being overloaded with unnecessarily long quotations from contemporary annalists and chronicles; but it nevertheless conducts the reader without fatigue through ten volumes, by the talent for description and dramatic powers which the author possesses. He is inspired, like Sir Walter Scott, by the true spirit of chivalry, and carries us back, almost like that great magician, to the storming of castles, the jousting of knights, the distressed damsels and blood-thirsty tyrants of that poetical but unhappy period. He is generally understood to have been the author of the *Memoirs of Madame de Rochejaquelein*; and if so, there is no author in any language who has exhibited greater graphic powers, or a more decided talent for educing interest from heroic incident or pathetic event.

34. SALVANDY belongs to the same school as Barante and Michaud, but he is more philosophical and reflecting than either. His *History of Poland* evinces it. It contains all the pictorial power and picturesque effect of either of these writers, but more reflection and observation, and therefore it is more attractive to a reflecting mind. Nowhere so well as in his brilliant pages is to be found a development of the real causes of the mournful fate of that memorable people, the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, and yet the prey of every assailant within their own bosom; often victorious, but never capable of taking advantage of victory; ever jealous of authority, but

nèver able to repress anarchy ; the deliverer of Vienna in one age, and in the next blotted from the book of nations. In his pages, as in the *History of Ireland*, if written with equal wisdom, is to be found the most decisive proof of the great truth, that the first necessity of mankind in rude periods is a strong government, and that no calamities are so great, because none so irremediable, as such as deliver them up to the slavery of their own passions. Salvandy is a Liberal, but he is a Liberal of the new school—that is, warned by the errors and instructed by the sufferings of the Revolution. In his pages, accordingly, there is to be found constant reference to the historical blessings of, and present necessity for, revelation ; and when France had been for some years insane, after the triumph of the barricades in 1830, his sagacious eye first divined whither things under popular rule were tending ; and his intrepid hand first drew aside the veil from the eyes of a suffering, and therefore repentant, people.

35. The historians who have hitherto been considered have treated chiefly of the olden time, and their works exhibit the reaction in the human mind after the delusions and disappointments of the Revolution. But writers of great eminence are not wanting, who have treated of that convulsion itself, and, uninstructed by the lessons of experience, still endeavour to vindicate its principles, and apologise for the crimes of its authors. In the very foremost rank of this class of writers is to be placed M. THIERS, who, like most of the other modern statesmen of France, raised to eminence by his literary talents, has played an important part on the theatre of public affairs, and taken a share in the most decisive events which, during the last quarter of a century, have determined the fate of his country. His first work, and the one which raised him to eminence, but by no means his best, is the *History of the Revolution*, in twelve volumes. In it he endeavours to assert the principles and palliate the excesses of that convulsion ; but he does this in a very sin-

gular way. It is by representing the latter as the inevitable consequence of the former, and the authors of all the bloodshed which took place as impelled by an invincible necessity which it was impossible to resist, and for yielding to which, therefore, they were noways blamable. It is surprising that so acute an author did not perceive that such a doctrine, if really well founded, was more decisive against the possibility of self-government than any other that could by possibility be imagined ; for if the practical application of Liberal principles leads of necessity to such results, what can be so great a misfortune as their extension among mankind ?

36. M. Thiers has very great merits as a historian—in some respects greater than any who has recently appeared in France, fertile as it has been in great men in that department of literature. Not only is he ingenious, dramatic, and eloquent, but his writings abound in important general reflections, and often in just and generous appreciation of individual character. He himself affords the best illustration of the truth of his own beautiful observation, in reference to the meeting of M. Barnave with the Queen, in the journey from Varennes : “How often would factions the most opposite be reconciled, if they could meet and read each other’s hearts !” But by far his greatest merit consists in the luminous survey he gives of countries, especially in relation to military events, and the clear and lucid manner in which he unfolds the principles of strategy applicable to the campaigns which he had to describe. In this he is unrivalled in civil, and never was exceeded by military, historians ; and his writings afford a striking proof how completely a strong native bent in the mind of an author can overcome the want of practical experience, or acquaintance with the actual operations of war. His chief defect is the almost entire absence of quotation of authority, and its inevitable consequence, great and frequent inaccuracy in details—a fault which, besides depriving his works of their chief value as books of authority,

exposes him to constant well-founded attacks from that numerous class of writers who look to accuracy in these respects rather than general merit, and nibble at the corners of an edifice of which they are unable to throw down the pillars. In regard to English transactions, he labours under one grievous defect, which has made his works of little value in regard to its history: *he does not understand English*, a circumstance which renders him about as competent to write our annals as the author would be to convey an idea of those of France, if he could not read its language.

37. By far the best work of M. Thiers, and one which belongs to the highest class of political history, is his *History of the Consulate and Empire*, now concluded in twenty volumes. It shows that his mind had grown immensely during the course of his political career, and cast off many of the indiscretions or errors of his more juvenile years. He is no longer the ardent student fresh from the revolutionary school, and ready, on all occasions, to share in its dreams, or palliate its excesses; but the experienced statesman, versed in the ways of the world, and taught by disaster the futile nature of all visions of perfectibility founded upon the supposed immaculate character of the great majority of men. His talent for military history seems to have increased with practice, and acquaintance with the leading generals of the period; and there is no work in existence which the general reader can consult with more pleasure, or the military with greater instruction, than his *History of the Campaigns of Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram*. But in addition to this, his political opinions appear to have undergone a considerable change with the lapse of time, and a practical acquaintance with the duties of statesmanship. His mind is candid; and albeit bred in the school of Infidelity and the Revolution, his late volumes contain frequent allusion to Supreme Superintendence, and the punishment, even in this world, of the sins of men. But above all, his acquaintance with the secrets of cabinets

and state papers has led to his last work being enriched with a great variety of important information not to be met with in any other publication; and in no other annals is there to be found so copious an account of the diplomacy of the Empire, and the internal legislation of Napoleon.

38. Inferior in genius to Thiers, and unacquainted, like him, with the practical duties of a statesman, less versed in the archives of cabinets, M. LACRETTE has still considerable merits, and will always hold a respectable place among French historians. His *History of France during the Eighteenth Century*, though not distinguished either by the philosophy of Guizot, the brilliancy of Lamartine, or the military descriptions of Thiers, is yet a very valuable work; and to one who wishes to obtain a general idea of the events of that momentous period, without diving into all its details, is perhaps the best that can be referred to. But by far his most masterly production is the *Histoire des Guerres de la Religion*; and it is not only highly interesting, but written with the brevity and general glance which is often the most indispensable element for general success in historical compositions. In any other age or country he would have attained great and deserved eminence; but such is the constellation of historical talent which has arisen in France since the storm of the Revolution was succeeded by the lull of the Restoration, that he has already been eclipsed by more brilliant writers.

39. M. CAPEFIGUE is both an abler and a more voluminous writer than Lacretelle, but such is the multitude of his publications that he is wellnigh buried under their weight. His works, like those of Voltaire, exceed a hundred volumes; and no one need be told that, among such a multitude, many must be of inferior merit, and made up, like the medicines of apothecaries, of drugs prepared by others. Some of his writings are admirable; his *History of Louis XIV.* is by far the best which has ever been written of that momentous and interesting period. The works he has published

on contemporary history, particularly the *History of the Empire and the Restoration*, are brilliant annals, interspersed with much fine description, and many striking observations; but they want the finish and unity of effect indispensable in a work of art. He is a devout Catholic, and therefore all his accounts of the Protestants are to be taken with some allowance; and a loyal Royalist, but there he is less to be suspected, for his mind in politics is eminently candid, and, in truth, often tinged with ultra-Liberal opinions. But his views are philanthropic, his disposition humane, and he is inspired with the quality of all others the most valuable in the narration of human events—a warm appreciation of the generous and noble, and detestation of the mean and the selfish in character or actions. His great defect is, that in many of his histories, especially of the olden time, there is too much *bookmaking*, too copious quotations from original chronicles and legal instruments, and too little attention to the first requisite in composition—unity of effect. He has undertaken to write nearly a continuous History of France, from Charlemagne to Louis Philippe, and the entire series exceeds a hundred volumes. It need hardly be said, that it is altogether impossible that works of such magnitude can be either popular or generally read. They are the quarry-stones from which history is constructed, not history. Unity of style and composition is as indispensable in this as in any other of the objects of human thought; and in none is Hesiod's observation more applicable, that the half is often greater than the whole.

40. One historical writer, second in some respects to none which have preceded him in this department of literature, remains to be considered, and that is M. MICHELET. It is impossible to read the works of this very able and original writer, without being filled with the highest admiration for his genius, mingled with not unfrequent regret at its misapplication. No writer, ancient or modern, has surveyed with a more keen and search-

ing glance the annals of the olden time, or more ably and lucidly illustrated the successive migrations and settlement of the great families of mankind, as well as the distinctive marks which in every age have characterised the dispositions of their descendants. If any additional refutation were wanting of the long popular delusion of the Revolution, that man is the creature of institutions, or any farther confirmation of the profound observation of Montesquieu, that institutions are the creature of man, it would be found in his learned and interesting pages. His style is graphic, his mind at once dramatic and pictorial—great qualities in a historian, especially when accompanied by the industry and research which distinguish his writings. The signet-mark of genius is everywhere conspicuous. Unfortunately, that of judgment and wisdom is frequently wanting. There are many philosophic views, as well as much brilliant expression, in his history of the early periods of the French monarchy; but in his *History of the Revolution*, now in the course of publication at Paris, although these qualities are not wanting, there is such an intermixture of violence, prejudice, and passion, as must deprive that work not merely of all weight with future times, but even of all influence in promoting the views of the extreme democratic party to which he is attached.

41. The number and extraordinary merit of the historical works which have now been noticed, all of which have issued from the press of Paris during the Restoration, may well excite surprise, and is the clearest indication both of the strong bent to historical and political subjects which the public mind has undergone since the Revolution, and of the reaction against the innovating doctrines which has taken place from the experience of their effects. But these works, numerous and able as they are, exhibit but a partial picture of the extent of this bent, or the deep hold which, from the intensity of former emotions, political works have taken of the general mind. The *military*

histories and memoirs exhibit it in its full proportions, and they constitute a branch of literature so peculiar to France, and which has been worked of late years with such effect, that no account of the public thought in that country, during that period, can be considered as complete which does not bring it prominently forward. Both species of composition, indeed, have been long cultivated with signal success in France, as the military histories of Folard and Guibert, and Petito's collection of a hundred and sixty volumes of memoirs, prove; but the ability brought to bear upon them since the Revolution has been so remarkable that all former productions are thrown into the shade.

42. In the very first rank, in both departments, is to be placed a man whose celebrity as an actor of history has been such that he is scarcely ever considered in his proper place as a narrator of its events—**NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE**. His genius, however, was such that it is hard to say whether it shines forth with most lustre in his own actions, or in criticising those of others—in military and political measures, or in the narrative of his own or his predecessors' achievements. In both, not only do the same clear intellect and brilliant imagination, but the same luminous view and burning thought, appear conspicuous. The great characteristics of his compositions, as of those of all men of the highest class of intellect, are clearness and force in ideas, and brevity and vigour in language. Burke is not more powerful in expression, Johnson more lucid in thought. But in addition to this, he had an ardent and poetical imagination, and it is easy to see from his expressions and style of expression, that if he had not equalled Alexander in the lustre of his conquests, he was qualified to have rivalled Homer in the brilliancy of his conceptions. Much doubt was at first expressed, on their appearance, as to whether the St Helena Memoirs were his genuine composition; but time has now vindicated the author's opinion, expressed at the time, that it

was surprising there should be any doubt on the subject, for nature did not in general produce two Napoleons in the same generation.

43. It is not to be supposed, however, from this, that either Napoleon's Memoirs, dictated to Generals Montholon and Gourgaud at St Helena, or his conversations, recorded by Las Cases and Drs O'Meara and Antomarchi at the same place, are unexceptionable works. On the contrary, in all the characteristic faults of his mind are conspicuous; and in the last, which were not revised by himself, and where his words were probably not reported with the fidelity of a Boswell, there is much reason to suspect the interpolation, in some places, of the impassioned ideas and ulcerated feelings of his attendants. But there can be no doubt that, in the main, they are a faithful transcript of his thoughts, if it was from nothing else than the brilliant genius, and identity with his acknowledged compositions, which they exhibit. With regard to his own Memoirs, there is no doubt their authenticity is unquestionable, and they exhibit his mind in its real proportions, with all its great talents and equally great deficiencies. Clearness and force of intellectual vision are the most remarkable features of the former, prejudice and prepossession of the latter. He saw his own side of every question with the utmost force, and expressed his views upon it with the greatest precision and vigour; but he was by no means equally accessible to considerations on the other side. Having made up his mind on any subject, he immediately closed the door against every opposite argument or fact; or rather, he closed the door when he *began* to think, and formed his opinions from his preconceived ideas alone. Hence the uniform vigour and clearness of his thoughts, and their frequent error and dangerous tendency—peculiarities which are not only conspicuous in his writings, but are the real explanations of his long-continued success and ultimate fall. Truth, in contested questions, is never to be elicited but by the attentive consideration and impartial weighing of *both* sides. It is well known

what sort of decision a judge will give who makes up his mind upon hearing one party only. Durable success is to be attained in action in no other way. Temporary triumph may attend the adoption of one-sided ideas, but the reaction is generally as violent as the action. Hence it is that so many of the greatest men recorded in history have also been in the end the most unfortunate.

44. In one respect, however, there is a peculiarity in Napoleon's writings which is less excusable, and the influence of which appears not less in the checkered events of his life. This is his entire disregard of truth when it interfered with his preconceived ideas, and the unblushing, or perhaps it should rather be said *unconscious*, effrontery with which he continued the most mendacious statements, after their falsehood had been demonstrated, not merely to others, but to himself. So far did he carry this extraordinary peculiarity, that we are told by his private secretary and panegyrist Meneval, that he formed an idea to himself, often totally unfounded, of the strength of the various corps and divisions in his army; and having done so, he issued his orders, and formed his expectations of them, as if they were of that strength, without the slightest regard to the returns of the commanders, which showed they were not of half the amount.* Unconquerable adherence to error, in point of fact, in the face of the clearest evidence, is, in like manner, often so characteristic of his writings, where any of his marked prepossessions is concerned, that one is apt to imagine that the account of the peculiarity given by his panegyrists is the true one—that his imagination was so ardent that his wishes were, literally speaking, the father to his thoughts, and that what he desired he really believed to

* “ Dans le calcul des hommes qui devaient composer ses bataillons, ses régiments, ou divisions, il inflait toujours le résumé total. On ne peut pas croire qu'il voulût se faire illusion à lui-même, mais il jugeait nécessaire de donner le change sur la force de ses corps. Quelques représentations qu'on lui fit, il repoussait l'évidence, et persistait opiniâtrément dans son erreur volontaire de calcul.” — ME NEVAL, *Vie privée de Napoléon*, iii. 121.

be true. Like insane persons, he often reasoned on imaginary conceptions as if they had been real facts; but, unlike them, assuming the facts to be true, none ever drew from them more just conclusions, or argued with more mathematical rigour in regard to their probable consequences.

45. Inferior to Napoleon in genius, and greatly so in vigour and condensation of expression, GENERAL JOMINI is much his superior in impartiality and solidity of judgment. His *History of the Wars of the Revolution*, in sixteen volumes; his *Life of Napoleon*, in four volumes; and that of *Frederick the Great*, in three volumes, are perhaps the most just and discriminating works on military strategy which modern Europe has produced. He traces with admirable sagacity and distinctness the most important events in war to the application or neglect of a few leading principles; and he does this in so simple and perspicuous a manner, that his views can be perfectly apprehended, not merely by the military, but the ordinary reader. He wants the vigour and brevity of Napoleon's expression, and his annals of the wars of the Revolution are characterised by the ordinary defect in military histories—undue length, and too great attention to subordinate details. He became conscious, however, of this defect, and in his *Life of Napoleon* events are simplified and massed as much as the most ardent admirers of *breadth* in composition could desire. Appreciated in the very highest degree by all military readers, his writings are not so generally read as they should be in France, from the circumstance of the author, a Swiss by birth, having left the service of Napoleon, and entered that of Russia, on the eve of the battle of Bautzen. It is natural that it should be so; but Jomini merely went over himself; he did not, like Ney or Marlborough, employ his power to destroy the prince who had bestowed it; and when the passions of the moment have subsided, there can be no doubt that his work will be the standard one on military strategy all over Europe.

46. Unequal to Jomini in military

science or political thought, GENERAL MATHIEU DUMAS is greatly his superior in picturesque power and graphic effect. Like Xenophon, he has described with the fidelity of a soldier, but the soul of a poet and the eye of a painter, the most important events of Napoleon's life, in many of which he himself bore a conspicuous part; and he has done this with so much simplicity and elegance that few works in any age will bear a comparison with it. His description of the passage of the Splügen, in particular, and the operations of the corps which he commanded on the flank of the Austrians in 1801, on the confines of the Grisons and the Tyrol, as well as of the crossing of the St Bernard and campaign of Marengo, are among the most fascinating pieces of military history which ever were written, and will bear a comparison with the most admired passages in Xenophon or Livy. It is only to be regretted, for the fame of this eloquent writer, that his work, being in eighteen volumes, and only comprising nine years of Napoleon's campaigns, is too voluminous for the general reader; and hence it is regarded rather as a storehouse from which subsequent writers, and none more than the author, have drawn their most interesting materials, rather than a work which is itself to find its way into every well-furnished library.

47. The work of Mathieu Dumas terminates with the Treaty of Tilsit; but the next great campaign of Napoleon has been recorded by another military writer in a kindred spirit, and with equal graphic power. GENERAL PELET, an ardent admirer of Napoleon and the whole Imperial régime, has at least done ample justice to one of his campaigns, for there does not exist in any language a more splendid military work than his account of the campaigns of Aspern and Wagram. It is in four volumes, and narrates only the events of a few months; yet it is so interesting that there are probably few readers who do not regret its brevity rather than complain of its prolixity; and certainly there is no author who has felt how absolutely interest in

narrative is dependent on minuteness of detail, who will affirm that he has erred on the side of excessive length. In truth, the events of that single campaign exceeded in interest and importance those of many entire pacific reigns. His account of the battle of Wagram, in particular, and the matchless exploit of throwing the bridge at Enzersdorf over the Danube on the night preceding that great event, amidst the war of elements and the louder roar of artillery, is a perfect masterpiece, and never, it may confidently be affirmed, will be surpassed in military history.

48. If the campaign of Wagram has found a worthy annalist in General Pelet, and those of Austerlitz and Friedland in General Mathieu Dumas, that of 1812 has called forth the powers of another writer equally suited to its description—COUNT SEGUR. Although not a military man, but an officer in the Emperor's household, he was too near headquarters not to be familiar with military councils, and his situation gave him ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the secret springs of the most important events. His disposition and turn of mind, dark and gloomy, but imaginative, qualified him in a peculiar manner to describe with force and fidelity the terrible disasters of the Moscow campaign, of which he had been an eyewitness. Exaggeration was impossible in such a case; the utmost stretch of the most gloomy imagination, coupled with the highest powers of pathos and description, fell short of the horrors of that dreadful catastrophe. He has, accordingly, by combining a dramatic account of the proceedings in the councils with a pictorial description of the sufferings of the retreat, produced a work which, in point of terrible and romantic interest, cannot be surpassed. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that many of his speeches were imaginary, or at least largely amplified from very scanty materials; but they are probably not more so than those which Livy or Salust put into the mouths of their chiefs. There were no shorthand reporters in

attendance in either instance, but both the ancient and modern authors have probably condensed into one speech the ideas which at the time were prevalent at headquarters, and which convey a faithful, though perhaps somewhat too dramatic a picture of the reasons advanced for and against every measure of importance. Many other authors—in particular General Clausewitz and M. Chambray—have given narratives of higher authority and greater accuracy than Segur; but there is none who has equalled him in picturesque effect, powers of description, and consequent general popularity.

49. It was the good fortune of Napoleon to have as his private secretary, in his last and greatest campaigns, an author who has proved himself adequate to do full justice, and in some instances more than justice, to his merits in those memorable events. BARON FAIN, though bred a diplomatist, and neither a professional soldier nor a practised writer, has proved himself equal to either in his account of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814. His work on these is invaluable as an authentic, and, in general, veracious record of the greatest military events of which Europe has ever been the theatre, and in the last of which especially the military genius of the Emperor, at length freed from the restraint and the necessities of diplomatic negotiation, shone forth with unprecedented lustre. The materials on which Fain has constructed his narratives are for the most part official, and his narrative of events to a surprising degree correct and trustworthy. If it occasionally is tinged by an excessive admiration for, and desire to palliate the errors of, his hero, that was scarcely avoidable in the situation in which Baron Fain was placed; and whatever may be said of sycophancy to prosperous, all mankind must respect fidelity to fallen greatness.

50. If the military histories of France, which appeared in such multitudes, and were distinguished by such ability, during the Restoration, is a striking proof how strongly, by the events of the Empire, the public

mind in that country had been turned to warlike achievements, the still greater crowd of memoirs which issued from the press during the same period is a yet stronger proof how violently the passions of the people had been excited by the mournful catastrophes of the Revolution, and how insatiable was the thirst which all classes felt for the fullest details of all its tragedies. It seemed impossible to satisfy this craving. Volume after volume, work after work appeared, and almost all were bought up and read with the utmost avidity. Those which had any pretensions to authenticity were eminently successful; others, in the outset at least, not less so, which were soon discovered to have the signet-mark of forgery stamped upon them. The latter were often the most ably written and interesting—a circumstance which is easily explained, when it is recollected that the great thirst for works of this description necessarily led to extensive attempts at imitation, and that the profits attending the most successful created quite a profession of literary men, who were admitted to the papers of some remarkable political character, and from the materials thus obtained reared up a voluminous work, which they dignified with the title of his own memoirs. The authorship of many of the most valuable of these was from the beginning known in the literary circles of Paris; as the *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, which is a most authentic and important work, is known to have been composed by M. d'Allouville from the papers of Prince Hardenberg; and the *Memoirs of Fouché*, by M. Alphonse Beauchamp, from the papers of that arch-traitor. But independent of these compilations, many of which are most valuable works, there are several memoirs by eminent persons of undoubted authenticity, which deserve to be noticed, as well from their intrinsic merit as from the talent and opportunities of knowledge which their authors enjoyed.

51. At the head of these must be placed M. BOURRIENNE, private secretary to Napoleon during the event-

ful period of the Consulate and the first year of the Empire, and himself a man of no ordinary discrimination and talent. His work is of great value, as containing an account of the conversations and habits of Napoleon during the eventful period of the Consulate and the first year of the Empire; and although he appears to have become afterwards involved in some pecuniary transactions, which led to his losing his situation, and being sent to a distant but lucrative banishment at Hamburg, yet his disgrace does not appear to have rendered him insensible to the merits of his early patron, or prevented him from giving a most interesting and faithful account of the years when he acted as his private secretary. His style is simple, clear, and unambitious; and the genuineness of the words which he puts into the mouth of his imperial master may in general be tested by the superiority of the ability which they indicate to that shown in those which he ascribes to himself.

52. The DUCHESS OF ABRANTES is another writer of memoirs, whose peculiar situation and opportunities gave her advantages of no ordinary kind in delineating the character and habits of the great hero, as well as in observing and describing the manners of the age in which she lived. She had one great advantage over Bourrienne—she was intimate with the Emperor before he became great, and recounts the days when he came, with unblackened boots and without the costly luxury of gloves, to the Rue Vivienne to visit her mother, of whom he was enamoured, and when in one morning he proposed himself for that lady, and his brother Joseph and sister Pauline for her daughter and son. She traces his career from these youthful days till the period of his coronation, when, as she herself says, he “gave her a look of *intolerable intelligence* as he put the crown on his head,” and thence till he took his melancholy way to St Helena. Nor are the memoirs of the gay and lively duchess confined to the details and pomp of the imperial court; she passes also in review the leading characters and events of the

Consulate and the Empire, and gives a vast number of graphic sketches and interesting anecdotes of the illustrious men who then bore the fortunes of France on the points of their swords. A true woman, she is by no means unmindful of those lighter topics which more immediately concern her sex; her memory is as distinct for a ball-dress or a cashmere shawl, as for the words of a hero or the measures of a government; and when the antiquarian painter comes to portray in after times the scenes which occurred during the Revolution, the Consulate, and Empire, he will find ample materials for the costumes both of the ladies and gentlemen in her animated pages. Pecuniary embarrassments, and the loss of her husband's appanage by the fall of Napoleon, unhappily rendered it necessary for her to write for bread in her later years, and have lessened her reputation by spreading it over too wide a surface; but her earlier writings are deserving of a lasting place in French literature, and will always be referred to with interest, as well from the importance of the events and characters to which they relate, as from the discrimination and talent with which the portraits are drawn.

53. So great is the crowd of writers who have devoted the leisure of their later years to recording for the benefit of posterity the reminiscences of the Revolution and the Empire, that they would alone fill the shelves of an extensive library; and few even of the largest collections either in France or elsewhere contain a complete assortment of them. But there are two writers of memoirs whose works will ever stand forth in bright relief, as well from the celebrity of their authors' names as the genius displayed in the works themselves, and the eloquence with which they are written. These are CHATEAUBRIAND and LAMARTINE. The character and beauties of these two illustrious writers appear in every page of their voluminous personal memoirs, and unfortunately their failings and weaknesses are equally conspicuous. In the twelve volumes which re-

cord the eventful career of the former is to be seen the ardent and yet melancholy cast of his disposition, the conflict of thought when the associations of the past were perpetually at war with the realities of the present, and the working of a mind fraught at once with the devotions of the olden time, the necessities of surrounding circumstances, and the aspirations of modern Liberalism. Advanced years, in those fascinating pages, have sometimes diminished his accuracy, but never clouded his genius or chilled his eloquence; and the records of a life in which the fervour and enthusiasm of youth were preserved to the verge of the grave, resemble rather the pages of a romance than the events of reality. Lamartine's fragments of memoirs in his *Confessions*, *Raphael*, and *Revolution* of 1848, are equally characteristic of his genius and disposition, at once ardent and reflecting, enthusiastic and visionary, chivalrous and freethinking, humane and philosophic, imaginative and pictorial. As in his historical works he narrates real events in so dramatic and exaggerated a style that they often pass for fiction, so, in relating personal adventures, he clothes them in such brilliant colours that no one can believe that they are aught but the creations of his excited imagination, although as such they cannot be read without the deepest interest. Unfortunately, in both these great writers, the weaknesses of a little stand forth in bright light beside the elevation of a lofty mind; and the vanity they display in relating the passages of their eventful lives, especially with the fair sex, is so extreme, and, as it appears to us, so contemptible, that it would be the subject of serious regret if experience had not convinced every person acquainted with French literature that it is the prevailing foible of the nation, which is particularly conspicuous in its literary men, and that the endurance of it is the price we pay for the pleasure derived from their genius and eloquence.

54. The reaction of the human mind against the infidelity and sins of the Revolution nowhere more clearly appears than in the writings of COUSIN.

This very eminent man is too philosophic and clear-sighted not to see that religion is the great element which holds society together, and that, without its influence, all attempts either at individual or social amelioration must prove altogether nugatory; while at the same time he is too independent in thought to submit to the dictation of Jesuits, or yield to the grasping ambition of the Church of Rome. He has not chosen the only path which can safely lead through these opposite difficulties, which is the simple doctrines of the Gospel, as they are taught in the Protestant Church; and in consequence he has fallen, in matters of faith, into a sort of dreary rationalism, which may be very well for philosophers, but never can be either popular or useful with the great body of mankind. Yet while all must lament in Cousin the absence of a simple and determinate faith, which can be embraced by and influence the majority of mankind, yet justice equally requires that a due tribute should be paid to the great service he has rendered to the cause of religion, by proclaiming the eternal truth, that education, if rested on any other basis, is likely to prove hurtful rather than beneficial, and illustrating this position with equal industry and ability by an examination of the institutions for the instruction of the people which have been established in the principal European monarchies.

55. M. LAMENAIS, with equal sincerity of principle, is more distinguished by genius in his writings, and has struck out more original and forcible ideas for the instruction of mankind. His influence and the fame of his works have been proportionally greater. A sincere Catholic, he has all the warmth of a true believer, and sees in the events around him manifestations only of the Divine judgments on mankind, and in the extension of the influence of the Romish faith the only guarantee for the virtue or happiness of the species. Yet has he not succeeded, by all his devotion, in securing the approbation of the Papal government; they have the jealousy of him which Louis had of Chateaubriand, which power scarce

ever fails to have of genius. His style is sometimes obscure, his ideas abstract, his inferences strained; but there is no author of the present age who has seen deeper into futurity, or in whose writings a greater number of profound and original thoughts are to be found. His work on the human mind, in three volumes, is to the reflecting student a perfect fund of reflection; and, what is the decisive mark of a creative mind, it suggests even more than it teaches,—it starts ideas rather than elaborates them. The Protestant reader, accustomed to the calm discussion on religious subjects to which he has been habituated in his own country, is often startled by the intensity of his ideas, and the vehemence of the language in which they are conveyed, as well as the undoubting reference to priestly authority for their support; but a ready excuse for that failing may be found in the reflection, that in the moral not less than the material world, action and reaction are equal and opposite, and that if the fanaticism of irreligion is ever to be successfully combated, it must be, not by the calmness of philosophy, but the fervour of devotion.

56. A striking proof how great is the ascendant which intellectual power has now acquired in France, is to be found in the fact that a great proportion of her cabinet ministers are literary men. M. VILLEMMAIN is one of the most remarkable of these, and he has produced several works, which will stand the test of general admiration long after his official career as Minister of Public Instruction has passed into oblivion. His *History of the Literature of France during the Eighteenth Century* is a pleasing and just survey of a subject of great and lasting interest, but which it is extremely difficult to treat in an agreeable manner. The difficulty consists in the multitude of authors who require to be noticed, when only a few of them have acquired any lasting reputation, and the embarrassment arising from a mere enumeration of names, when the spirit which animated them has been lost in the revolution of ages. Like the painter of a great historical piece, the author

runs the risk of being buried under the multitude of his own figures. Strict attention to chiaroscuro, and great massing of light and shade, can alone surmount the difficulty. If a bright light is thrown upon one-tenth of the figures in the piece, it is enough, and often more than enough. M. Villemmain has not altogether avoided the error of being too prolix in the enumeration of obscure and forgotten authors; but at least he has done so in a much greater degree than most of his predecessors. His criticisms on the theatre are particularly worthy of attention, and he evinces a generous enthusiasm in his admiration for the beauties of Shakespeare, without being blinded to the many faults of that wonderful man. On the subject of education, and the incalculable influence of the spread of knowledge, both upon the national fortunes and individual happiness, his views are equally just and enlightened, and point him out as the fitting person to be minister of public instruction in a country where so much still remains to be done to illuminate the general mind.

57. If any proof were required of the difficulty of the task which M. Villemmain has undertaken in giving a history of literature, and of the skill with which he has surmounted it, it would be found in the great work of M. Ginguené. That his elaborate *History of Italian Literature* is a very great addition to our literary treasures, probably none will be found to dispute; and the general sense of its value has been evinced in the liberal manner in which subsequent compilers, without acknowledging it, have availed themselves of his labours. But valuable as it is, and teeming with the stores of erudition as well as the delicacy of taste, his work will never be generally read; it is an encyclopædia, not a book—a dictionary rather than a history. Few will follow the example of the author, and go patiently through all the eleven volumes. The fault consists, not in the details, but in the general conception; not in the finishing of each individual figure, but in the want of mezzotinto to throw the great majo-

rity of them into fitting and becoming shade, so as to give sufficient relief and effect to the principal figures. It is true it is no easy matter to do this ; it is the great difficulty with which the political or military, as well as the literary historian has to contend ; and it is the one on which the greatest number of considerable contemporary reputations have been shipwrecked. But it is not insurmountable ; and in history, not less than in painting, the palm of immortality is reserved for him who has mastered it.

58. If Ginguené is in a manner buried under the stores of his own learning, and already forgotten, except as a storehouse of erudition, even in his own country, the same charge of want of generalisation cannot be made against the great political philosopher in France of the nineteenth century, M. DE TOCQUEVILLE. His fault is just the reverse of Ginguené's ; it is not that he generalises too little, but that he generalises *too soon*. No man, since the days of Montesquieu, has equalled him in the depth of the views which he has formed of the working of republican institutions, or the principal dangers to be apprehended from them. His *Democracy in America*, especially the two first volumes of it, is to be placed in the same rank with the *Discorsi* of Machiavel, the *Essays* of Bacon, or the *Decadence de Rome* of Montesquieu. Reflection, and frequent study of that admirable work, have confirmed the author in this opinion, expressed on its first appearance fifteen years ago. With inimitable skill, close observation, and deep thought, he has traced the working of republican institutions on the other side of the Atlantic, and to him we owe the profound observation, which every day's experience is more completely verifying, that the great danger of republican government is not its weakness, but its tremendous strength. When monarchy or aristocracy are contending with democracy, the government is often weak ; but that is not because their opponent is feeble, but because he is strong. When the victory has been gained, this at once

appears ; no power capable of making any resistance remains, and intellect and genius, property and intelligence, thought and action, are alike prostrated beneath the hoofs of numbers, guided, it is true, by a section of the thoughtful few, but they are in general the most unscrupulous and dangerous of the community.

59. It has been said that the great fault of M. de Tocqueville is, not that he has generalised too little, but that he has generalised too soon. He has forgotten that action and reaction are the law of nature, not less in the moral than in the material world. He would do well to remember the inscription engraved on a ring, presented by the Eastern sage to the Sultan : "And this too shall pass away." Impressed, at the time when his great work was written, with the ceaseless progress of the democratic principle in France, and its complete triumph in America, he has forgotten that the greatest effort of mind is to make the "past the distant, and the future predominate over the present." He has seriously stated it as his deliberate conviction, that there is an evident and ceaseless progress both in Europe and America towards democratic institutions ; that this progress is universal and irresistible, and that, for good or for evil, republicanism is the destiny of mankind in both hemispheres. What a commentary on this opinion does the government of France, under the presidency of Louis Napoleon, and the joyful acquiescence of seven millions of Frenchmen in his rule, afford on this prediction ! How has its error been illustrated by the frightful civil war and military despotism in America ! Such ever has been, and ever will be, the fate of the prophecies of even the greatest political philosophers, who fix their eyes only on the strength of the current in which they are immersed, and forget that, when the strength of that current becomes dangerous to human happiness, there is an *under-current* provided by nature to correct its errors, and prove an antidote to its poison. That under-current is always put in motion by

the lessons of experience, which point as clearly, in the long-run, to the institutions suited to the human mind, and conducive to general felicity, as the passions of the human heart do to those which are fair and tempting in the outset, but utter ruin in the end, when firmly established. We must not be misled in this matter by the example of America; democracy has there been long triumphant, and has been hitherto successful, because it is suitable to the physical circumstances of its inhabitants, and requisite for their expansion. It is the great moving power of artificial society, the expansive force which impels civilised man into the wilderness of nature. When the work is done, and the Transatlantic wilds inhabited, the experience of man will cast it aside, as it has already done in the old and peopled realm of France.*

60. If the literature of France, during the eighteenth century, may justly pride itself on the compositions of Buffon, that of the nineteenth is equally distinguished by the writings of CUVIER, by far the first of the inquirers into the pristine order of creation. Passing over the external surface of the crust of the planet which we inhabit, disregarding the species of man and animals which are now to be found upon it, he has dived into the recesses of nature, and discovered in the organic remains which lie imbedded in the strata of which the earth is composed, materials both to determine with perfect accuracy the form and habits of the animals or reptiles of which they are the skeletons, and the order of the successive periods in which they were created, and flourished upon the earth. There is no subject of human thought more fascinating, or fraught with more important and decisive proofs of the wisdom of God in the works of creation. It unfolds the wonderful truth, that the crust of the globe we inhabit has been formed by successive stages, and at long intervals of time; and that the

different species of animals which successively inhabited it were adapted, in their form, habits, powers, and instincts, to the different elements in which they were placed, and the varying physical circumstances of the globe in its successive stages of creation. Perhaps there is no subject of human contemplation which so decisively demonstrates the ceaseless agency and wisdom of the great Creator of inanimate and animated nature, for it tells us not of one, but *many successive creations*, and the progressive appearance and extinction in different strata still existing, and lying above each other, of different species of animals, each adapted with infinite wisdom to the circumstances of the stratum on the surface of which its existence was passed.

61. Akin to Cuvier in the extent of his physical knowledge and his insatiable thirst for information on the works of nature, HUMBOLDT has in his researches embraced a still wider, and to most readers a more interesting sphere. Though a German by birth and later residence, and the brother of the able and celebrated Prussian diplomatist, he belongs to the French school of naturalists, and his principal works, published at Paris and in the French language, naturally associate his name with the illustrious men of that country in the days of its glory. He may without hesitation be pronounced to be the greatest scientific traveller which the world has ever produced. His mind has been cast in a very singular mould, but one which, when employed by the Creator, produces the most elaborate and valuable intellectual result. He is at once scientific and pictorial, accurate and discursive, philosophic and imaginative. He possesses that decided turn for analogy, and tracing out general conclusions, which is the distinctive mark of genius; while at the same time he is not less imbued with the cautious spirit and minute attention to details, which in physical not less than political science is the only secure foundation for the discovery of truth. If we read his descriptions of the peak of Teneriffe, the stages of the Andes, the shores of the

* Written in 1854, before the civil war in the United States of America, and the destruction of their liberties.

Orinoco, the pampas of Buenos Ayres, or the falls of the Missouri, he appears one of the greatest painters of nature that ever existed. If we trace his footsteps along the swamps of the Amazon, the forests of Brazil, or the snows of the Cordilleras, he seems one of the most intrepid and indefatigable of travellers that ever sprang even from the race of Japhet. If we roam with him in *Cosmos* through the realms of nature, and the varied and boundless works of its Creator, he appears one of the most profound and far-seeing of philosophers. His mind affords a striking proof that, though rarely united, the imaginative are not inconsistent with the scientific qualities, and that it is in the combination of the two that the greatest strength and beauty as well as power of intellectual creation are to be found.

62. Above all, this great traveller and naturalist was imbued with the ardent spirit, the *feu sacré*, which incessantly pants after great achievements, and deems the labour of a lifetime a light price to pay for its renown. This ruling disposition appears in the ardour and impassioned eloquence of his style in some passages in his writings, not less than the painful research and minute investigation in others. The same enthusiastic feelings had inspired the one and sustained the other. As this mental quality is the one of all others most inconceivable to ordinary men, so it is the distinguishing mark of those few minds to which Providence has assigned the doing of great things in the world. It is the true freemasonry of heroism. We see it in Napoleon, we see it in Nelson, we see it in Schiller, we see it in Chateaubriand, we see it in Humboldt. This disposition is evinced alike in peace and in war; in the council of kings as in the tented field; in the researches of the philosopher as in the burning thoughts of the poet. It is in the combination of this ardent temperament with the patience and perseverance indispensable for great achievement, that the only sure foundation of great and lasting success or fame is to be found.

63. The French are not a poetical

nation. The clearest proof of this is to be found in the fact that, in an age of such varied and intellectual effort as that of the Restoration, poetry was far from being cultivated with success. Two poets only, during the whole period, have attained any note, and they were Delille and Béranger. A consideration of this fact, and a comparison of it with the corresponding period of literature in England and Germany, may perhaps lead to the conclusion that, although great poetic talent, as in the case of Milton, sometimes signalises the *rise* of freedom, yet the full development of popular institutions is unfavourable to its continued flourishing; and that, when fame and fortune attend the efforts of oratory or prose composition, from their influence on public assemblies, the temple of the muses is apt to be neglected. Certainly it is from no want of poetical disposition that there have been, since the rise of free institutions, so little real poetry in France; their prose writers often evince its fire. But the discussions of the forum have proved more attractive than the charms of imagination, and the disquisitions of the journalist more profitable than the fancy of the dramatist. Thence, to all appearance, the decline of poetry in France.

64. The ABBÉ DELILLE has considerable merit as a poet; but he belongs to a school which is now well-nigh extinct in France. The *Jardins* and *L'Homme des Champs*, as well as *L'Imagination*, contain many beautiful lines and much amiable thought; but they are neither the lines nor the thoughts which suit the taste of the age, and thence they are already well-nigh forgotten. Formed on the model of the *Georgics* and Thomson's *Seasons*, they are couched, like Corneille's dramas, in stately Alexandrine verses, and paint often with beauty the repose and happiness of rural life. But such pictures were not suited to the temper of the age; they wanted the fire and animation desired by a generation which had experienced the throes and been stirred by the passions of the Revolution. Delille, like many other writers, lived too late for his reputa-

tion; he was formed by one age, and appeared in another. Unfortunately, too, that other was the age which had passed away, not that which was approaching; and thence the decline of his reputation to an extent by no means warranted by his real merits.

65. If Delille failed because he was not the man of the age, BÉRANGER succeeded because he was. Never did literature more thoroughly embody the feelings of a large section of the community than his lyrical pieces did those of the Liberal party in France during the Restoration. Profound hatred of the Bourbons, and idolatrous worship of Napoleon, vain aspirations after the glories of the Empire, breathe in every page. Thence in a great measure undoubtedly their signal and remarkable success. But it would be unjust to ascribe that success entirely to their coincidence with the spirit of a majority in society. Their intrinsic merit is great and obvious. Béranger is imbued with the very soul of lyrical poetry; some of his best odes will bear a comparison with the most perfect of other countries, and are beyond all doubt the finest in that species of poetry of which French literature can boast. Like those of Campbell, Schiller, and Freiligrath, they contain the ideas of an ardent and heated generation, reflected back from an imaginative and poetical mind. There is doubtless much illusion and many false deductions in them: but exaggeration is the soul of lyric poetry; and it is well that it is so, for there is so much in life to render the mind prosaic, and extinguish the finer and more generous sympathies, that if poetry did not intervene to reawaken them, they would be speedily buried under the weight of selfish desires and ordinary interests.

66. Akin to Béranger in principle and idea, though he wrote in prose instead of verse, PAUL COURIER deserves a place in the historical gallery of French literature, if not from the taste of his language or the delicacy of his feeling, at least from the energy of his thoughts and the raciness of his expressions. He is the exponent of the ideas of that numerous class in France

who had profited by the troubles, or been enriched by the spoils of the Revolution; and who, amidst the public disasters, had taken root in the soil with a strength which could never after be shaken. He was the orator, as Burns had been the poet, of the peasants; but he had not the refined mind or lofty aspirations of the Scotch ploughman—his mind was cast in a rougher mould, and composed of coarser materials. But he was not on that account the less effective with the class for which he wrote; on the contrary, he was the more so. He was the O'Connell of the Revolutionary proprietors; and, like him, his influence and reputation, immense with a party during his lifetime, has declined, until it has become almost extinct since his death. There is no security for lasting fame, either in politics or literature, but in the espousing of interests of great and lasting concern to mankind, or in the spread of sentiments which shall permanently float down the stream, from their buoyant qualities and elevating tendency.

67. It is very remarkable, and singularly characteristic of the degradation of popular taste which the Revolution has induced in France, that the era of the Restoration has not produced one great dramatic poet. Dramatic *pieces*, indeed, have appeared in overflowing multitude, and many of them have enjoyed a brilliant reputation on the stage. But it has always been as short-lived as it was extensive; and if we would find the masters of the French drama, we must still revert to the writers of the age of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Corneille and Racine, Molière and Voltaire, still shine in the upper firmament in unapproachable splendour, and their light only appears the brighter from the disappearance of the many falling stars which shoot athwart the lower regions of the atmosphere. The numerous dramatic pieces which, since the Restoration, have appeared in France, have no poetic merit, nor do they ever aim at it. Their strength consists in a skilful use of stage effect, in scenes of deep pathos or breathless interest, in melodramatic pomp or undisguised licentiousness. There is not one of the

numerous writers who have catered to the prevailing taste of the public in this department, who has earned a lasting reputation, or deserves a place in a gallery of historical portraits. This is a very remarkable circumstance in an age of such general intellectual effort, in a country which has produced so many great dramatic writers, and in which theatrical representations are so passionately sought after, as France. It has obviously been owing to some general and irresistible cause; nor is it difficult to see what that cause is.

63. The theatre is the place where either the corruption or elevation of the public taste first appears, because it is the place where the greatest number of all classes of the people are assembled together, and success depends on their instant decision. Scientific works are addressed to the learned few; the higher class of literary productions to a wider but still limited circle; but dramatic pieces are brought at once into contact with the whole ranks of the people. In the different gradations of the theatre, every class of society finds its place, from the haughty noble to the humble artisan. As dramatic fame and success depend upon the immediate filling of the house with spectators, the popularity of any pieces which are brought forward indicates with perfect certainty the prevailing taste of the majority of the audience. The stately verses of Corneille reflect the feelings of the high-born nobles and proud beauties who composed the court of the Grand Monarque, and filled the theatre of Versailles; the alternate pathos and buffoonery of Shakespeare, the mingled tastes of the mixed audience in the freer realms of England; the sustained elevation and heroic sentiments of Schiller, the feelings of the Fatherland during the years of mourning which preceded the glorious era of the war of liberation. Not less characteristic of the age in which it appeared than any which have preceded it, the modern theatre of France reflects the mingled violence and selfishness, corruption and licentiousness, thirst for excitement and desire of pleasure, which have been predominant in France since the Revo-

lution. It is to be feared it is not less descriptive of the character of the general literature which is to succeed it. *Veluti in speculum* is the appropriate motto of the stage; but the mirror not only reflects the past, but foretells the future; and nowhere is the line of the poet more applicable—

“And coming events cast their shadows before.”

69. The romance writers of France since the Revolution evince the same peculiarities which have distinguished its drama; in fact, the latter is little more than a concentration of the thoughts and images of the former. It is difficult to give an account of these very remarkable productions, in which genius and licentiousness, thought and levity, observation and imagination, virtue and vice, generosity and selfishness, heroism and egotism, the past and the present, the images of antiquity, the passions of the moment, are so strangely blended together. If the object of these highly-gifted writers had been to present, for future ages, a picture of the chaos of the human mind when torn up from its ancient moorings, and turned adrift upon the stormy sea of revolution, they could not have done so in so effectual a manner as by the composition of these strange but often highly interesting productions. Graphic pictures of ancient manners and ideas, frequent use of the imagery of religion, considered as a relic of the olden time, singularly effective on the opera stage, but never to be considered as a restraint on present gratification; a deep knowledge of the human heart, especially when torn by its wildest and most discordant passions; glowing pictures of voluptuousness alternately with elevating scenes of heroism; the most tender touches of pathos, the most degrading acts of selfishness,—all that crime can accumulate that is most detestable, all that virtue can present that is most elevating, alternately employ their varied pencils. Life appears to them neither a scene of probation, in which suffering must be endured, nor a period of enjoyment, in which gratification can securely be

obtained ; but a journey, in which alternate storms and sunshine are to be experienced, altogether irrespective of the conduct of the travellers. Their object is not, like the Greek dramatists, to represent the picture of a heroic mind wrestling with the storms of fate ; nor, like the best class of English novelists, to record the final triumph of virtue over the machinations of wickedness. What they aim at is to paint the human mind, stirred by every passion, yielding to every seduction, and experiencing the alternate transports and torments, gleams of sunshine and horrors of the tempest, consequent on such a concession to the impulses of wickedness.

70. VICTOR HUGO is the first and most graphic of this school of novelists, in which Dumas, Eugene Sue, George Sand, or rather the lady whom he represents, and so many others, have acquired such brilliant contemporary reputation. His works are extremely voluminous, and, considered as pictures of the manners and ideas of successive eras of French history, extremely interesting. The author of *Nôtre Dame* has given an equally graphic account of many other periods of French story, and mingled historic truth with all the interest which romance, imagination, and licentiousness could communicate to its pages. Deeply versed in antiquarian and historic lore, he has adorned his pages with all the truthfulness and vivacity which the delineation of nature and the representation of reality can alone confer. Unfortunately, he has mingled with it the unbridled licence and love of excitement which the passions of the Revolution have rendered essential to present success in France. By far his greatest work is his last, written in advanced years in the cool shade of retirement and exile ; and certainly a more interesting romance than *Les Misérables* never proceeded from the pen of genius. Its chief fault is that it is too richly stored with "sensation scenes" and heart-stirring adventures : we are sometimes too often led into hairbreadth escapes and situations of

breathless interest. But the knowledge of life, manners, ideas, and places which it exhibits is truly astonishing, and his delineation of character, as well as power of the pathetic, such as must insure him a "lasting" place in French literature. He has gone far to barbarise the language of his country ; there is in his writings as great a chaos of words as ideas ; and if Racine or Molière were to rise from his grave, he would find half the words unknown to him. Gibbon has said with truth, that a very curious and valuable work might be written on the connection between words and things ; nor is it surprising it should be so ; for what are words but the expression of ideas ? Judging by this standard, the Revolution has indeed produced a new world of thought in France ; for most certainly it has all but created a new language.

71. Victor Hugo's mind is essentially picturesque and pictorial ; he has considerable powers of the pathetic, but it is not his native bent. Very different is the case with the highly-gifted female writer whose works appear under the name of GEORGE SAND. She is endowed with powers in that respect which never were exceeded either by man or woman. She has all the strength of passion which characterises the former, and all the tenderness which is the most beautiful feature of the latter. Strange phenomenon ! that the exquisite pathos and romance which distinguish her finer passages and more perfect works, should be combined with the open profligacy and undisguised licentiousness which are equally conspicuous in them ; nay, that the same characters should alternately present the one and the other. It is said that a woman's conceptions in romance are nothing but a picture of what has really passed through her own heart ; if so, what an extraordinary one has her genius exhibited of her heart, and the various crimes it has shared, the vicissitudes it has experienced ! It is painful to see a mind in many respects so finely strung, and responding to some of the

noblest feelings and most touching emotions of our nature, so deeply tinged by the prevailing passions and vices of the age as to have lost all sense of their real character, and ready to represent them, in works of imagination, as equally attractive with the most dignified and honourable sentiments in awakening the sympathies of the human mind.

72. EUGENE SUE cannot be assigned so high a place as either of the preceding writers in a lasting estimate of contemporary merit, though his present reputation has been fully as great as that of either. It is impossible to deny to the author of *The Wandering Jew*, or *The Mysteries of Paris*, a very powerful imagination and creative fancy; but it is an imagination so wild, and a fancy so distorted, that foreign readers, at least, cannot appreciate them. There is a natural appetite in mankind for scandal and pictures of hidden profligacy; and whoever lifts up the veil which so many are anxious to peep under, is sure, for the time at least, to enjoy an extensive popularity. But it is for a time only. Delineation of scenes of secret voluptuousness never can attain a lasting popularity, if it was for no other reason than this, that the sexes cannot speak of them to each other, and thus a great charm of works of imagination is lost. However much various peculiarities in human nature, which fall too prominently under the observation of the historian, may lead him to form an unfavourable estimate of it, there are others which have a directly opposite tendency, and demonstrate how many elements of the noble and the generous are mingled with a selfish alloy in our fallen nature. Not the least of these is the fact, proved from every page of literary history, that no work of genius ever attained to great and lasting fame which was not of a pure and elevating tendency; and if the sin of genius devoting itself to works of an opposite tendency is great, the punishment is still greater, for it is that of ultimate oblivion. It is in this sense we are to understand the just observation of Sir Joshua Rey-

nolds, not less applicable to literature than painting, "The present and future times are two rivals; he who courts the one must make up his mind to be discountenanced by the other."

73. Perhaps the most remarkable branch of French literature, during the Restoration, and unquestionably that which has exercised the most powerful influence on contemporary events, is the PERIODICAL. This mighty engine, which has now come to exercise so prodigious an influence over the fortunes both of France and England, and which, for good or for evil, appears to be omnipotent, has acquired even a greater ascendancy in the former country than the latter. At least the journals have done so; for it is a remarkable fact, eminently characteristic of the different temperament of the people of the two countries, that while the Newspapers are more powerful in France, the monthly or quarterly literature is more influential in Great Britain. There are no Reviews or Magazines in France, which sway so powerfully the opinions each of their own sections of the community, as the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly*, the *Westminster*, and *Blackwood's Magazine*. The *Revue des Deux Mondes* is a most able periodical; but it deals more with science and literature, and with past than present events. It would appear that the sober-minded English, though they all read the daily press, often distrust its violence, or dread its misrepresentations, and reserve the moulding of their opinions for the more deliberate articles of the higher periodical literature; while the French, ardent, hasty, and impetuous, yield an instantaneous assent to the effusions of the daily press, which fall in with or inflame their preconceived impressions, and are often prepared to act on the most violent of their suggestions. It is well known that nearly all the revolutions which have convulsed France during the last sixty years have been prepared and brought on in this way; and it was this which made the Duke of Wellington say, that in Paris they conspired in the public squares.

74. From this unbounded influence of the daily press on general opinion, and, through it, on the measures of Government, and the fate not only of administrations but dynasties, has arisen an important difference between the character of the journals and the class of men who write in them in the two countries. In England, till very lately, the highest class of writers very seldom wrote articles in the daily press; and if, on particular occasions, and to serve a special purpose, they did so, they endeavoured to conceal their names, and were often not a little ashamed if they were found out. Even in the monthly and quarterly literature, though they contributed largely, they endeavoured to keep up the *incognito*, and the essays were not collected and published, with the author's name, till his success in his avowed publications rendered it probable that they would be favourably received by the public. In France, on the other hand, not only were the leading journals on the Liberal and Royalist sides regularly and daily supported by the very highest writers both in point of talent and reputation, but, so far from being ashamed of, they gloried in it, and considered it their best passport to present influence and lasting fame. Chateaubriand, Guizot, Barante, Thiers, Lamartine, Eugene Sue, Dumas, Victor Hugo, and, indeed, all the popular writers of the age, contributed almost daily to the public journals, and their collected articles form not the least interesting, and perhaps the ablest, part of their whole compositions. It is to this cause that the extraordinary ability of the public press during the Restoration, and the vast influence which it had on general opinion, is to be ascribed. Men of philosophic minds, and possessing stores of information, seldom write so well, at least for present effect, as when under the influence of political excitement; for that gives fire to thoughts matured by study, and based on previous reflection.

75. We are not to ascribe this importance, during the last half-century, merely to the greater excitability, and liability to immediate impressions,

of the French than the English. At least, as much was it owing to the absence of those influences to the south of the Channel which on the north of it still exercised a predominating influence. The nobility were still erect in England, not only in their hereditary homes, but in political weight; the country gentlemen, though much curtailed of their importance, still lived, dispensed hospitalities, and enjoyed influence on their estates. It was in these two bodies that the ruling power in the State was still to be found; the inhabitants of cities, though daily rising in political consequence, had not yet become the rulers of the empire. It is on the inhabitants of cities, however, or those whose habits have been formed there, that the daily press acts with its principal force; the comparatively secluded life, rural occupations, and intellectual slowness of the inhabitants of the country, always render them more tenacious of old habits and ideas, and less amenable to modern influence. In France this class was entirely wanting; the division of the landed estates among the peasantry had extinguished the land as the seat of political influence, or of peculiar and influential thought. Not half the peasantry of France could even read. Everything depended on the opinions of the inhabitants of towns, the very class most liable to be swayed by the daily press. Thus the arena and rewards of composition for the public journals were different in the two countries: in England, the country was the seat of influence, the House of Commons the theatre of contest; in France, Paris and the chief towns were the ruling power, the disposition of their citizens determined the fate of parties, and they were almost entirely directed by the daily press. Hence the difference in the class of men who at that period in the two countries engaged in its animated and varied pleadings.

76. Add to this, the citizens of the metropolis had discovered a more summary and effectual method of asserting and securing their political supremacy than by the slow method of parliamen-

tary influence. The Revolution had taught them on many occasions that, by means of a well-concerted urban tumult, especially if aided by any considerable defection on the part of the military, not only might the legislature be overawed, and the executive subdued, but the dynasty itself might, if necessary, be changed. The work of repeated conflicts, during a long series of parliamentary campaigns, might be done in three days. If victorious, the claims of the leaders of the daily press, by whom the minds of men had been prepared for the revolt, were at once recognised; the editors of newspapers became ministers of state. No one need to be told that M. Thiers, M. Guizot, M. Lamartine, and a great proportion of the statesmen who have ruled France since the fall of Napoleon, were borne forward to power in this way—a thing to this day altogether unknown on this side of the Channel. It is not surprising that the greatest talent in France put into the newspaper lottery when such prizes were in the wheel. And, accordingly, the class of men who wrote in the public journals in Great Britain has been sensibly changed since their influence on political change has been rendered more direct; and it is sometimes now supported by the leading statesmen and first writers of the age.

77. However clearly we may perceive that this change is unavoidable, and that the influence of the public journals on general opinion, and through it on the measures of Government, in all free countries, is daily becoming more decided, it is impossible to contemplate the change without apprehension. The great danger of the daily press is, that it is led to inflame the passions of the moment; its profit, its fame, often its existence, depend on doing so. Whatever is the prevailing inclination of the public mind, that the great majority of the daily press is sure to increase. But as the prevailing inclinations are just as often wrong as right, and founded in error as based in truth, it is impossible to contemplate without apprehension the growth of a power in the state capable of rendering any one

of these errors omnipotent for the moment, and precipitating the nation, with the general concurrence of the influential masses, into a course of measures which may eventually prove its own and their ruin. The well-known inability of the vast majority of men to contemplate or give long consideration to remote consequences, however obvious to the thinking few, renders this danger only the greater as the institutions of the state become more democratic. And the ultimate and certain triumph of truth over falsehood, of reason over delusion, affords no security whatever against these dangers; for though that may enlighten future ages, it will not prevent the errors of the present from working out their natural result in the ultimate destruction of public freedom; and if the state is destroyed, or its liberties extinguished, it is poor consolation for the victims in it to discover that they have been ruined by the consequences of their own folly.

78. The decline of the drama in France since the Revolution has necessarily drawn after it the degradation of the stage; for how can the powers of a mighty actor be exhibited in delineating a succession of murders and adulteries, of incests and poisonings, of hairbreadth escapes and atrocious deeds, such as form the staple of the modern or romantic drama in France? The great performers, whether male or female, have been confined, as a matter of necessity, to the legitimate drama. But although it with difficulty maintained its ground against the surging waves of the romantic school, yet it was not without a violent struggle it was overcome; and perhaps the brightest histrionic genius of France shone forth in the days which immediately preceded the fall of that noble art. At the very head of them all we must place TALMA, a performer so great that he has acquired a European reputation, and is worthy to be placed beside John Kemble and Mrs Siddons, whose genius then threw an expiring lustre over the English stage. He had not their great physical advantages; he had neither the Roman profile of the former nor

the majestic beauty of the latter ; his figure was short and thick ; his countenance unexpressive ; his voice, when raised high, degenerated into a scream. But all these disadvantages were more than compensated by the energy of his mind, and his wonderful power in the representation of passion : he acted with magical effect because he felt strongly, and was thoroughly in earnest—the best, perhaps the only security for success, whether in literature or art. Nothing could exceed the thrill of horror which ran through the audience in his representation of the more impassioned scenes. Those who have experienced a similar sensation from the performances of Mademoiselle Rachel can alone form a conception of it. To English spectators the principal fault of his acting appeared to be that his vehement gesticulation began too early, and went on too long ; the demands on the vehement sympathies of the audience were too incessant. That peculiarity, however, belongs to the whole French school of acting, and arises partly from the animated manners of the people, and partly from the experienced necessity of supplying, in their ancient and legitimate drama, by the intensity of the representation, for the measured language and stately voice of the poet.

79. Contemporary with Talma, and, like him, one of the last stays of the regular drama in France, was MADEMOISELLE GEORGES. She was gifted with far greater natural advantages. Dark hair, a splendid bust, and commanding countenance, a fine figure, and majestic air, gave her, like Mrs Siddons, that command of the senses which, on the stage, is so important an element in general and lasting success. Her mental qualities were on a level with her physical advantages, and rendered her, during nearly twenty years, the most admired actress on the boards of the Théâtre Français. She was not so vehement in her representation as either Talma or Rachel, but she was, perhaps on that account, only the more pleasing ; the mind was less worn out, from the outset, with violent emotions, and therefore better

fitted to feel them in their full intensity in the latter scenes, for which they were reserved. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of her declamations—the voice, the manner, the intonation were perfect. It was the spirit of Corneille embodied in the person of a splendid and fascinating woman.

80. Very different was the character of MADEMOISELLE MARS, who reigned as supreme in elegant comedy as Mademoiselle Georges did in the severer walks of tragedy. Her countenance was charming, and, without regular beauty, in the highest degree expressive ; but her figure was large, which, but for the vivacity and youthfulness of her disposition, would have disabled her from the performance of those juvenile parts in which she so much excelled. This circumstance, however, as is often the case, made her appear young when she really was no longer so. She died at the age of sixty-three, and her passport to the last assigned thirty as her age. Her appearance on the stage, however, did not belie this flattering delusion. If the love of admiration is, *par excellence*, the great characteristic of French women, Mademoiselle Mars was the incarnation of their temperament. She was coquetry personified. Never did it appear in a more graceful and fascinating form, and never did it command a greater number of devout worshippers. Without ever being low, she was always attractive : hers were the charms of high-bred beauty, not the hoidenish romping of village maidens. She could descend to represent their festivities, to personify their characters, but it was always with an air of elegance. She was often on the verge, but never passed the limits, of decorum, and the most refined taste could find nothing to except to in her most animated performances.

81. Last in this bright band, MADEMOISELLE RACHEL is perhaps the most powerful, and in her genius the most gifted. She is the very reverse in personal appearance of Mademoiselle Georges or Mademoiselle Mars ; her figure is fine and commanding, but it is thin rather than the reverse, and

charms the eye by the grace of its movements, the loftiness of its height, not the fulness of its proportions. She seems to have been worn away by the intensity of her own feelings. But they are so vehement, that she sweeps everything before her when she gives them vent; it is like a torrent of lava issuing from the summit of Vesuvius. In the delineation of jealousy, in particular, she is unrivalled; every fibre, every limb, every muscle, quivers with the intensity of the emotion: her whole soul, like the Pythoness in the moment of inspiration, seems thrown into the writhings of her figure. It is these wonderful delineations of passion, in its most fiery moods, which have given her the colossal reputation she enjoys in every part of Europe. Strong deep feeling speaks a language which is understood in every clime. She has little of the tender in her composition, and seldom aims at its delineation; it is the violent, the scornful, the indignant feelings, which she represents with such marvellous effect. Her *Phedre*, *Hermione*, and *Alzire*, are masterpieces which those who have witnessed can never forget. It is melancholy to think that, as she is the greatest of French actresses, so she is the *LAST*; and that after she is withdrawn from the public gaze, not a vestige will remain on the stage which *Cornelle* and *Racine* have immortalised, of the genius which so long added fresh charms to the representation of their dramas.

82. It may appear singular to name another great performer among the illustrious in the fine arts during the Restoration in France; but none can have seen *MADemoiselle BIGOTINS* at that time who will not admit that she is well worthy of a place in contemporary portraits. To say that she was a perfect dancer, combining great beauty of figure and countenance with perfect grace of movement, is to specify the least of her merits. Her great excellence consisted in the expression of feeling and emotion by the movements of the figure, and there she was unrivalled. She was perfection itself in pantomime; but it was the graceful

measured pantomime which moves in harmony with the sound of music, not the unbridled expression of passing impulse. Strange to say, by the mere expression of feeling by dancing, she drew more tears from the eyes of the audience, in "*The Maid and the Magpie*," on the Parisian boards, than *Jenny Lind* afterwards did in the same piece by her admirable vocal powers. She was in the very zenith of her power when the Allies occupied Paris in 1814, and the impression she then made on the author's mind has been undiminished by the subsequent lapse of fifty years.

83. Of all the fine arts, *ARCHITECTURE* is the one which, since the Revolution, has made the most decided progress in France. Nothing strikes a stranger so much, on his first arrival in France, as the combined magnificence and pure taste of their public edifices. Built always of beautiful freestone, which, easily cut at first, becomes hard by exposure to the air, they present, in their simplicity and elegance, a striking contrast to the combination of meretricious taste and perishable materials which are so conspicuous in most of the modern edifices of London. It is probably the very durability and hardness of their materials which have contributed to the chasteness of the style in which they are built. A fantastic or ill-regulated taste works with much more difficulty on granite or freestone than on plaster-of-Paris. Simplicity and chasteness of taste become, in a manner, a matter of necessity. The finest buildings of Paris—the *Louvre*, the *Place Louis XV.*, the *Pantheon*, the *Madelaine*, the *Bourse*, the *Hôtel des Invalides*, the *Pillar of Austerlitz*—indeed, were completed by the magnificence of *Louis XIV.*, or projected by the genius of *Napoleon*; but it is no slight proof of the sustained purity and elevation of the public taste that the stately style, begun by the first of these great men, and followed up by the second, has been continued by their successors. No changes of government, though they may have for the time suspended, have been able permanently to inter-

rupt the progress of their magnificent edifices. The perpetual charm which these afford to the eye is not the least of the many attractions which permanently attract strangers in such numbers to the French capital.

84. If modern French architecture is remarkable for the imposing effect which it exhibits, and the purity of taste by which it is distinguished, the same cannot be said during the Restoration of its painting. Here the meretricious influence of artificial society is very conspicuous. It is not nature which the modern French artists have studied, but *operatic nature*: the gestures and expression of the theatre are conspicuous at every step; the glare of the stage-lamps is seen in every light and shade. The attitudes in their historical pieces are all taken from the opera, and exhibit that vehemence and contortion of figure by which their theatrical representations are distinguished, and which is so much at variance with the calm and severe simplicity of the old Italian school. So great has been the influence of the stage on the modern French school of painting, that it may be regarded as omnipotent, and has long precluded its artists from taking an elevated place in the pantheon of modern genius.

85. The painter among them who is distinguished by the greatest simplicity, and who, therefore, has attained to the greatest excellence, is LE GROS. Such is the strength of his genius, and the severe masculine character of his mind, that it has caused him to surmount in a great degree the artificial and meretricious taste by which he was surrounded, and revert to the truth of nature and the severe simplicity of ancient art. His great piece of "Napoleon riding over the Field of Eylau the Day after the Battle," is worthy to be placed beside the finest battle-pieces of Le Brun, both for grandeur of thought, chasteness of colouring, and generality of effect. There is no contemporary historical painting by any British artist which can be compared to it. Most of the other historical painters

of France are all stained by the great defect of the French school—that of imitating, not nature, but the stage. There is not in the world, a few brilliant pieces excepted, a more stupendous exhibition of accumulated bad taste and unnatural gestures than the great collection of Versailles now presents; it is worthy to be placed beside the marble monuments of Westminster Abbey, as a collection of the corruption and perversion of taste in an age boasting its civilisation and refinement.

86. To the general condemnation of the modern French school of painting, another exception must be made in the pictures of HORACE VERNET. He is great, because he has studied, not the theatre, but nature—because he has imitated, not the *figurantes* of the opera, but the habits and forms of actual existence. Like Landseer, he is one of the greatest painters of animals that ever existed; but, unlike him, he has in general represented them, not in their own peaceful and happy retreats, but in connection with the excitement, the pursuits, and the animation of war. Bivouacs of the Old Guard, pickets of cavalry, night-scenes of the Arabs in the desert, charges of horse, evolutions of artillery, have alternately occupied his skilful and practised pencil. The African campaigns, in particular, with their desperate passages-at-arms, picturesque incidents, varied costumes, and collision of European with Asiatic military force, have furnished equally striking and favourite subjects for his brilliant genius. He is essentially a military painter; but in the choice of his subjects, and the figures which fill his canvass, he has availed himself of every accessory which the battle-field, the night-bivouac, the march, the rest at noon, the watering-places, the preparation for action, the fall of the hero, the anguish of the wounded, could afford; and these varied subjects are delineated with a truth and fidelity of drawing, as well as simplicity of effect, which proves that he has studied in the only school of real greatness—the school of nature. In the Exhibition of 1862 in London, the French histori-

cal pieces were decidedly superior to the British, if the works of Reynolds and Gainsborough were deducted, who belonged to a former age.

87. Such is a brief, and, from the magnitude of the subjects embraced in it, most imperfect survey of the literature and genius of France during and subsequent to the Restoration. Feeble as the picture is, it is, however, instructive; it demonstrates how powerfully the general mind had been stirred in that great country by the Revolution—how many errors had been abjured by its suffering—how many illusions dispelled by its results. The survey in some respects is melancholy, in others cheering. If it demonstrates on what erroneous premises, and what delusive expectations, the former opinions had been formed, it

teaches us not less clearly that an overruling Providence can educe good out of evil even in the darkest and most melancholy period of the moral world. It tells us, still more, that the evil, however poignant and widespread, is transitory, but the good educed, the genius elicited, the truth evolved, are lasting in their effects. However bitter may have been the suffering in that great and guilty country during the last sixty years from the passions of its inhabitants, it has come to an end with the generation which endured it. But the genius of Chateaubriand, the philosophy of Guizot, the imagination of Lamartine, the thought of De Tocqueville, will prove a lasting bequest to the species, and never cease to instruct, elevate, and delight the future generations of men.

CHAPTER XIX.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF LORD LONDONDERRY IN 1822 TO THE MONETARY CRISIS IN DECEMBER 1825.

1. IT has been already stated, that the effect of that marvellous discovery of modern times, a paper currency, is twofold, and that the greatest misfortunes which have befallen Great Britain during the last half-century have arisen from confining operations to one of them only. It is either a *representative* of gold and silver, or it is a *substitute* for them. Considered in the first view, it can, of course, only be expanded or diminished in proportion as the supply of the precious metals for the general use of the country is plentiful or contracted; for no representative can with safety be augmented, unless the thing represented has been proportionally increased. In this view, a paper currency is undoubtedly a great convenience, as it is so portable and easy of transference compared to gold or silver; but its chief effects in averting disaster or stimulating prosperity are not to be

attained as long as it is limited in that way. It is when it is issued, under proper restrictions, by proper parties, and adequately secured, as a *substitute for the precious metals*, that it becomes so invaluable an element in national prosperity. When properly managed in this way, and sufficiently guarded against abuse, it becomes the greatest stimulus to industry, and the most valuable shield against misfortune, which is known in pacific life; for it multiplies the reservoirs by which the former is to be nourished, and fills up the void by which the latter is induced. It sustains national industry, and prevents a shock to credit during those periods of frequent and almost periodic occurrence in a commercial community, when the precious metals are in a great measure entirely drained away from the country by the necessities of war or the changes of commerce, and brings it with safety

through a crisis which otherwise might prove fatal to its fortunes. If used only as a representative of the precious metals, it not only does not alleviate or avert these evils, but it aggravates them in the most ruinous manner, because it expands the paper circulation when gold and silver are plentiful, and suddenly contracts it when they are drawn away. Such an addition to credit and stimulus to speculation is not only unnecessary, but dangerous, for it lands the nation in a vast variety of undertakings which of necessity must be abruptly abandoned, and ruin brought on those engaged in them, when the precious metals, and with them the paper resting on their basis, are withdrawn.

2. Experience has now thrown a clear light upon this all-important but intricate subject. During the war, from 1797 to 1815, paper was a substitute for the precious metals, and it brought the nation prosperous and triumphant through all its dangers, and diffused general prosperity at a time when hardly a guinea was left in the country; but it was issued in such quantities, from the necessities of Government, that it more than doubled the price of all the articles of commerce, and exposed the country to a grievous collapse, when, from the prospect of resuming cash payments, the circulation was materially contracted. The passing of the bill of 1819, which realised that prospect, and at once rendered paper the representative of gold only, at a time when, from the effects of the South American Revolution, the annual supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe had been reduced to a third of its former amount, of necessity contracted the currency so much that it sank in England from £46,709,150 in 1818, to £25,885,620 in 1822; and, as a necessary consequence, lowered the price of all the articles of production and commerce fifty per cent. The misery produced to all the industrious classes by this prodigious fall of prices, when debts, taxes, and incumbrances of every description remained the same, was such as at length absolutely

compelled Government to give an extension to the currency, which was done by the bill of 1822, extending for ten years the period during which small notes were to be retained in circulation. This, again, by retaining the fatal principle that paper was to be a representative of gold, not a substitute for it, landed the nation in the opposite set of dangers; and its domestic history, from 1822 to the end of 1825, is nothing but a development of the perilous effects of a plentiful paper currency, a representative of the precious metals, not a substitute for them, and based upon their retention.

3. As the disastrous effects of the monetary system established in 1819 arose in a great degree from the violent contraction of the monetary circulation of the globe, from the effects of the South American Revolution, at the very time when the paper currency of Great Britain was rendered dependent on its retention, so the opposite set of dangers, which were so fatally experienced in the country from the extension of the currency in 1822, was in an equal degree dependent on the extravagant ideas entertained of the boundless advantages to be derived from the emancipation of the South American colonies. Many causes conspired to bring about a revival of industry and enterprise in the end of 1822 and beginning of 1823. The very magnitude of the distress of the three preceding years tended, as it always does, to produce this result. Old clothes were worn out, new ones were required. The stringent economy of past years had both rendered necessary a supply of articles of comfort, and provided little funds for their purchase. The price of wheat, which in the beginning of 1822 had been 48s. 6d., fell, from the effects of a good harvest, before the end of that year, to 38s. 10d., being the lowest point it had reached in the preceding twenty years. Though this great fall bore hard upon the agricultural interest, it proportionally relieved the manufacturing, and let loose a considerable portion of the earnings of the working classes, hither-

to absorbed in the purchase of food, for the acquisition of humble conveniences. This gave a stimulus to the home market for manufactures; and at the same period the foreign market was greatly extended, chiefly in consequence of vast shipments to South America, to the extent of which market it was thought no limits could be assigned. The exports to South America, which in 1817 had been £2,651,337, rose in 1822 to £3,166,000, in 1823 to £4,218,893, and in 1825 to £6,425,715.* The result was a very great increase in the *quantity* of manufactures produced in the year, though, from the fall in the cost of production, and consequent declared value of exports, it did not appear to the same extent in the parliamentary returns till the effects of the expansion of the currency began to appear in the general results.

4. When these circumstances were preparing an increase of activity and industry in the manufacturing districts of the country, two circumstances of paramount importance occurred at the same time to enlarge the currency, in such a way as poured a flood of prosperity over the nation, but resting on so insecure a basis—the retention of gold—as involved it in the end in the most unheard-of calamities. The first of these was the Small Note Bill, passed in July 1822, which extended the period during which small notes were to be issued, which was to have terminated in 1823, for ten years longer. The second was the virtual establishment, in the close of 1822, of the independence of the South American republics, which took place by the general triumph of the arms of the insurgents, and the express recognition

of their independence by Great Britain in July 1823. It is hard to say which of these events contributed most powerfully to enlarge the currency, and with it to raise prices and stimulate industry throughout the country; for the first continued that admirable and convenient medium of exchange which is so suited to the wants of the community, that wherever it is allowed to exist it invariably banishes gold from the circulation; the second diffused the most boundless ideas of the endless supplies of the precious metals which would flow into the country when the inexhaustible mineral treasures of South America were worked by British enterprise and capital, and their produce brought direct to the Bank of England. The belief was universal, and most of all among practical sagacious men, that the supplies of specie would never again fail, now that South America had become independent. The El Dorado which was realised in 1852, by the discovery of the gold mines of California and Australia, was confidently anticipated thirty years earlier from the establishment of those republics; and that essential element in commercial prosperity, general confidence, was established from the very circumstances which rendered it most insecure.

5. The effect of this expansion of the currency, of course, did not take place *immediately*, nor for a considerable time after the causes which induced it had come into operation. This is a very important observation, and affords the answer to many erroneous ideas which prevail on this subject. When a monetary panic arises, or a sudden contraction of the currency takes place, the effect is often *instantaneous*; the whole industrial undertakings of the country may be thrown into difficulties, or ruined in one week. But the vivifying influence of an expansion of the currency is much slower in developing itself; it is the work of time, and generally does not become apparent for six months or a year after the change has come into operation. The reason is, that refusals to continue advances by bankers at once suspend

* EXPORTS TO SOUTH AMERICA, INCLUDING BRAZIL, FROM 1817 TO 1825.

Years.	£	Declared Value of British and Irish Exports to all Countries
1817, . .	2,651,337 . .	41,761,132
1818, . .	3,995,757 . .	46,603,249
1819, . .	2,376,328 . .	35,208,321
1820, . .	2,921,300 . .	36,424,652
1821, . .	2,942,237 . .	36,659,630
1822, . .	3,166,714 . .	36,968,964
1823, . .	4,218,893 . .	35,458,048
1824, . .	5,572,579 . .	38,396,300
1825, . .	6,425,715 . .	38,877,383

—PORTER, 3d edit., 356, 359.

or ruin the most important undertakings; but the extension of their accommodation does not immediately set these in motion, and till this takes place the change of prices does not appear. There is no immediate or necessary connection between the expansion of the currency and a change of prices; the result takes place slowly and gradually by the enlargement of credit by bankers, and its effect on the undertakings and industrial enterprise of the country. The one is analogous to the destruction of life, which may be accomplished in an instant; the other to its creation or growth, which can be effected only by the lapse of time. The change of prices, accordingly, and stimulus to industry produced by the extension of the currency in July 1822, did not come into operation till the spring of 1823, and continued through the whole of that and the succeeding year. The low prices of the close of 1822 were the effect of the contraction of the circulating medium in the three years preceding. In like manner the change of prices and stimulus to industry which resulted over the world from the discovery of the mines of California and Australia

in 1850, did not take place in that year, or even the next, but came into full operation in 1852 and 1853; and has had the effect since that time of raising prices of all sorts of commodities fully 15 per cent.

6. The truth of these principles was fully demonstrated by the expansion of the currency, and corresponding rise of prices and stimulus to industry, during the course of the year 1823. The average of bank notes in circulation, which in 1822 had been £17,464,790, rose in 1823 to £19,231,240, and in November of that year was as high as £20,406,564. The increase in country bankers' notes was still more considerable; judging from the number of stamps issued, it was, as compared with 1821, a third, and a ninth as compared with 1822.* The effect on prices fully appeared in the course of the year: wheat, which was at 38s. 11d., per Winchester quarter, in the end of 1822, rose in December 1823 to 52s. 8d., and in 1824 to 64s. 3d. All these effects took place in a still more remarkable degree in 1824, when, in addition to the expansion of the currency, a general fever of speculation had set in upon the country.† The

* STAMPS FOR COUNTRY BANK-NOTES ISSUED ON 10TH OCTOBER, AND PRICES OF WHEAT IN DECEMBER.

Years.	£	Price of Wheat, per Winchester Quarter, in December.
1820 . . .	3,574,894 . . .	54s. 6d.
1821 . . .	3,987,582 . . .	49s. 0d.
1822 . . .	4,217,241 . . .	38s. 11d.
1823 . . .	4,657,589 . . .	52s. 8d.
1824 . . .	4,822,174 . . .	64s. 3d.

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 129, 390.

† BANK AND BANKERS' NOTES IN CIRCULATION, THE PAPER UNDER DISCOUNT AT THE BANK, AND PRICE OF WHEAT AND COTTON, FROM 1815 TO 1825.

Years.	Bank Notes. 31st August.	Country Banks.	Total.	Paper under Discount at Bank, 31st August.	Average Price of Wheat per Imp. Quarter.		Price of Cotton per lb.	
					s.	d.	s.	d.
1815	27,248,670	19,011,000	46,259,670	20,660,094	63	8	2	4
1816	26,758,720	15,096,000	41,854,720	11,182,109	76	2	2	4
1817	29,543,780	15,894,000	45,437,780	5,507,892	94	0	1	11
1818	26,202,150	20,507,000	46,709,150	5,113,748	83	8	2	0
1819	25,252,690	15,701,828	40,954,018	6,321,402	72	3	1	11
1820	24,299,840	10,576,245	34,875,585	4,672,123	65	10	1	5
1821	20,295,900	8,256,180	28,551,480	2,722,587	54	5	1	1
1822	17,464,790	8,416,830	25,881,620	3,622,151	43	3	1	0
1823	19,231,240	9,920,074	29,151,314	5,624,693	51	9	0	10
1824	20,132,120	12,831,832	32,963,452	6,255,343	62	0	1	0
1825	19,398,840	14,980,168	34,329,008	7,691,464	66	6	1	0½

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 382, 401; MARSHAL'S *Parliamentary Tables*, p. 55; PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 148.

Bank of England notes rose at the end of autumn in that year to £20,177,820, and the country bank-notes to £9,920,071; and the paper under discount at the Bank, which in 1821 had been only £2,722,587, rose in 1823 to £5,624,693, and in 1824 to £6,255,343. This great addition to the paper circulation was rested on a corresponding addition to the store of bullion in the coffers of the Bank of England, which increased to such a degree that in January 1824 it had reached the enormous amount of £14,200,000, from £3,595,360, which it had been in 1819, and £10,097,000 in 1822.

7. The effect of this great addition to the circulation, both paper and metallic, of the country in 1823 and 1824, appeared in the most decisive manner in the prices of articles of commerce of all kinds. The average price of wheat, per imperial quarter, rose from 43s. in 1822 to above 62s. in 1824, an addition of above 30 per cent. All other kinds of agricultural produce, as well as the principal branches of manufacture, advanced in price in a similar proportion.* The consequences were immediate, and encouraging in the highest degree. They were emphatically dwelt on in the speeches from the throne at the opening of Parliament in both these years. In February 1823 the King said: "Deeply as his Majesty regrets the continued depression of the agricultural interest, the satisfaction with which his Majesty contemplates the increasing activity which pervades the manufacturing districts, and the flourishing condition of our commerce in most of its principal branches, is greatly enhanced by the confident persuasion that the progressive pros-

perity of so many of the interests of the country cannot fail to contribute to the improvement of that great interest which is the most important of them all." And in the corresponding speech in February 1824, his Majesty said, in words still more emphatic and strong: "Trade and commerce are extending themselves both at home and abroad. An increasing activity pervades almost every branch of manufacture. The growth of revenue is such as not only to sustain public credit, and to prove the unimpaired productiveness of our resources, but to evince a diffusion of comfort among the great body of the people. Agriculture is recovering from the depression under which it laboured, and, by the steady operation of natural causes, is gradually reassuming the station to which its importance entitles it among the great interests of the nation. At no former period has there prevailed throughout all classes in this island a more cheerful spirit of order, or a more just sense of the advantages which, under the blessings of Providence, they enjoy. In Ireland, which has for some time past been the object of his Majesty's particular solicitude, there are many indications of amendment."

8. It was no wonder the speeches from the throne during these years made such special mention of the increasing prosperity of the nation, for the symptoms of it were universal. The manufactures produced during the last six months of 1822 surpassed those of the preceding so much, that the average of that year considerably exceeded that of the preceding year by fully a fifth. During the whole of 1823 and 1824, the same progress was still more conspicuous; although, from the increase being chiefly in the home mar-

* PRICES OF WHEAT, BARLEY, MEAL, COTTON, AND IRON, FROM 1823 TO 1825.

Years.	Average Price of Wheat per Quarter.		Barley per Quarter.		Meal per Tierce.		Cotton per lb.		Iron per Ton.	
							January.		January.	
1822	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	£	s.
1822	43	3	18	3	80	0	1	0	6	10
1823	51	9	24	6	97	0	0	10	6	10
1824	62	0	32	2	82	6	1	0	7	0
1825	66	6	31	0	110	0	1	0½	12	0

ket, the exports and imports gave no adequate indication of its real amount.* Yet, such as it was, it was very considerable; and the great increase of the imports, in particular, indicated the increased prosperity of the people. The revenue exhibited the same symptoms of elasticity; for, notwithstanding a reduction of taxation in the years 1822 and 1823,† amounting to £7,000,000 sterling, it exhibited an increase of £4,000,000 in 1824 compared with 1822, and £5,000,000 compared with 1820. Agricultural distress, indeed, the sad bequest of the contracted currency of the three preceding years, was still very prevalent, especially in the commencement of 1823; and numerous county meetings were held, in which the general distress of the landed interest, and the necessity of the most unflinching reduction of expenditure, were emphatically urged. At one in Norwich, Mr Cobbett proposed, and carried against the united Whig aristocracy of the county, resolutions declaratory of the necessity of a great reduction of the standing army, a sale of the whole Crown-lands, an abolition of all sinecures, an equitable adjustment of the national debt, and a sweeping measure of parliamentary reform. But the rise in the value of agricultural produce,

arising from the extension of the currency, ere long extinguished these ill humours, by removing their cause; and the landed interest, during 1824 and 1825, as they shared in the general prosperity, participated in the universal contentment.

9. Mr Wallace, the able President of the Board of Trade at this period, gave the following picture of the state of the country under the action of the monetary measures in progress, from 1815 to 1823. On 12th February 1823, he said in his place in Parliament: "The general export of the country, in the four years from 1815 to 1819, had decreased £14,000,000 in official value; and he took the official value in preference to the declared, because it was from the quantity of goods produced that the best measure was derived of the employment afforded to the different classes of the community. *In the year from 5th January 1819 to 5th January 1820, the export of the country fell off no less than £11,000,000; and in looking at that part of it which was more completely only of British or Irish manufacture, he found that the difference in four years was £8,414,711; and that in the year from 5th January 1820 to 5th January 1821, there was a decrease of £8,929,629. Nobody, there-*

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1820 TO 1825.

Years.	Imports. Official Value.	British and Irish Exports. Official Value.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Revenue.
1820	£32,438,650	£38,395,625	£36,424,652	£54,282,958
1821	30,792,760	40,831,744	36,659,630	55,834,192
1822	30,500,094	44,236,533	36,968,964	55,663,650
1823	35,798,707	43,804,372	35,458,048	57,672,999
1824	37,552,935	48,735,551	38,396,300	59,362,403
1825	44,137,482	47,166,020	38,877,383	57,273,869

—PORTER's *Progress of the Nation* (3d edition), 356, 475.

† TAXES REPEALED FROM 1821 TO 1823.

Agricultural horses—1822,	. . . . .	£480,000
Malt,	"	1,400,000
Salt,	"	1,295,000
Hides,	"	300,000
Assessed Taxes—1823,	. . . . .	2,300,000
Do., (Ireland),	. . . . .	100,000
Tonnage,	. . . . .	160,000
Windows (Ireland),	. . . . .	180,000
Spirits (Ireland),	. . . . .	380,000
Do., (Scotland),	. . . . .	340,000

£6,935,000

—Ann. Reg., 1823, p. 117.

fore, could be surprised that, at that period, the industry of the country appeared to be in a state of the utmost depression; that our manufacturers were most of them unemployed; that our agriculturists were many of them embarrassed; and that the country, to use the phrase of a friend of his in presenting a petition from the merchants of London, *exhibited all the appearances of a dying nation*. Though the condition of the agricultural interest was not as favourable as he could wish, still it was most satisfactory for him to state, that not only did the exports of last year (1822) exceed those of all the years to which he had been alluding, but also those of the most flourishing year which had occurred during the continuance of the war. In all the material articles there had been a considerable increase. The export of cotton had increased 10 per cent, and hardware 17 per cent; of linens 12 per cent; and of woollens 13 per cent; and the aggregate exports of 1822 exceeded those of 1820 by 20 per cent, and of 1821 by 7 per cent—notwithstanding a deduction was to be made from the exports of one great article, sugar, owing to a prohibitory decree of Russia, amounting to 35 per cent."

10. These favourable circumstances enabled Government to make considerable reductions of taxation during the years 1823 and 1824, and to exhibit a very flattering, though, as it proved in the end, fallacious view of the public finances to the nation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the revenue of the nation, in 1823, at £57,000,000 in the first of these years, and the expenditure at £49,852,786; leaving a surplus of £7,147,214. Of this large surplus he proposed to set aside £5,000,000, conformably to the resolution of 1821, for the reduction of debt, and the residue was to be devoted to the remission of taxation. This reduction was, on truly wise principles, to be effected on the direct taxation; and the duties selected for remission were the assessed taxes. They were lowered at once 50 per cent—a reduction which, on the window-tax,

was estimated at £1,205,000; and on the whole assessed taxes, £2,200,000. The whole assessed taxes of Ireland, amounting to £100,000, were repealed, and the window-tax taken entirely away from the ground-floor of shops and warehouses, though connected with houses. The last reduction deserves to be noted, as the first indication of the growing influence of that numerous body, *the shopkeepers*, who, in the end, acquired a very powerful influence in the direction of the State. This budget, the most favourable which had been laid before Parliament for many years, was received with loud cheers from both sides of the House.

11. The budget of 1824 exhibited appearances not less favourable. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, on this occasion, had the satisfaction of announcing the agreeable intelligence, that the Emperor of Austria had agreed to pay £2,500,000 in satisfaction of loans of £6,000,000 made to him in 1795 and 1797. This unexpected windfall, which was not inaptly called a "godsend," enabled Government to exhibit a more favourable statement of the public finances than could have been anticipated even from the very prosperous state of the nation. The total revenue was taken at £57,385,000, including the repayments to account of the Austrian loan, and the expenditure at £56,332,924; leaving a surplus of £1,052,076, after applying £5,134,458 to the reduction of debt. This statement, however, was so far fallacious, as, by the arrangement regarding the Dead Weight, as it was called, or military and naval pensions, two millions now figured in the surplus which were in reality obtained by having made permanent, during forty-five years, an item of charge which otherwise would almost have disappeared by the progressive death of the recipients before that time; so that the surplus, but for that shifting of present burdens on posterity, would only have been £3,000,000. This surplus of £1,052,076 the Chancellor of the Exchequer took advantage of to remit to the nation part of the duty on rum, coals, wool, silk, and

law proceedings, amounting in all to £1,262,000.

12. The favourable state of the finances, and the high range of the public funds, which rose progressively to 84 in December 1823, and to 96 in October 1824, enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry through two measures which contributed, in a material degree, to relieve the pressure on the exchequer. The first of these was the carrying out the arrangement proposed in the preceding year for equalising, as it was called, the weight of the military and naval pensions, by transmuting them into a fixed charge on the nation for forty-five years. No purchasers had been found for these annuities during the distressed state of the money market in the preceding year; but the affluence of circulation, produced by the extension of the currency, now induced the Bank of England to take part of it, which they did by a contract which was to last five years. By this means there was a present saving, on the part taken, of £585,000 a-year effected: but a more delusive scheme never was proposed; for it was nothing but shifting the burden of present debt on posterity, and purchasing present relief by increasing future embarrassment. Such, however, was the pressure on the treasury, that the bill sanctioning this arrangement with the Bank was passed in the Commons by a majority of 140 to 91.

13. The next measure which was carried was one of a very different character, and to which, neither on the ground of public faith or financial economy, could any objection be stated. This was the reduction of the interest on the 4 per cent stock to 3½. The amount of this stock was £75,000,000, and its annual charge £3,000,000. Dissentients were allowed six months to notify their dissension, in which case they were to be paid in full. A very small proportion of the holders of stock gave notice of their desire to be paid up; in consequence of which, the saving effected to the nation amounted to £375,000 a-year. This sum bore a small proportion to the whole interest

on the debt, which was £28,000,000; but it was a step in the right direction, and illustrated the extreme improvidence of the system of borrowing adopted by Mr Pitt during the war, of giving a bond for £100 for every £60 advanced,—a system which precluded the possibility of paying off the 3 per cents, or reducing the interest on that stock till the funds had been for a considerable time above 100, which they have only been for a few weeks during the last half-century. Had the stock all been borrowed in the 4 per cents, the reduction now effected would have been, not on £75,000,000, but on above £750,000,000, and the saving effected to the nation, not £375,000, but nearly £4,000,000 a-year.

14. A third important change was effected in the finances of the country in the year 1823, which might have conferred incalculable benefits upon the nation, had it been steadily adhered to in subsequent times. Hitherto the public accounts connected with the National Debt had been so mystified, by issues of exchequer bills and other temporary devices, that it required no small effort of attention on the part of those professionally trained to the subject to understand them; and to the great majority of persons they were altogether unintelligible. To remedy these evils, Mr Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, adopted the manly course, worthy of the chief finance-minister of a free country, of so simplifying the accounts connected with the public debt that they might be intelligible, not only to the members of the legislature, but to every one who paid attention to the subject throughout the country. With this view he placed, by Act of Parliament, the reduction of the debt on its true footing; namely, the annual issue from the treasury of *a certain sum for its reduction*. To effect this, a bill was brought forward, founded on resolutions of the House, which provided, among numerous details calculated to simplify the public accounts, that for the future there should be set apart, and issued out of the consolidated fund, to be placed to

the account of the commissioners of the public debt, the annual sum of £5,000,000, to be applied to the reduction of the National Debt,—which sum was to be charged upon the consolidated fund, to be issued by equal quarterly payments, the first beginning on 5th April 1823. There can be no doubt of the wisdom and propriety of these enactments; and happy would it have been for the nation, if, now that it had attained majority, and been intrusted with the direction of its own affairs, it had shown more wisdom and foresight than its guardians had done during its long minority. But the result has been just the reverse. It was shown by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the debate on this subject, that during the seven years which had elapsed from 1816, when the debt had attained its highest point, there had been paid off £19,700,000 of funded, and £4,984,000 of unfunded debt, in all £25,000,000 in round numbers,—which would have been £35,000,000 more, but for the reduction of the 5 per cents, which added £10,000,000 to the nominal amount of the public debt. The sinking fund of £5,000,000, so anxiously provided for by this Act, would in the next thirty years, if preserved inviolate, have paid off with the growing

interest nearly £300,000,000 of the public debt. Whereas, under the popular inspection and control, nothing whatever has been done during that period towards its reduction; for in 1824 the public debt was £781,122,222, and in 1849 it was still £777,603,818; and the interest paid on the debt was, in 1825, £28,060,287, and in 1849 it was £28,323,961 !*

15. The favourable state of the public finances, arising from the growing prosperity of the nation, enabled Government, in 1824, to carry through several gracious and praiseworthy acts, of lasting benefit to the interests of religion, science, and art in the country. Out of the unexpected windfall arising from the partial repayment of the Austrian loan, Ministers proposed and carried through a grant of £500,000, to aid in the building of churches, especially in the manufacturing districts, where, notwithstanding the former grant of £1,000,000 for the same purpose, the want of church accommodation was still lamentably felt. In addition to this, there was granted to his Majesty £300,000 from the same fund, to be paid in three years, for repairing and enlarging Windsor Castle: a grant which was laid out with equal taste and judgment, and has produced the magnificent addition which now adds

* ACTUAL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN 1823 AND 1824.

	Income (Net), 1823.	Income, 1824.
Customs,	£11,498,762	£11,327,741
Excise,	25,342,828	26,768,039
Stamps,	6,801,950	7,244,042
Taxes,	6,206,927	4,922,070
Post-Office,	1,462,692	1,520,615
From Trustees of Dead Weight,	4,675,000	4,660,000
Lesser payments,	1,684,140	2,918,898
	<hr/> £57,672,299	<hr/> £59,362,405
	Expenditure, 1823.	Expenditure, 1824.
Public Debt Interest,	£28,064,784	£27,979,068
Interest on Exchequer Bills,	1,131,121	1,087,283
Naval and Military Pensions,	2,800,000	2,800,000
Civil List and Expenses,	2,140,806	2,721,301
Army,	7,351,991	7,573,026
Navy,	5,453,191	6,161,818
Out-pensioners,	155,000	..
Ordnance,	1,364,328	1,407,303
Miscellaneous,	1,953,366	2,449,148
Do.,	522,464	595,035
	<hr/> £56,704,687	<hr/> £58,188,062
Surplus applied to reduce Debt,	£6,710,984	£6,587,802

—Ann. Reg. 1823, 246; 1825, 296.

so much to the effect of that noble structure. In the preceding year, the Sovereign had made to the nation the munificent gift of the splendid library of his late father, valued at £65,000, which had been intrusted to the trustees of the British Museum, and which now adorns the noble gallery set apart for it in that superb edifice; and on this the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to bestow the sum of £57,000 out of the Austrian loan, on the purchase of M. Angerstein's beautiful collection of pictures, which laid the foundation of the present National Gallery in Trafalgar Square. Thus in all departments the ease of the finances was making itself felt, and the surplus at the disposal of Government was devoted to the noblest purposes—the extension of the means of religious instruction, and the formation of establishments which might diffuse the light of knowledge and refinement of taste among the people.

16. The preceding detail, uninteresting to many as it may appear, leads yet to general conclusions of the very highest interest, and second in importance to none educed in the course of this History. This is, that the nation, during the peace, when it possessed the advantages of a currency adequate to its wants, was able, without any extraordinary external advantages, not only to enjoy three years of unbroken and increasing domestic felicity, but during that period to remit nearly £12,000,000 of annual taxation,* and still uphold a real sinking fund, arising from an excess of income above expenditure, of £5,000,000 a-year. Such was the effect of these circumstances, that the National Debt, which in 1821 was £801,565,310, had sank in 1826 to £778,128,265, being

* TAXES TAKEN OFF IN GREAT BRITAIN
FROM 1822 TO 1825 INCLUSIVE.

1822,	£2,139,101
1823,	4,185,735
1824,	1,801,333
1825,	3,676,239
	£11,802,408

—PORTER's *Progress of the Nation*, 486 (3d edition).

a reduction of £23,000,000 in five years.* Let these figures be kept in mind, when the progress of the debt and financial situation of the country, in the disastrous years which followed the renewed contraction of the currency in 1826, come to be taken into consideration, and it will then be seen whether the greater part of the sufferings which the nation has since undergone has not arisen from our own acts, and whether the embarrassment of finances under which we still labour is not of our own creation.

17. It has been already mentioned that, upon the death of Lord Londonderry in August 1822, Mr Canning was, by the voice of the nation rather than the choice of the Sovereign, to whom he was personally distasteful owing to the part he had taken in the affair of Queen Caroline, appointed to the important office of Minister for Foreign Affairs. Several other changes took place at the same time, or shortly after, all indicating the change which was taking place in the balance of parties, and the increasing weight which the popular interest was acquiring in the Government. Mr Vansittart, who had so long conducted the financial affairs of the country through a period of uncommon anxiety and difficulty, was promoted to the House of Peers under the title of Lord Bexley; and he was succeeded in his important office by Mr Robinson, a man of eloquence and ability of the school of Canning, and eminently qualified to earn popularity for himself and the Government, by falling in with, and sometimes taking the lead in, the popular fancies of the day. Mr Huskisson, whose great abilities and vast statistical knowledge had long given him the lead in all questions of social and political economy, and who was

* NATIONAL DEBT FUNDED FROM 1821
TO 1826.

1821,	£801,565,310
1822,	795,312,767
1823,	796,530,144
1824,	791,701,612
1825,	781,123,222
1826,	778,128,265

—PORTER's *Parliamentary Tables*, i. 6.

deeply imbued with Liberal views, was made President of the Board of Trade, with a seat in the Cabinet, in room of Mr Wallace, whom bad health obliged to retire. Lord Amherst was appointed Governor-General of India in room of Mr Canning, who had been nominated to that office before his appointment as Foreign Secretary; and Lord Stewart, the ambassador at Vienna, who had succeeded to the title and estates of his brother, the Marquis of Londonderry, resigned his situation, seeing the turn that things were taking, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Wellesley. All these changes were of one character; they tended to augment the Liberal influence in the Government, and of course stamp a Liberal character on its measures. They indicated the progressive growth of the commercial and middle class in the community, which had become such that, though as yet represented only in an indirect way in the Legislature, it had made its influence felt there to such a degree as rendered it impossible to carry on the Government in any other way but by attention to its interests and in conformity to its wishes. Lord Eldon felt the change, and saw that the era of new influences was approaching. He wrote at this period to Lord Liverpool, who still remained Premier, that "he had no wish to remain Chancellor, and that they who do remain, and especially that officer, stand a very good chance of being disgraced."*

18. The ascendancy which the commercial and trading interest had now acquired in the Cabinet speedily made itself apparent in the measures brought forward by the Government. They were all of one character, tending to

* "The *Courier* of last night announces Mr Huskisson's introduction into the Cabinet: of the intention or the fact I have no other communication. Whether Lord Sidmouth has or has not, I do not know: but this is rather too much. Looking at the whole history of these gentlemen, I don't consider this introduction, without a word said about the intention, as perhaps I should have done if certain persons had been introduced into the Cabinet; but turning out one man and introducing another in the way that this has been done, is telling the Chancellor that he should not give them the trouble of disposing of him, but that he should cease to be

further the interests and promote the wishes of the great manufacturing and commercial class, which, after progressively increasing in the House of Commons, had now made its way into the Cabinet, and in a manner acquired the direction of the Government. The chief person who took the lead in this great innovation was Mr Huskisson, whose name stands connected with several of the greatest and most momentous changes in the commercial policy of Great Britain, and who for good or for evil has indelibly impressed his signet-mark upon the annals of his country.

19. Mr HUSKISSON was a statesman of a different character from any who had yet ruled or influenced the destinies of England. He had neither the persevering energy of Mr Pitt, nor the ardent soul of Mr Fox, nor the playful eloquence of Mr Canning; but in thorough mastery of one great branch of government he was superior to them all. He was one of the statesmen who have arisen with the vast extension of statistical and commercial information within the last half-century, and who, by devoting himself almost exclusively to that branch of political science, had become thoroughly master of it. His information on commercial subjects was immense; there was no manufacturer or merchant who did not find him as well informed as he himself was on the details of his own particular branch of business. His natural talents were considerable, and they had been sedulously improved by application and industry; but they were of the solid and substantial, not the captivating kind. His judgment was sound, his sagacity great, his views enlarged, his disposition philanthropic;

Chancellor. What makes it worse is, that the great man of all has a hundred times most solemnly declared that no connection of a certain person should come in. There is no believing one word anybody says; and what makes the matter still worse is, that everybody acquiesces most quickly, and waits in all humility and patience, till his own time comes. I have written to Lord Liverpool before this news came, that I have no wish to remain Chancellor; and, to say the truth, I think those who do remain, and especially that officer, stand a very good chance of being disgraced."—LORD ELDON to SIR W. SCOTT Jan. 31, 1823; *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, ii. 468.

but he had neither the glance of genius nor the fire of enthusiasm in his composition. He was a powerful debater, a sound reasoner, and from his thorough knowledge of every subject on which he addressed the House, he never failed to command ready and respectful attention. He was the man of all others qualified to lead the opinions of practical men of business, who looked to facts rather than oratory, and were more likely to be convinced by an array of figures than by all the flowers of rhetoric; and as they were every day making their way in greater numbers into the legislature, his influence soon became very great. Strongly impressed with the evil effects of the restrictive system which had so long obtained in commercial matters, and especially the clog upon manufacturing industry which arose from the heavy duties imposed on many articles of its raw material, he bent all the force of his powerful mind to lighten the wheels of industry in this particular. Yet was he not so great a theorist as not to know that there are exceptions to all rules, however in the general case well founded; and though a decided Free-Trader so far as commerce and manufactures are concerned, he admitted and earnestly enforced an exception in the case of that great branch of labour which provides for the subsistence and independence of nations.*

* William Huskisson was born on March 11, 1770. He was descended from a family of ancient standing but moderate fortune in Staffordshire, and received the elements of education in his native county. Early in life he was sent over to Paris to complete his education, and arrived there just in time to witness, and in some degree share, the enthusiasm excited by the capture of the Bastille in 1789. He then became member of the Club of 1789, and formed an intimacy with Franklin and Jefferson, as well as the leaders of the Revolution in Paris, a circumstance which exercised a powerful influence upon his thoughts and turn of mind during the whole remainder of his life. He was first brought into Parliament in 1796 by Lord Carlisle for the borough of Morpeth, and was soon after appointed Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, in which situation his business talents were soon discovered, and he enjoyed the intimate friendship of Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas, and was often called to their councils. In 1801 he retired from office with Mr Pitt, but was reinstated in his for-

20. The first subject to which, after his accession to office, the attention of this able statesman was directed, was the Navigation Laws, and to him we owe chiefly the introduction of that great change in our commercial policy known by the name of the RECIPROCITY SYSTEM. To understand this subject, it is necessary to premise that, by a law passed during the Protectorate of Cromwell, which was confirmed and declared permanent after the Restoration by 12 Charles II. c. 18, it had been provided that no merchandise of either Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into Great Britain in any but English-built ships, navigated by an English commander, and having at least three-fourths of their crew British. Besides this exclusive right conferred on British shipping, discriminating duties were imposed, so that goods might still be imported in foreign ships from Europe, but they were more heavily taxed than if imported under the English flag. Under this system the trade of Great Britain was carried on for a hundred and fifty years, without other nations having attempted any retaliatory measures; it was under it that England acquired the sceptre of the waves, and a colonial empire which encircled the earth. Such re-

mer situation in 1804 on his return to the helm; and he continued there, with the exception of the brief period of the Whigs' tenure of power, till Mr Canning's retirement in 1809, when he withdrew along with his brilliant friend, and became a leading member of that section of the Tory party which was now in open hostility to the Government. In 1814 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Woods and Forests, which situation he held till his appointment as President of the Board of Trade and a Cabinet Minister in January 1823. During this period he devoted himself almost exclusively to subjects of trade, navigation, and political economy; and such was his abilities that he had become, before his appointment to the Board of Trade, the instructor of statesmen and leader of the House of Commons on these subjects, which were daily becoming of more importance in Parliament and public opinion. He was a member of the Bullion Committee in 1810; and the return to cash payments in 1819 was mainly brought about by his influence, which was also strenuously exerted to procure the introduction of the reciprocity system on a limited scale in 1821, and to lay the foundation of Free Trade in 1822. — *Huskisson's Speeches and Life*, i. 1, 49, 235.

sults speak for themselves; they require no support from argument, and fully justify Adam Smith's remark: "When the Act of Navigation was made, though England and Holland were not actually at war, the most violent animosity subsisted between the two nations. It is not impossible, therefore, that some of the regulations of this famous Act may have proceeded from national animosity. They are *as wise, however, as if they had all been dictated by the most consummate wisdom*. National animosity at that particular time aimed at the very object which the most deliberate wisdom would have recommended—the diminution of the naval power of Holland, the only naval power which could endanger the security of England. The Act of Navigation is not favourable to foreign commerce, or to the growth of that opulence which can arise from it. As defence, however, is of more value than opulence, the Act of Navigation is perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England."

21. But how wise soever this Act may have been when it was first passed, and however splendid the results which had followed from the steady adherence to it, the time at length came when it could no longer be maintained in its pristine rigour. The very completeness of its success, the magnitude of the benefits which it had conferred upon Great Britain, prepared its downfall. They made other nations desirous to adopt a system from which England had derived such great and obvious benefits. Thence the commencement of the *retaliatory system* and the war of tariffs—a state of pacific hostility, in which the old and rich state, where prices are high because money is plentiful, is in general beaten by the young and poor state, where prices are low because money is scarce. This accordingly took place as soon as the termination of the war, by closing the military hostility, opened the door to the commercial rivalry of nations. The Americans, who had already begun to follow in the footsteps, in this respect, of the mother-country, soon after the establishment of their indepen-

dence passed a navigation law similar in its main provisions to that of England; and as this state of smothered war of tariffs was found to be equally disadvantageous to both countries, a treaty was concluded in 1815, which put the vessels of the two countries upon the footing of equal duties and entire reciprocity. This system was found to work so well in the case of the United States, that it led to its adoption, on a partial scale, with other countries; and it was the success of this experiment which led to its being engrafted on the general policy of Great Britain by the Act of 1823.

22. The new system was first introduced on a general scale in 1822, when Mr Wallace brought forward five bills, which effected a very important alteration on our commercial system. The first of these bills repealed various statutes, now obsolete, in relation to foreign commerce, before the passing of the Navigation Act. The second repealed various laws from the Navigation Act downwards, including that part of the Navigation Law itself which enacted that goods of the produce of Asia, Africa, and America should not be imported except in British ships, with three-fourths of the crew British sailors. By the third, certain enumerated goods were allowed to be brought to this country from any port in Europe, in ships belonging to the port of shipment. Ships belonging to Holland, which by the Navigation Act could not be allowed to enter English ports with cargo, were placed upon the same footing as the ships of other countries. South American produce, which before the passing of this Act could be brought only from certain ports of Spain and Portugal, was now permitted to be imported direct from the places of growth in ships of the country, the only exception to this concession being against places to which British ships were not admitted for the purposes of trade. The fourth bill regulated the trade between our North American and West Indian colonies, and other places in the same quarter of the globe. It permitted the entry, under certain duties, of va-

rious articles from any foreign country in America or port in the West Indies, either in British vessels or in vessels belonging to the country of shipment, and the goods so imported might be again exported to any other colony, or to the mother-country. The fifth bill made it lawful to export in British ships, from any colony to any foreign port in Europe or Africa, any goods that may have been legally imported into the colony, or which were of its own growth or manufacture, and to export certain enumerated articles in British ships to any such colony, from any foreign port in Europe or Africa. By means of these relaxations the West India colonists were enabled to draw their supplies from any country in Europe, Africa, or America, and to send their produce in return to such markets as should hold out the greatest inducement.

23. The advantages which the United States of America, and the West India colonies of Great Britain, derived from these great relaxations, naturally led other countries to desire to participate in them, and the method which they adopted to secure this advantage was to threaten heavy retaliatory duties on British shipping, unless the burdens imposed on them by the Navigation Laws were reduced. Prussia was the first to adopt this system. In spring 1823, her Cabinet intimated to the British Government, that, unless some relaxation was introduced into the English Navigation Laws for their benefit, they would retaliate by heavy corresponding duties upon British ships entering the Prussian harbours. In consequence of this threat, the whole matter was brought seriously under the consideration of the British Cabinet, and the result was the introduction of the RECIPROCITY SYSTEM, which first made a great and general change on the British commercial system. By this Act, 4 Geo. IV. c. 77, and 5 Geo. IV. c. 1, his Majesty was authorised, by Order in Council, to permit the exportation and importation of goods in foreign vessels, on payment of the same duties as were chargeable when imported in British

vessels, in favour of *all such countries as should not levy discriminating duties upon goods imported into those countries in British vessels*; and farther, to levy upon the vessels of such countries, when frequenting British ports, the same tonnage duties as were levied on British vessels. A power was, on the other hand, vested in the Crown by these Acts of Parliament, to impose, by Order in Council, additional duties upon goods and shipping, against any countries which should levy higher duties in the case of the employment of British vessels in the trade with those countries. These changes fell in so completely with the spirit of the age that they met with a very feeble opposition, and passed the House of Commons by a majority of 5 to 1. They were thus introduced, on 6th June 1823, by Mr Huskisson, as President of the Board of Trade:—

24. “Although the measure now to be submitted to the House is most important, and an entire departure from the principles which have hitherto governed our foreign commerce, yet the plan is so clear, and the benefit to be derived from it so obvious, that little is required to make the country see the propriety of adopting it. It is well known that it had been for a long time, indeed ever since the passing of the Navigation Act, the policy of the country to impose upon cargoes brought in foreign vessels higher duties than on those imported in British bottoms; and also in many instances to allow smaller drawbacks upon articles exported in foreign than upon those exported in British ships. Now, whatever might be thought of the policy of such a system, it was all very well as long as the nations with whom we traded acquiesced in it. But when once the attention of those countries was called to it, it was not likely that such an inequality would be allowed much longer to exist. Accordingly, it was found that the principal commercial nations in the world, after Great Britain and our great rival in trade the United States of America, feeling the pressure of the tax, immediately commenced the retaliatory system, by im-

posing duties upon all articles imported into that country by British ships. The consequence of this was, that great embarrassment and inconvenience arose in the commerce of the two countries. Portugal, perceiving the success which had attended the course adopted by the Americans, soon obliged us to place hers upon the same footing. The Government of the Netherlands in 1821 passed a law allowing a premium of 10 per cent upon all articles imported in Dutch vessels, which was, in fact, if not in form, imposing a duty of 10 per cent upon the cargoes of all other vessels. This change, though adopted in 1821, only came into operation in the beginning of 1823; and since that time it has been strongly felt in the trade of the two countries. Prussia has also raised the dues upon our vessels, and has intimated, in a manner not to be mistaken, that she would more fully adopt the retaliatory system if we continued our present policy.

25. "In such a state of things, it is quite obvious that we must adopt one of two courses. Either we must commence a commercial conflict, through the medium of protective duties and prohibitions (a measure of impolicy which, it is believed, no man will now propose), or we must admit other powers to a perfect equality and reciprocity of shipping duties. The latter appears to be the course which we are bound to adopt. Its effect, I am persuaded, will be to lead to a great increase of the commercial advantages of the country; while, at the same time, it will have a tendency to promote and establish a better political feeling and confidence among the maritime powers, and abate the sources of commercial jealousy. It is high time, in the improved state of civilisation of the world, to establish more liberal principles, and show that commerce is not the end, but the means of diffusing comfort and enjoyment among the nations embarked in its pursuit. Those who have the largest trade must necessarily derive the greatest advantage from the establishment of better international regulations. When England abandons her old principle, the United Netherlands,

and the other powers who are now prepared to retaliate, will gladly concur in the new arrangement.

26. "I am prepared to hear from the other side that the proposed alteration will be prejudicial to the British shipping interest. In this observation I cannot concur. I think, on the contrary, that the shipping interest of this country has nothing to apprehend from that of other nations. When the alteration in the Navigation Laws was first projected, similar unfavourable prognostications were made by part of the shipping interest, but these anticipations have proved to be entirely unfounded. The shipping of Great Britain is perfectly able to compete with that of other countries. It is quite time to get rid of the retaliatory principle, which, if carried to the extreme of which it is susceptible, must injure every species of trade. One sort of shipping would be carrying the trade of one country, and then returning without any equivalent advantage to make way for the countervailing regulations of another power, or else to return in ballast. What would be thought of an establishment, if a waggon should convey goods to Birmingham, and afterwards return empty? The consumer would, it was probable, be little satisfied with such a way of conveying his merchandise. The consequence would be, that there would necessarily be two sets of waggons to do that work which was now performed by one, and that, too, at a considerable increase of price on the raw material. We are not now able to carry on a system of restriction, labouring, as we have for some time been, under many and unavoidable restrictions. Our trade and commerce, it is true, are rapidly improving; but they still require that we should adopt every measure by which either could be fostered or improved. What I propose is, that the duties and drawbacks should be imposed and allowed upon all goods equally, whether imported or exported in British or foreign vessels, giving the King in Council a power to declare that such regulations should extend to all countries inclined to act upon a system of reciprocity, but re-

serving to the same authority the power of continuing the present restrictions with respect to those powers who should decline to do so."

27. So entirely were the views here developed by Mr Huskisson in unison with those of the vast majority of the House of Commons, that the following paragraphs of the speeches of Mr Robinson and Mr Marryat contain all which is to be found in the parliamentary debates in opposition to this great innovation: "The resolutions proposed, if carried into effect, will increase the difficulties under which the shipowners at present labour. Parliamentary returns prove that the shipping of the country is far from being in the prosperous state which is represented. From 1821 to 1823 there has been a falling-off in shipbuilding to the extent of 161 ships and 122,000 tons. During the same period there has been a decrease in our navigation to the amount of 732 ships, 129,000 tons, and 8000 seamen. Such has been the consequence of the system recommended by the political economists. The end of that system will be to drive the trade of Great Britain into the hands of foreign countries. This is the only country in Europe which is abandoning the system of protective duties. A few years ago, when America obtained some concessions from us, she wished to obtain similar advantages from France, but the French Government would not yield, but on the contrary imposed a light duty on importations from America, who, in her turn, did the same with respect to France. The views of the Free-Traders may be favourable to the mercantile interests, but they are certainly prejudicial to ship owners and builders.

28. "The proposed system has been reduced to experiment, and what has been the result? The reciprocity system has been for eight years established with America, and the consequence has been, very great disadvantage to the shipping engaged in that trade. Five-sixths of the carrying-trade between Great Britain and America is now carried on in American ships. If the protection to British shipping, which alone has hitherto enabled our shipowners to compete with those of foreign states, is removed, it is indispensable that the duties on Baltic timber, which at present are such a clog on our shipbuilding, should be taken off, or at least materially reduced. Unless this is done, it is quite impossible we can compete with foreign nations, who have their wood at their own door, and navigate their ships for wages half in amount to that which our shipowners are obliged to pay to their sailors."

29. Mr Huskisson's resolutions were passed by a great majority, and carried into effect by acts of Parliament in the same session. Under the authority of these acts, reciprocity treaties were soon concluded by Government with the principal trading countries in the world, so as to give the reciprocity system the fairest possible trial.* There is no doubt that the facilities to the transit of goods afforded by these acts have contributed to the extension of our foreign commerce; but they have been attended with effects proportionally disastrous to our shipping, and which threaten, at no distant period, to undermine the whole foundation of our national independence. The ablest writers on the Free-trade side admit the depreciation which, since their intro-

* COUNTRIES WITH WHICH RECIPROCITY TREATIES WERE CONCLUDED, UNDER AUTHORITY OF THESE ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

France.	Hamburg.	United States.
Austria.	Hanover.	Mexico.
Russia.	Mecklenburg Strelitz.	Texas.
Sweden.	Mecklenburg Schwerin.	Uruguay.
Norway.	Oldenburg.	Bolivia.
Denmark.	Frankfort.	Venezuela.
Prussia.	Portugal.	New Granada.
Netherlands.	Two Sicilies.	Grenada.
Lubeck.	Greece.	Rio de la Plata.
Sardinia.	Turkey.	Brazil.
Bremen.		

duction, has taken place in the value of British shipping. "A great depreciation," says Mr Porter, "has undoubtedly taken place in the value of ships in this country. The general fall of prices, however, has not borne harder upon the owners of ships than the holders of other species of property. Overlooking this obvious cause of depression, and seeing that not only were they underbid by the owners of British ships built with cheaper materials, *but also by the foreign shipowner, whose vessel was built still more cheaply*, they forget the circumstances which had in a manner compelled the Government to relax our Navigation Laws, and attribute their losses and disappointments to the reciprocity treaties. There is not any class of persons in this country, with the exception, perhaps, of the landholders, which has made such loud

and continued complaints of distress as the shipowners have done since the peace of 1815."

30. Experience has now thrown a clear and steady light on this subject. The reciprocity treaties have now been in existence for thirty years, and were so for five-and-twenty before the general repeal of the Navigation Laws took place, and the result, both upon the general shipping of the country and the proportion of British and foreign tonnage with the principal countries with whom reciprocity treaties have been concluded, affords decisive evidence of the great discouragement which has by them been given to British shipping, and of the progressive increase of foreign tonnage over it which has in consequence taken place. From the subjoined tables,* taken from Mr Porter's Parliamentary Tables, it

* TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN SHIPPING FROM 1801 TO 1821, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

ENTERED INWARDS.							
Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.	Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.		Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1801	922,594	780,155	1,702,709	1812	Records	Records	Records
1802	1,333,005	480,251	1,813,256	1813	burnt.	burnt.	burnt.
1803	1,115,702	638,104	1,753,806	1814	1,290,248	599,287	1,889,535
1804	904,932	607,299	1,512,231	1815	1,372,108	746,985	2,119,093
1805	953,250	691,883	1,645,138	1816	1,415,723	379,465	1,795,188
1806	904,367	612,904	1,517,271	1817	1,625,121	445,011	2,070,132
1807	Records	Records	Records	1818	1,886,394	762,457	2,648,851
1808	lost.	lost.	lost.	1819	1,809,128	542,684	2,351,812
1809	938,675	759,287	1,697,962	1820	1,668,060	447,611	2,115,671
1810	896,001	1,176,243	2,072,244	1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530
1811	Rec. burnt.	Rec. burnt.	Rec. burnt.				

TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN SHIPPING FROM 1822 TO 1849, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

ENTERED INWARDS.							
Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.	Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.		Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1822	1,664,186	469,151	2,133,337	1836	2,505,473	988,899	3,494,372
1823	1,740,859	582,996	2,323,855	1837	2,617,166	1,005,940	3,623,101
1824	1,797,320	759,441	2,556,761	1838	2,785,387	1,211,666	3,997,053
1825	2,144,598	958,132	3,102,730	1839	3,101,650	1,331,365	4,433,015
1826	1,950,630	694,116	2,644,746	1840	3,197,501	1,460,294	4,657,795
1827	2,086,898	751,864	2,838,762	1841	3,361,211	1,291,165	4,652,376
1828	2,094,357	634,620	2,728,977	1842	3,294,725	1,205,303	4,500,028
1829	2,184,525	710,303	2,894,828	1843	3,545,346	1,301,950	4,847,296
1830	2,180,042	758,828	2,938,870	1844	3,647,463	1,402,138	5,049,601
1831	2,367,322	874,605	3,241,927	1845	4,310,639	1,735,079	6,045,718
1832	2,185,980	639,979	2,825,959	1846	4,294,733	1,806,282	6,101,015
1833	2,183,814	762,085	2,945,899	1847	4,492,094	2,253,939	7,196,083
1834	2,298,263	833,905	3,132,168	1848	4,565,533	1,960,412	6,525,945
1835	2,442,734	866,990	3,309,724	1849	4,884,210	2,035,690	6,919,900

appears that, under the protective system, the British tonnage employed in our trade from 1801 to 1821 had *increased* from 922,594 to 1,599,274; the foreign tonnage had *declined*, during the same period, from 780,155 to 396,256;—in other words, during these twenty-two years the proportion of British to foreign shipping had doubled. Whereas, during the next twenty-five years, from 1823 to 1848, the British tonnage had advanced from 1,664,186 tons to 4,565,533 tons; that is, increased 270 per cent nearly: but the foreign had increased from 469,151 tons to 1,960,412; that is, it had advanced about 450 per cent, or nearly twice as fast as the British during the same period. And such has been the impulse given to foreign in comparison with British shipping, since the entire repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, that the tonnage outwards of British shipping, in the month ending 5th March 1854, was 264,747, while the foreign was 223,456; in other words, they were *nearly equal*; and the growth of foreign and decline of British shipping, during the preceding three years, has been so rapid, that there is little doubt that, in a few years more, the *former will exceed the latter*. From that moment, of course, the national inde-

pendence, and maintenance of our foreign commerce, hangs by a thread; because we have nursed up a body of foreign seamen in our own harbours, and carrying on our own trade, superior in number to our own, and which may at any moment be recalled by their respective governments, and united in a league against us.*

31. This effect becomes still more conspicuous if the action of the reciprocity system on our trade with particular countries is taken into consideration. From the details of their tonnage with this country, and ours with them, it appears that, since the introduction of the reciprocity system, British tons with Sweden have declined from 23,005 tons to 7037, while Swedish tons with England have increased from 8508 to 117,918; British tons with Norway have declined from 13,855 tons to 2318, while Norwegian with British have increased from 61,342 tons to 128,075; British tons with Denmark had declined from 5312 tons to 4528 tons in 1845, while Danish tons with Great Britain have increased from 3969 tons to 84,566 tons; and British tons with Prussia had declined from 79,590 tons to 49,334 in 1845, while Prussian tons with England had increased from 37,720 tons to 256,711

* BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE FOR THE MONTH ENDING 5TH MARCH 1854, AND TWO PRECEDING YEARS.

ENTERED INWARD.			
	Tonnage for the Month ending March 5.		
	1852.	1853.	1854.
British vessels,	206,603	177,338	263,563
United States vessels, . . .	41,378	60,613	89,356
Other countries,	63,022	53,320	58,338
	311,003	291,321	411,257
CLEARANCES OUTWARD.			
	Tonnage for the Month ending March 5.		
	1852.	1853.	1854.
British vessels,	295,823	218,437	264,747
United States vessels, . . .	63,019	64,199	101,531
Other countries,	69,144	102,590	121,925
	427,986	385,226	488,203

tons.* The only country with whom the reciprocity system has been attended with effects more beneficial to British than foreign shipping has been the United States of North America; and the reason is, the high rate of wages and cost of articles of ship-building in those flourishing States. Yet even there, after twenty-eight

years' experience of the effects of the new system, British tons with America are *not* half of American with Great Britain.†

32. Where is it, then, that the trade and commerce of Great Britain have found their chief sources of prosperity during the last thirty years? and what has compensated the great dis-

* COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE INWARDS, FROM 1821 TO 1847, WITH SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK, AND PRUSSIA.

Years.	SWEDEN.		NORWAY.		DENMARK.		PRUSSIA.	
	British.	Foreign.	British.	Foreign.	British.	Foreign.	British.	Foreign.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1821	23,005	8,508	13,855	61,342	5,312	3,969	79,590	37,720
1822	20,799	13,692	13,377	87,974	7,096	3,910	102,847	58,270
1823	20,936	22,529	13,123	117,015	4,413	4,795	81,202	86,013
1824	17,074	40,092	11,419	135,272	6,738	23,689	94,664	151,621
1825	15,906	53,141	14,825	157,916	15,158	50,943	189,214	182,752
1826	11,829	16,939	13,603	90,726	22,000	56,544	119,060	120,589
1827	11,719	21,822	13,945	96,420	10,825	52,456	150,718	109,184
1828	14,877	24,700	10,826	85,771	17,404	49,293	133,753	99,195
1829	16,536	25,046	9,985	86,205	24,576	53,390	125,918	127,861
1830	12,116	23,158	6,459	84,585	12,210	51,420	102,758	139,646
1831	11,450	38,689	4,518	114,865	6,552	62,190	83,908	140,532
1832	8,335	25,755	3,789	82,155	7,268	35,772	62,079	89,187
1833	10,009	29,454	5,901	98,931	6,840	38,630	41,735	108,753
1834	15,353	35,911	6,403	98,803	5,691	53,232	32,021	118,711
1835	12,036	35,061	2,592	95,049	6,007	49,008	25,514	124,144
1836	10,865	42,439	1,573	125,875	2,152	51,907	42,567	174,439
1837	7,608	42,602	1,035	88,004	5,357	55,961	67,566	145,742
1838	10,425	38,991	1,364	110,817	3,466	57,554	86,734	175,643
1839	8,359	49,270	2,582	109,228	5,535	106,960	111,470	229,208
1840	11,953	53,337	3,161	114,241	6,327	103,067	112,709	237,984
1841	12,170	46,795	977	113,045	3,368	83,009	88,198	210,254
1842	15,296	37,218	1,385	98,979	5,499	59,837	87,202	145,499
1843	6,435	44,184	1,814	97,248	4,148	82,940	70,164	163,745
1844	12,806	59,835	1,315	125,011	7,423	123,674	108,626	220,202
1845	15,157	89,923	1,215	129,897	4,528	84,566	49,334	256,711
1846	12,625	80,649	3,313	113,738	9,531	105,973	63,425	270,801
1847	7,037	117,918	2,318	128,075	20,462	116,382	88,390	303,225

—PORTER's *Parl. Tables*, and *Parl. Report*, 3d April 1848.

† BRITISH AND AMERICAN TONNAGE IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	British.	American.	Years.	British.	American.
	Tons.	Tons.		Tons.	Tons.
1821	55,188	765,093	1835	529,922	1,352,653
1822	70,669	787,961	1836	544,774	1,255,384
1823	89,553	775,271	1837	543,020	1,299,720
1824	67,351	850,033	1838	484,702	1,302,074
1825	63,036	880,754	1839	495,353	1,491,279
1826	69,295	942,206	1840	582,424	1,576,946
1827	99,114	918,361	1841	615,623	1,631,909
1828	104,167	868,381	1842	599,502	1,510,111
1829	86,377	872,949	1843	453,894	1,443,528
1830	87,231	967,227	1844	766,747	1,977,438
1831	215,887	922,952	1845	753,882	2,035,486
1832	288,841	949,622	1846	813,287	2,151,114
1833	383,487	1,111,441	1847	993,210	2,101,350
1834	453,495	1,074,670	1848	1,177,104	2,393,482

—PORTER, 392, 3d edit.

couragement of our shipping in the traffic with the countries with which we have concluded reciprocity treaties since they came into operation? The answer is, that the compensating force has been found in the colonial trade, which, being wholly protected, has increased with such rapidity that the tonnage employed in that traffic has *more than trebled* since 1821, while that employed in the mother country has, during the same period, only advanced a half; the former having increased 350 per cent, the latter only 50.* And such has been the increase in the trade which we have carried on with our colonies, which was *all our own*, during the period when the reciprocity system was, as already shown, eating into the vitals of our traffic with other countries, that while the tonnage with so many of them has declined during the last twenty years, that employed in the colonial trade has increased 60 per cent.+

33. Mr Huskisson assigned as a reason for conceding the reciprocity system to other maritime powers, that we

were compelled to do so in order to maintain our trade with them, that our system of one-sided protection could no longer be maintained, and that the only way to induce them to take our manufactures was to relieve their shipping of the duties imposed on them. Has the result corresponded to this anticipation? Have foreign nations relaxed their prohibitory duties in consequence of the removal of all burdens of their shipping? So far from having done so, the fact is just the reverse. They have taken the benefit of the reciprocity system for their shipping, and given us nothing in return. Prussia requited Great Britain for this concession by the Zollverein, which united 25,000,000 of inhabitants of Northern Germany in a league which imposed from 30 to 50 per cent *ad valorem* duties on our manufactures; America with a fixed import duty of 30 per cent on all imports whatever. Russia, France, and the Baltic powers, who profited so largely by the reciprocity system, have made no corresponding concession on

* TONNAGE OF VESSELS BELONGING TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

Years.	United Kingdom.	Colonies.	Years.	United Kingdom.	Colonies.
	Tons.	Tons.		Tons.	Tons.
1821	2,355,853	204,350	1836	2,349,749	442,897
1822	2,315,403	203,641	1837	2,333,521	457,597
1823	2,302,867	203,893	1838	2,420,759	469,842
1824	2,343,314	211,273	1839	2,401,346	497,793
1825	2,328,807	214,875	1840	2,584,408	543,706
1826	2,411,461	224,183	1841	2,935,399	577,081
1827	2,181,138	279,362	1842	3,041,420	578,430
1828	2,193,300	324,891	1843	3,007,581	580,806
1829	2,199,959	317,041	1844	3,044,392	592,839
1830	2,201,592	330,227	1845	3,123,180	590,881
1831	2,224,356	357,608	1846	3,199,785	617,827
1832	2,261,860	356,208	1847	3,307,921	644,603
1833	2,271,301	363,276	1848	3,400,809	651,356
1834	2,312,355	403,745	1849	3,435,958	658,151
1835	2,360,303	423,458			

—PORTER, 394, 3d edit.

† TONNAGE OF BRITISH SHIPPING TO COLONIES.

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1832	1,021,892	1838	1,284,611	1844	1,576,965
1833	1,018,926	1839	1,287,506	1845	1,813,270
1834	1,081,328	1840	1,495,597	1846	1,832,552
1835	1,152,349	1841	1,529,947	1847	1,786,895
1836	1,170,650	1842	1,228,795	1848	1,659,845
1837	1,139,586	1843	1,493,955	1849	1,629,391

—PORTER, 808, 3d edit.

their side, and the consequence is, that, after thirty years' experience of the system, our exports to the Baltic powers are still a perfect trifle, and those to France and Russia put together, with their 100,000,000 of inhabitants, are not equal to what they are to our colonies in Canada and Australia, which do not yet number 2,500,000 consumers.* And with regard to America, it is a most remarkable fact, which, but for the evidence of the parliamentary records, would be incredible, that the British exports to the United States in 1815, the very year when the reciprocity treaty with them was concluded, were greater than they have ever since been, and double what, on an average of years, they now are, though they then had not a third of the inhabitants which they at present possess.†

34. It is not difficult to see what has been the cause of this most remarkable failure of the reciprocity system to procure for the country any of the advantages which its promoters anticipated, while it has realised all the evils which its opponents predicted. It is founded on an entirely erroneous

principle; and the error, when once pointed out, is so obvious that it must command the assent of every candid mind. Mr Huskisson said we must lower the duties on foreign shipping, to induce foreigners to admit our goods; and he did the first, *but he forgot to require them to do the last*. He stipulated no reduction of duties on our manufactures in return for the large concessions made to foreign shipping, and the consequence was, they took the last, and did not give the first. Thence the entire failure of his system. His principle was, equal duties on the *same article*; but that is not the principle of real reciprocity. What it should be is, *equal duties on corresponding staples*. He said to the Baltic powers, "We will admit your shipping on the same terms on which you admit ours." Nothing could be fairer in sound, nothing more unfair in substance. What he should have said was, "We will admit your ships on the same terms as you admit our *cotton and iron goods*." That would have been real reciprocity, and would at once have secured an adequate re-

* DECLARED VALUE OF BRITISH EXPORTS TO THE UNDERMENTIONED STATES
FROM 1840 TO 1849.

Years.	Russia.	Sweden.	Norway.	Denmark.	Prussia.	France.
1840	£1,602,742	£119,425	£78,016	£201,462	£219,345	£2,378,149
1841	1,607,175	197,813	117,938	191,481	363,821	2,902,002
1842	1,885,953	199,313	134,704	194,304	376,651	3,193,939
1843	1,895,519	131,302	151,377	260,176	483,004	2,534,898
1844	2,128,926	108,475	152,824	286,679	505,384	2,656,259
1845	2,153,491	123,730	163,512	258,558	577,999	2,791,238
1846	1,586,235	146,654	183,818	340,318	544,055	2,715,963
1847	1,700,733	179,367	169,149	253,701	553,968	2,554,233
1848	1,692,000	162,819	150,117	296,466	404,144	1,024,521
1849	1,379,179	185,027	182,336	353,599	428,748	1,951,269

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 364, 367.

† BRITISH EXPORTS TO AMERICA FROM 1815 TO 1848.

Years:	£	Years.	£	Years:	£
1815, . . .	13,255,374	1827, . . .	7,018,272	1838, . . .	7,585,760
1816, . . .	9,556,577	1828, . . .	5,810,315	1839, . . .	8,839,204
1817, . . .	9,930,359	1829, . . .	4,823,415	1840, . . .	5,283,020
1818, . . .	9,451,009	1830, . . .	6,132,346	1841, . . .	7,098,642
1819, . . .	4,929,815	1831, . . .	9,053,593	1842, . . .	3,528,807
1820, . . .	3,875,286	1832, . . .	5,468,679	1843, . . .	5,013,514
1821, . . .	6,214,875	1833, . . .	7,579,699	1844, . . .	7,938,079
1822, . . .	6,865,262	1834, . . .	6,844,989	1845, . . .	7,142,839
1823, . . .	5,464,874	1835, . . .	10,568,455	1846, . . .	6,830,460
1824, . . .	6,090,394	1836, . . .	12,425,605	1847, . . .	10,974,161
1825, . . .	7,018,934	1837, . . .	4,695,225	1848, . . .	9,564,909
1826, . . .	4,659,018				

—PORTER, 359, 360.

turn. To lower the duties on the *same article*, not a corresponding staple, was a natural but a total mistake.

35. Suppose, for example, that England were to say to France, "We will admit your wines on the same terms as you admit ours;" or to Russia, "We will admit your wheat on the same terms as you admit ours," it is easy to see what the result would be. But if England said to France, "We will admit your wines and silks on the same terms on which you admit our sugar and cotton goods: and to Russia, "We will admit your wheat and hemp on the same terms as you admit our colonial produce and iron," there would be a real reciprocity, and both parties would be equally benefited. The Baltic powers had obvious advantages over Great Britain in ship-building and navigating, as the materials were found at their doors, and their sailors received a third of the wages which ours did; and we had corresponding advantages in iron and cotton goods, from the coal and ironstone beneath our feet, and the machinery they enabled us to construct. Mr Huskisson should have said to their rulers, "We will lower the duties on your shipping, which is your staple, provided you lower the duties on cotton goods, which are our staple." Instead of this, he simply lowered the duties on their shipping, without asking or receiving any equivalent; and the result has been, that we have thrown away our naval superiority, and endangered our national independence, without even having the poor consolation of thinking that we have gained riches, or extended the market for our industry, in consequence.

36. Another change was commenced at this time, attended in the end with still more important effects, and which, equally with the preceding, is open to difference of opinion. This was the system of *Free Trade*, which consisted in the main in lowering or taking off altogether the duties on foreign commodities, whether of luxury or necessity, without stipulating for any corresponding advantage on our side, but looking for it merely in lowering the

price to the British consumer. In making this change, which is an entire departure from the commercial policy of the country in all preceding times, the Government could not be said either to have directed or anticipated public opinion, for the minds of the leading and most intelligent merchants in all parts of the country were made up on the subject; and so early as the year 1820, a petition had been presented to the House of Commons from the most eminent of their number in London, which set forth the main principles on this subject with a clearness and precision which never has been surpassed. The leading doctrine set forth in that memorable document was, that the "maxim of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant in his individual dealings, is strictly applicable as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation, and would render the commerce of the whole world an interchange of mutual advantages, and diffuse an increase of wealth and enjoyment among the inhabitants of each state.

37. "That, unfortunately, a policy the very reverse of this has been and is more or less adopted and acted upon by the Government of this and every other country, each trying to exclude the productions of other countries, with the specious and well-meant design of encouraging its own productions, thus inflicting on the bulk of its own subjects, who are consumers, the necessity of submitting to privations in the quantity or quality of commodities, and thus rendering what ought to be the source of mutual benefit and of harmony among states a constantly recurring occasion of jealousy and hostility. That the prevailing prejudices in favour of the protective or restrictive system may be traced to the erroneous supposition that every importation of foreign commodities occasions a diminution or discouragement of our own productions to the same extent; whereas it may be clearly shown, that although the particular species of production which could not stand against foreign competition would be discour-

aged, yet as no importation could be continued for any length of time without a corresponding exportation, direct or indirect, there would be an encouragement for the purpose of that exportation of some other commodity to which our situation might be better suited,—thus affording at least an equal, and probably a greater, and certainly a more beneficial, employment to our own capital and labour.

38. “Among the numerous evils of the protective system, not the least is that the artificial protection of one branch of industry or source of protection against foreign competition, is set up as a ground of claim by other branches for similar protection, so that if the reasoning upon which restriction or prohibitory regulations are founded were followed out consistently, it would not stop short of excluding us from all foreign commerce whatsoever. And the same train of argument which, with corresponding prohibitions and protective duties, would exclude us from foreign trade, might be brought forward to justify the re-enactment of restrictions upon the interchange of productions unconnected with public revenue among the kingdoms composing the Union, or among the different counties of the same kingdom. An investigation of the effects of the restrictive system would show that the distress which now so generally prevails is considerably aggravated by that system, and that some relief might be obtained by the earliest practicable removal of such of the restraints as may be shown to be most injurious to the capital and industry of the community, and to be attended with no compensating benefit to the public revenue. Nothing would tend more to counteract the commercial hostility of foreign states than the adoption of a more enlightened and more conciliatory policy on the part of this country.

39. “Although, as a matter of mere diplomacy, it may sometimes answer to hold out the removal of particular prohibitions or high duties as depending upon corresponding concessions by other States in our favour, it does not follow that we should maintain our

restrictions in cases where the desired concessions on their part must be obtained; our restrictions would not be the less prejudicial to our own capital and industry, because other governments persisted in preserving impolitic regulations. Independent of the direct benefit to be derived by this country, on every occasion of such concession or recognition, a great incidental object would be gained by the recognition of a sound principle or standard to which all subsequent arrangements might be referred, and by the salutary influence which the promulgation of such just views by the legislature, and by the nation at large, could not fail to have on the legislation of foreign states. As long as the necessity for the present amount of revenue subsists, it cannot be expected that so important a branch of it as the Customs should be given up or materially diminished, unless some substitute for it, less objectionable, be suggested. But it is against every restrictive regulation of trade not essential to the revenue, against all duties merely protective against foreign competition, and against the excess of such duties as are partly for the purposes of revenue, partly for that of protection, that the prayer of the present petition is respectfully submitted to the wisdom of Parliament.”

40. This petition is well worthy of attention, as it is the first statement of the great doctrine of FREE TRADE, which since that time has made so entire a revolution in the commercial policy of the country, and with which, for good or for evil, the destinies of Great Britain in future times are now irrevocably wound up. The general doctrine was never afterwards more briefly and ably stated than it thus was in the beginning of this great debate by Mr Tooke, who drew up the petition. Its coming from the *merchants* of London is a markworthy and significant circumstance. It indicates the advent of a period when the commercial body were not content to take the regulations affecting their interests from the hands of the legislature, but thought for themselves, and approached Parliament rather as teachers than

suppliants. Its subsequent adoption as a part of the settled policy of the country proves that the time was approaching when the commercial interests were to gain the ascendancy over the producing, and when every other interest was to be sacrificed to those of cheapness in production, profit in sale, and economy in consumption. Whatever may be thought of these principles, upon which the opinions of men will probably be divided to the end of the world, according as they belong to the buying and selling or producing class, one thing is clear, that it came from the country, not the Government; and that they are not so much to be ascribed to the influence of any individuals, however powerful, as to the immense growth of the commercial class in society, which enabled it to command the press, influence the majority of Parliament, and obtain the general direction of public opinion.

41. So accustomed had the people of England been to regard protection to native industry as part and parcel of their constitution, that they did not for a considerable number of years perceive the danger which threatened it; and for long the doctrines of Free Trade made progress in Parliament, and in the country, without any sensible opposition. As long as the Corn Laws were not openly assailed, the landholders were quiescent; when the duties were kept upon foreign sugars, the West India interest said nothing; the complaints of the shipowners as to the working of the reciprocity system produced no general impression, as they affected only a limited class of society. But at length, when every producing interest found itself threatened, a fierce and long-continued controversy commenced; and the arguments of the Free-Traders in and out of Parliament were met by the following considerations:

42. The principle that to buy cheap and sell dear is the great secret for growing rich, is undoubtedly true of the commercial class, which lives by buying and selling; and it may with safety be applied to small states without any territory, or a very small one,

such as Tyre and Athens in ancient, or Holland or Venice in modern times, which have grown great and powerful by the operations of commerce. In such a state, the consumers live not upon the producers, for the latter are next to none, but upon the traders; and, of course, any system of policy which benefits the latter is for the interest also of the former. But Great Britain stands in a very different situation. It is not merely a buying and selling, but it is also a producing state, and the interests of the classes which live by production are much greater than those which depend on commerce. Even in Great Britain itself, the seat of nearly all our commerce and manufactures, the wealth produced annually by the agricultural class is greater than that produced by all branches of the trading and manufacturing classes put together. That produced yearly by the former amounts to £300,000,000, by the latter to only £180,000,000; the property-tax paid by the former is £2,681,655 a-year, that from the latter only £1,541,970. In Ireland the disproportion is infinitely greater: its rental is £13,000,000, and its exports of manufactures only £260,000. If to this is added the immense revenues which the inhabitants of this country draw from the colonies, which, being young and rising states, are mainly dependent on production, it may safely be affirmed that the interests in the united empire dependent on production are at least triple those which rest on buying and selling. To apply, then, the principles rightly followed by a merchant in his private dealings, or a merely mercantile city in its general policy, to a mixed empire such as Great Britain, in which the great interests are dependent on production, is a total misapplication of a maxim, just in certain circumstances, which cannot fail to lead to the most dangerous consequences.

43. In a country so constituted, the commercial class itself is mainly dependent on the producing; and the principle of buying cheap and selling dear may, if pushed to extremes, prove the ruin of the class which introduced

it. No merchant can, for any length of time, sell dear, unless he has rich purchasers of his commodities; and if they become impoverished in the end, by a system by which he was in the first instance enriched, he will not find that his profitable sales will long continue. Of the £180,000,000 worth of manufactures produced in 1823 in Great Britain, two-thirds, or £120,000,000 worth was taken off by the home market. This home market itself is mainly dependent upon the producing classes. It is in vain for either the merchants or manufacturers in towns to imagine that they can be durably enriched by a system which goes to impoverish their customers. They may be so in the first instance, but the effect must ere long react upon themselves; for how are the customers to continue their purchases if their means of doing so are taken away?

44. At first sight, indeed, the consumers appear to constitute a class apart from producers; and there can be no doubt that their interests, in the first instance, are far from being identical; for the interest of the former is to buy cheap, of the latter to sell dear. It is on this opposition of interests that the whole theory of Free Trade is founded; because, it is said, the consumers constitute the entire body of society, and therefore their interests must prevail over those of the producers, who can never be more than a part. But this argument is more specious than sound, and utterly fails when the bottom of things is looked to. Consumers must have something wherewith to buy the articles of consumption; and whence does that something come? Entirely from the class of producers, in their own or some other country. The fundholder, the bondholder, the banker, the shopkeeper, the pensioner, the soldier, the sailor, the merchant, the shipowner, the shareholder, all depend on the producers. Let production cease in the British Islands for one year, and what will be the value of all its realised wealth—what the condition of the whole class of consumers? It is the producers who originally create the wealth which, worked

up in a thousand forms, afterwards sustains and nourishes all the other classes of society. They are like the fruit of a tree, which draws its nourishment from the ground; sever the trunk from its root, and where will be the produce of its branches?

45. The argument that, under a system of Free Trade, every nation will be brought to take to that species of industry for which nature has given it peculiar advantages, and thus the whole industry of the world will be turned into the right direction, might have some weight if all nations were of the same age, and enjoyed the same political institutions. But the diversity which exists in these respects renders it a vain chimera. How is the young state, without capital, credit, or mechanical skill, to compete in urban industry with the old one, grown grey in the pursuits of trade, and abounding in everything which can add facilities to manufactures, or cause commerce to flourish? It is in vain to say, Let them take to different pursuits, each to its own, and then they will never clash. Nations will not continue chained always to one branch of industry, any more than an individual will remain chained to one pursuit. Interests, pursuits, objects of industry, change with the growth of nations as well as that of individuals; an agricultural nation will not always remain agricultural, any more than a fox-hunter will always remain a fox-hunter, or a cricket-player always play at cricket. The Americans have greater advantages than any nation in the world for agriculture; but before the years of their minority were past, they were striving to become commercial, and now an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent protects every species of manufacture, and their trade exceeds that of any country in the world, Great Britain alone excepted. It is the same with Russia, Prussia, France, and all the principal agricultural states in the world. They are all striving to become commercial, and to effect this by adopting the prohibitory system, by which we have risen to greatness. Turkey is the only exception; it has

long adopted the Free-trade policy in its full extent, because the Mussulmans, who rule the state, are all the denizens of towns, and have no interest in the productions of the country; and the decay of the Ottoman empire has been the consequence.

46. The inevitable effect of adopting the Free-trade principle, for any length of time, by an old State, always has been, and always must be, that the agriculture of that State is destroyed, its independence endangered, and at length its existence terminated. This it was which occasioned the fall of Rome: this it is which will occasion the destruction, in the end, of the British empire. The reason is to be found in a cause of universal application and irresistible force; but so simple and familiar, that, like an apple falling to the ground, men were long of seeing the explanation of the mighty phenomenon, which lies in a matter of daily occurrence. It is this, that everything which is plentiful, and money among the rest, *becomes cheap*. The necessary effect of this cheapening of money is, that everything else becomes dear in the rich State; and thence, under the Free-trade system, the ruin of its agricultural industry. Riches are only to be found in such quantities, in a realised and accumulated form, in an old State, where they have been the growth of centuries of industry; in the young and rising one, the accumulation has not yet taken place, and money is comparatively scarce. A permanent and unalterable law of nature renders it as impossible for the rich nation to compete with the poor one in the production of the fruits of the soil, as for the poor one to compete with the rich in the production of the finer manufactures. Steam, almost omnipotent in the latter, is to a great extent powerless in the former; England can undersell all nations in cotton manufactures, wrought up out of a vegetable growing on the banks of the Mississippi or Ganges; but she is undersold by the serfs of Poland, the fellahs of Egypt, and the cultivators of America,

in the production of food for the use of man. Thence the inevitable result of Free Trade, if established on both sides, to ruin the agriculture of the rich and the manufactures of the poor one; and this is what has invariably happened when an approach even to such a system has taken place. It may be quite true that the weight of towns, in the later stages of society, often becomes such, that the change is unavoidable, and it is forced even upon the most reluctant Government; but it is not on that account the less fatal, and the passion for it is the mortal disease which conducts the nation by slow degrees to the tomb.

47. Such is a brief and imperfect abstract of the debate on this great question, as it was *at last* evolved on both sides; for the importance and ultimate bearings of the question, and its inevitable results, were not in the first instance perceived by the disputants on either. The future volumes of this History will contain ample materials for forming a judgment which of the set of arguments is the better founded; but, in the mean time, it may be remarked, that the result proves that there was much truth in the prognostications on both sides. For, from the returns of the exports, imports, and importations of grain, during the seven years preceding and the seven years following the entire adoption of Free Trade by the Act of 1846, it appears that the exports, measured by official value, which indicates the quantity, have increased above 100 per cent, the imports about 90 per cent, while the imports of grain of all sorts from abroad have more than quadrupled, having now reached an average of nearly ten millions of quarters a-year, being a full third of the consumption of our people; while the falling off in domestic production, during the same period, may be guessed at, from the decline of importation of grain from Ireland into Great Britain, which has sunk above a half, pending the vast increase from other quarters; and the exportation of human beings, chiefly agricultural labourers, has reached the enormous

amount of 350,000 a-year from the two islands.*

48. These immense results of the new system, however, did not develop themselves fully for a quarter of a century after this period; and the measures tending to Free Trade which Mr Huskisson introduced, in relation to our manufactures, were such as were obviously wise, and must command the assent of every reasonable mind. The silk manufacture was the first branch of manufacturing industry to which the new system was applied. This manufacture, which had owed its origin in England to the barbarous revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., which drove many thousands of the best French operatives into exile, had prospered to a very great degree, especially at Spitalfields, near London, and Macclesfield, in Staffordshire; and it had come, in 1823, to consume 1,200,000 lb. of the raw material, and gave employment to 40,000 persons. The English silks, however, were dearer than the French, chiefly in consequence of the heavy duties on the importation of foreign silk, which was intended to encourage the growth of silk in Hin-

dostan; and it was generally said—at least by ladies—that they were inferior in quality; though the inferiority could not have been very great, since, when they were exported to France, as they often were, and reimported into this country as French goods, they excited unbounded admiration as the production of Lyons or Rouen. The extreme distress which pervaded the country, however, from 1819 to the end of 1822, in consequence of the contraction of the currency, had so affected this branch of manufacture that the wages of the operatives had sunk from 30s. a-week to 11s.; and even at these miserably low prices the importation, by means of smuggling, had become so considerable that the home market was in a manner lost to our manufacturers.

49. In this disastrous state of affairs, the silk-manufacturers, in 1823, soon after Mr Huskisson came into office, presented a petition to Government, praying for a removal of the duties on the importation of the raw material—a circumstance which enabled him to make the well-founded boast, that “the trade had been the first to suggest the removal of these restrictions; and he

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, IMPORTS OF GRAIN FROM ALL THE WORLD, AND FROM IRELAND. INTO GREAT BRITAIN, AND EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN EVERY YEAR FROM 1838 TO 1853, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Imports into United Kingdom. Official Value.	British and Irish Exports. Official Value.	Imports of wheat into Great Britain. Quarters.	Imports of all kinds of grain. Quarters.	Imports of grain from Ireland to Great Britain. Quarters.	Emigration from United Kingdom.
1838	£61,268,320	£92,459,231	1,834,452	..	8,474,302	83,222
1839	62,004,000	97,402,726	2,590,734	..	2,242,841	62,207
1840	67,432,964	102,705,372	2,389,732	..	2,327,964	90,743
1841	64,377,962	102,130,517	2,619,702	..	2,855,525	118,592
1842	65,204,729	100,260,101	2,977,302	..	2,538,221	128,344
1843	70,093,353	117,877,278	982,287	..	3,206,483	57,212
1844	85,441,555	131,564,503	1,021,681	..	2,801,206	70,686
1845	85,281,958	134,599,116	313,245	..	3,251,901	93,501
1846†	75,953,875	132,238,345	2,943,926	..	1,814,802	129,851
1847	90,921,866	126,130,986	4,612,111	11,912,864	963,779	258,270
1848	93,547,134	132,617,681	2,193,755	7,528,472	1,946,417	248,089
1849	105,874,607	164,539,504	5,634,344	10,669,661	1,426,397	299,498
1850	100,460,433	175,416,709	4,830,263	9,019,590	1,232,141	280,849
1851	110,679,125	190,653,314	5,330,412	9,618,026	1,121,362	335,966
1852	109,345,409	196,216,610	4,164,603	7,746,669	921,427	368,764
1853	123,099,313	214,327,452	6,235,860	10,173,135	1,123,178	329,937

† Free Trade introduced April 1846.

—PORTER, 128, 140, 345, 354; *Statistical Abstract*, x. 38, 39, 89; M'CULLOCH'S *Commercial Dictionary*, Art. “Imports and Exports;” *Edinburgh Review*, April 1854, 583.

was confident they would be nearly the first to rejoice in the adoption of their proposal." The bill to lower the duties on foreign silk was introduced first in 1823; but after passing the Commons, it was thrown out in the Lords, chiefly from the influence of Lord Eldon, who was averse to this as to every other innovation. In the following year the bill, however, was again introduced, supported by a petition from the principal silk-manufacturers in and around London. On the other hand, the owners of silk mills petitioned against any change; and Mr Buxton presented a petition, signed by 23,000 operative silk-weavers of the metropolis, who prayed that "the prohibition of the importation of foreign-wrought silks might not be removed." Pressed in this manner on both sides, it was no easy matter for Government to know what to do. At length, however, as often occurs in such cases, a compromise was agreed to, by which the duty on imported raw silk was reduced from 5s. 7½d. a lb. to 3d. on all raw silk which did come from Bengal, and 4s. on all that did not. The duty on thrown silk was lowered from 14s. 8d. to 7s. 6d. per lb.; and the prohibition against the importation of foreign-wrought silks was continued till July 1826, after which they were to be admitted at an *ad valorem* duty of 30 per cent. There can be no doubt of the wisdom of these changes. Raw silk is not a natural production of this country, and, from the climate, never can be; and therefore the levying of a heavy duty on foreign raw silk was nothing

but a gratuitous burden on the springs of manufacturing industry.* Improvement in domestic fabrics is not to be expected, unless the taste is chastened and ingenuity called forth by foreign competition; and the protecting duty of 30 per cent seems amply sufficient to compensate the difference between the value of money and wages of labour in this and foreign states. Accordingly, the results have justified these anticipations; for, although the export of wrought silks fell off for some years after the change was introduced, in consequence of the changes in the currency, yet it afterwards rapidly increased, and is now nearly three times what it was in 1824, when the change was introduced; and what is still more remarkable, a considerable part of these exports has been to France itself.

50. The same principles were soon after applied to the woollen manufacture. As this had always been a staple branch of our manufactures, no duty had ever been laid on foreign wool till 1803, and then it was only ¼d. a lb. In 1819, however, Mr Vansittart, in order to relieve the agricultural interest, then suffering severe depression from the contraction of the currency, raised the import duty to 6d. per lb.; and this great advance seriously aggravated the distress of the woollen-manufacturers, which had been sufficiently great before. In 1824, Mr Huskisson wisely retraced the steps of Government; and as the agricultural interest was now in a state of comparative prosperity, he reverted to the former duty of ¼d. a lb. on common

* EXPORTS OF WROUGHT SILKS FROM 1823 TO 1849.

Years.	£	Years.	£	Years.	£
1823, . . .	351,409	1832, . . .	529,990	1841, . . .	788,894
1824, . . .	442,596	1833, . . .	737,404	1842, . . .	590,189
1825, . . .	296,786	1834, . . .	636,419	1843, . . .	667,952
1826, . . .	168,801	1835, . . .	972,031	1844, . . .	736,455
1827, . . .	236,844	1836, . . .	917,822	1845, . . .	766,405
1828, . . .	255,870	1837, . . .	503,673	1846, . . .	837,577
1829, . . .	267,931	1838, . . .	777,820	1847, . . .	985,626
1830, . . .	521,010	1839, . . .	868,118	1848, . . .	588,117
1831, . . .	578,874	1840, . . .	792,648	1849, . . .	998,334

Of which to France—

Years.	£
1842, . . .	181,924
1845, . . .	189,772
1846, . . .	172,424

foreign wool, and 1d. on the finer sort; and English growers were to be permitted to export British wool on a duty of 1d. a lb. The result has demonstrated the wisdom of the change; for, while the Parliamentary Returns prove that the import of foreign wool has tripled since it was introduced, and the export of woollen manufactures has increased 50 per cent, it has been established in evidence before the House of Lords, that the wool grown in Great Britain and Ireland has increased, since 1800, from 94,000,000 to 145,000,000 lb., or about 50 per cent also.*

51. These results of the first application of the principles of Free Trade to the commercial interests of Great Britain, point in a clear manner to the effects of that application, and the limitations under which the general doctrine is to be received. It is clearly expedient to lower the import duties upon the raw materials employed in our manufactures, especially if that raw material is the produce of different climates from our own, because that is lightening the springs of manufacturing industry, without adding to the load on agricultural. Even on articles which we rear in common with other States, but use in manufactures, it is expedient to keep on such duties only as may put our producers on a level with those in other States, and compensate any inequality arising from difference

in climate or local advantages. On this principle, the reduction of the duties on raw silk and foreign wool, and on wrought silk, was undoubtedly expedient. But to go farther than this, and apply the same principle to those great branches of industry on which the subsistence and independence of the country depend, such as food and shipping, in which no manufacturing skill or application of machinery can materially lower the cost of production—and in which, from the quantity of manual labour employed, the rich State, where money is plentiful, and therefore wages high, will always be undersold by the poor State, where money is scarce, and therefore wages low—is to apply it in a manner which must always be dangerous, and may in time come to peril the very existence of the empire.

52. When so many advances were in the course of being made towards the establishment of general freedom in commerce and industry, it was impossible that the restrictions which affected the most important of them all—the market of labour—could longer be maintained. These restrictions were chiefly on the emigration of artisans, combination among workmen at home, and the exportation of machinery. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed on the motion of Mr Hume, which reported that the laws restraining both the emigra-

* ENGLISH EXPORTS OF WOOLLEN GOODS AND IMPORTS OF FOREIGN WOOL, FROM 1819 TO 1849.

Years.	Exports.	Imports. Pounds of Wool.	Years.	Exports.	Imports. Pounds of Wool.
1819	£5,984,130	16,100,970	1835	£6,840,511	42,172,532
1820	5,586,138	9,775,605	1836	7,639,353	64,239,977
1821	6,462,866	16,622,567	1837	4,655,977	48,379,708
1822	6,488,167	19,058,080	1838	5,795,069	52,594,355
1823	5,636,586	19,366,725	1839	6,271,645	57,379,923
1824	6,043,051	22,564,485	1840	5,327,853	49,436,284
1825	6,185,648	43,816,966	1841	5,748,673	56,170,974
1826	4,966,879	15,989,112	1842	5,185,045	45,881,639
1827	5,245,649	29,115,341	1843	6,790,232	49,243,093
1828	5,069,741	30,236,059	1844	8,204,836	65,713,761
1829	4,587,603	21,516,649	1845	7,693,118	76,813,855
1830	4,728,666	32,305,314	1846	6,335,102	65,255,462
1831	5,232,013	31,652,029	1847	6,896,038	62,592,598
1832	5,214,478	28,142,489	1848	5,733,828	70,864,847
1833	6,294,432	38,046,087	1849	7,342,723	76,768,647
1834	5,736,870	46,455,232			

tion of artisans and the combinations among workmen should be repealed. The report stated, what was undoubtedly the truth, that it was impossible to prevent the emigration of skilled workmen, who were liable to penalties if they emigrated, of whom sixteen thousand had left the country in the two preceding years, and that the only effect of the existing laws was, that they were prevented from coming back, from dread of being punished. The justice of these observations could not be denied, and accordingly a bill, repealing all the laws against the emigration of artisans, passed into law with general concurrence. The report at the same time recommended the abolition of all laws against combinations, which were at once swept away by one statute passed in this year, without providing any adequate safeguard against the abuses which might take place under the new privileges conferred upon the workmen.

53. The effects of the last measure were to the last degree disastrous, and much exceeded any that had been anticipated by the opponents of the change. The operatives made the worst use, in the first instance at least, of the powers thus conferred upon them. No sooner was the Act passed, than combinations on the greatest scale, and attended with the most ruinous results, arose in all the manufacturing districts. Impressed with the idea, which they have never since ceased to entertain, that the profits of their employers were an unwarrantable encroachment upon the remuneration of their industry, and that by strikes the usurped part might be reclaimed, combinations to effect this object instantly arose in every direction. The whole manufacturing cities and districts were in a ferment, and combinations were everywhere formed, for the purpose of raising wages by means of strikes, or preventing them falling by the same means. The extent to which these combinations spread, the unity of their proceedings, the perfect system of organisation which they attained, would not be credited if not brought home to the knowledge of all by dear-

bought experience. No army was ever more thoroughly organised, no discipline more completely established, the commands of no commander-in-chief or despot more rigorously enforced. From July 1824, when the bill repealing the Combination Laws was passed, till the January following, scarce any trade was at work in Manchester or Glasgow. Cotton-spinners, powerloom weavers, wrights, masons, tailors, mechanics, artisans of all sorts, struck in a body, and continued for months in a state of idleness. The direction of these immense bodies of men was assumed by committees, who exercised their authority, and enforced obedience to their commands, by the most arbitrary measures. Contumely, threats, intimidation, violence, were in the first instance employed. If these failed, the dagger and the torch were without hesitation resorted to. Fire-raising and murder were formally enjoined by the committees, and executed by the assassins in their employment; and then began the atrocious system of throwing vitriol in the faces of the recusants, and inflicting wounds worse than death itself on such as did not yield implicit obedience to their commands. So excessive did these evils become, that, early in the next session of Parliament, Mr Huskisson, after describing the defects of the former Act, introduced a bill for the better regulation of the subject, which still continues the law of the land. By it, while all the old laws against combinations, either of masters or men, are repealed, all attempts at intimidation or violence are rigorously proscribed, and a power of summary conviction is conferred upon justices of peace and other magistrates, on the evidence of one credible witness, and with a power of inflicting three months' imprisonment.

54. This subject, from the frequent use which has since been, and still continues to be, made of the powers then conferred upon the workmen, has become one of the very greatest importance, and still occupies the anxious attention both of Government and the country. The argument in favour of

the repeal is undoubtedly very strong. It is evident, it is said, that when the cheapening system is generally introduced, and fostered by foreign competition with countries where the cost of the necessaries of life is not half what it is here, strenuous efforts must be made to prevent the wages of labour from being beat down in this country, otherwise the condition of the workmen in it will become miserable in the extreme. But how is this contest to be maintained, if combinations to keep up wages are prohibited? They are the mode in which the principle of competition acts in the later stages of society. When great capital has accumulated in a few hands, and they have the means of easily combining together, it is a mere mockery to say that workmen are not to be allowed to combine also, and meet the weight of overgrown capital by the pressure of accumulated numbers. The violence, intimidation, and suffering which often attend such strikes are to be regretted, and, when proved, should be severely punished; but it is not owing to the strikes themselves, so much as to the unjust laws which denounce them. They act as the fiscal regulations which convert the honest trader into a smuggler; they expose him to danger and therefore steep him in crime. Threats and violence are resorted to, because open and peaceable abstinence from labour is not permitted. Let the latter be legalised, and the former, being no longer required, will not be resorted to.

55. On the other hand, the argument against such combinations presents considerations of not less weight. Of all the social evils, it is said, incident to an advanced and prosperous state of manufacturing industry, combinations among workmen are the greatest. Plague, pestilence, famine, are light evils in comparison, for they, in their worst form, affect a portion of the people only; but combinations ruin the whole, and paralyse for months together entire cities and countries for no interest or advantage to the wretched persons who are involved in them, but solely for the benefit of the committee-men and agitators, who get 40s. a-week

from the joint funds as long as the strike continues. It is hard to say whether they do most mischief from the spirit in which they are conducted, or the habits which they induce. Intimidation and violence are the methods which they invariably resort to for the accomplishment of their ends; and the multitude, interested in the object in view, soon come to regard without remorse any methods which may be resorted to for their attainment. Nowhere is the principle so soon adopted that the end will justify the means; and in a very short time the passive crowd comes to regard the commission of the greatest crimes done in pursuance of the common object, not only without regret, but with desire. The sufferings and privations which multitudes are compelled to undergo in order to forward the ambitious designs of their leaders, often come to equal anything recorded in the darkest days of history—the siege of Jerusalem, or the blockade of Harlem; but vain are all efforts of the suffering majority to resist the mandates of the interested few to whom they have intrusted their fate. Worse even than present suffering, habits are acquired, during the long and dreary months of compulsory idleness, fatal to the morals and character of a large portion of the people; for what ruins all classes so much as want of occupation, and what so effectually as idleness pervading great numbers together? The true principle of competition is that which obtains between workmen taken singly and their masters, for then the intervention of the fatal middlemen, the delegates and committee-men, is prevented, and mutual interest alone regulates the rate of wages. The masters will never forego the labour of their workmen when it can be employed to advantage, and therefore wages will always rise when the state of the market permits it—a fall is only to be apprehended when it is unavoidable, and when reduced wages are a substitute for entire cessation of employment.

56. So strong are the arguments, and so pressing the interests, dependent on

the permission of combinations among workmen, that it is probable they will never be prevented in an advanced state of society; and yet so completely have the anticipations of their opponents been realised, that there is nothing which invariably proves so pregnant a source of evil. Not only have all the mischiefs which were prognosticated from their being authorised, been realised, but many others which could not have been anticipated have been experienced. Strikes, from having been legalised, have abated nothing of their frequency and violent character; but they have extended over a wider surface, become the result more of combined action, and grown to be more formidable both from their magnitude, their means of resistance, and the multitudes involved in them. Not only have there occurred, every three or four years since the Act was passed, great strikes, which have involved fifty or sixty thousand human beings for months together in the very extremity of wretchedness, and cost severally £400,000 or £500,000 to the country, but assassinations, assaults, and arsons have been regularly organised, and enjoined by secret and unknown committees, as a part of the regular course of operations.* It is true, the greater part of these *great* strikes have proved unsuccessful, and terminated in the defeat of the workmen, after their last rag had been pawned, and their last morsel of bread consumed; but is it any consolation to the friend of mankind that such sufferings have been endured by innocent multitudes, or that a state of things continues which insures their frequent return? For experience has proved, that so far from the bad success of such strikes preventing their recurrence, the case is just the reverse, and that no amount of experience has the effect of preventing the combined workmen from again engaging in these perilous conflicts with their employers. At

this moment (April 1854), thirty years after the Combination Laws have been repealed, a strike at Preston has endured thirty-seven weeks, kept fifteen thousand operatives during that time out of bread, involved forty thousand persons and their families in ruin, and inflicted a loss of not less than half a million sterling on an industrious community.

57. The reason of this is threefold, and of such a kind as would not be anticipated by persons not practically acquainted with such transactions. In the first place, the vast majority of the combined unions are simple operatives of little capacity, except in their own trade, easily deluded, and who readily fall under the government of their delegates and committees, who are generally men of talent, with a considerable command of language and popular topics, and who have a constant interest to renew or perpetuate these contests, because, during their continuance, they are men of consequence, and enjoy ample incomes from the funds of the association. In the second place, so far is the general opinion from being well founded that strikes are always unfortunate, that the fact is just the reverse; in the great majority of instances they are successful, and it is the knowledge of this which renders their recurrence so frequent. It is true, *great* strikes, which last long and become known, are generally unsuccessful, because they originate in the attempt to keep up wages in adversity at the level which they had previously attained in prosperity — an attempt obviously hopeless, because, in such cases, it is for the interest of the masters to keep the men off their hands, but which the ruling committees easily persuade their followers is just as likely to prove successful as the previous strikes during a rise of prices had been. Every great strike which lasts for months, and attracts notice, has been preceded by numerous *little strikes* which lasted only days, and had been ended by the submission of the masters, because it was for the interest of the latter, during the rise of prices, to keep their workmen employed, but by

* See SWINTON'S *Report of the Cotton-Spinners' Trial at Edinburgh, in January 1838* (Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1840), where a full account of this nefarious system is given from the evidence of the persons engaged in the conspiracy.

which a great rise of wages had been brought about. In the third place, most combinations have it for their main object to establish an equality in the remuneration of labour; that is, to prevent the industrious and active from earning more than can be attained by the indolent or inattentive. This, of course, meets with general support, because the majority of men in all professions are of the latter description. If, by strikes, the members of the bar could prevent any leading counsel from earning more than five guineas a-day, or, by strikes among doctors, any consulting physician from making more than the same sum, and insure it to all members of the profession, however idle or unskilful, there would be no want of them in the learned professions.

58. In truth, the necessity of combinations, to enable operative workmen to compete with overgrown capital on the one hand, and the dreadful evils inseparable from their being carried into effect on the other, are both so obvious that the serious attention of the Government to the subject is imperatively called for. And the following system—the result of much reflection, and not a little experience on the author's part—would probably go far to remedy the evils so generally felt: Without making any change in the law as it at present stands, except to augment the powers of the magistrate on summary conviction in such cases, let a body of central police be established at the disposal of Government, ready to be sent down at a moment's warning to any district where a serious strike has commenced. At other times, when not so required, it might be usefully employed in garrison or other home duties, and thus augment, to a certain degree, the defensive force of the country. The moment a strike begins, they should come down to the menaced district in such numbers as at once to put an end to all ideas of resistance, to protect effectually the new hands willing to work below the rates which the strike is contending for, and to enable the magistrate to act at once, and with

vigour, against persons concerned in acts of intimidation or violence.

59. Two or three thousand men would be amply sufficient for the whole island; and they would probably save the nation ten times the expense of their maintenance. Nearly the whole evils of strikes would be prevented by this expedient, while their beneficial effects, in enabling the workmen to compete with the masters, would not be interfered with. Intimidation and violence are the weapons on which, however they may disclaim them, all strikes in reality in the end rely; and if they are deprived of them, they will become impotent and harmless. Physical strength, the force of numbers, is what constitutes their power, and renders them so formidable; discipline, organisation, and a central force, are what alone can be trusted to meet the dangers with which they are fraught. None are so deeply interested, in reality, in their being effectually combated as the workmen themselves; for every great and protracted strike is invariably the parent of some new invention, which supercedes the human hand in some great department of employment, and trenches deeply on their means of support in future times. And when it is recollected that there are twelve thousand admirable police maintained in Ireland at a cost of £530,000 a-year to the consolidated fund of Great Britain, it is evident that the people of this country have a good claim for the expenditure of a third of this sum, to save themselves from the continuance of evils greater than ever flowed from Irish recklessness or crime.

60. Hitherto the narrative of the years 1823 and 1824 has been nothing but an unbroken stream of prosperity, and of the financial reductions and legislative changes consequent on such an auspicious state of things. The prospect, however, was by no means unclouded, and in some parts of the empire the seeds of evil were springing up in rank luxuriance. The West Indies were beginning to be shaken by the efforts of the benevolent but deluded philanthropists who desired to

bring about the instant emancipation of the Negro race, and the great contest had already commenced between the planters and the Imperial Legislature which was destined, after ten years' duration, to terminate in the entire abolition of slavery, for good or for evil, in those splendid settlements. Ireland was convulsed with more than its usual share of outrage and general suffering; and an association had been formed, under the name of the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, guided by the ablest orators of that persuasion, which afterwards became so formidable an instrument in the hands of the disaffected in that distracted country. The first of these topics, however, will more suitably come under discussion in a future chapter, which treats of the vast changes at this time, and for some years afterwards, in the colonial empire of Great Britain; and the second, in the next, which will be chiefly occupied with the chain of causes and effects which terminated in Catholic Emancipation. Enough remains of domestic misfortune in Great Britain during the succeeding years to arrest the attention of the annalist, and point out, for the instruction of future times, the dangers of the mistaken system of policy in which it originated.

61. The year 1825 opened under the most auspicious circumstances. It cannot be better painted than in the eloquent words of Lord Dudley and Ward, who moved the address in answer to the King's speech in the House of Lords on February 3d. "Our present prosperity," he observed, "is a prosperity extending to all orders, all professions, and all districts, enhanced and invigorated by the flourishing state of all those arts which minister to human comfort, and by those inventions by which man seems to have obtained the mastery over nature by the application of her own powers, and which, if one had ventured to foretell it a few years ago, would have appeared altogether incredible, but which, now realised, though not perfected, presents to us fresh prospects and a more astonishing career. There never was a time when the spirit of

useful improvement, not only in the arts, but in all the details of domestic administration, whether carried on by the public or by individuals, was so high. That world, too, which had first been opened to us by the genius of a great man, but afterwards closed for centuries by the absurd and barbarous policy of Spain, has, as it were, been rediscovered in our days. The last remnant of the veil which concealed it from the observation and intercourse of mankind has just been torn away, and we see it abounding not only in those metals which first allured the avarice of needy adventurers, but in those more precious productions which sustain life and animate industry, and cheering the mind of the philosopher and statesman with boundless possibilities of reciprocal advantages in civilisation and commerce. A great historian and statesman, after describing what appeared to him to be, and, according to the imperfect ideas of those times, undoubtedly was, a period of great prosperity, still complained that there was wanting a proper sense and acknowledgment of these blessings. That of which Lord Clarendon complained is not wanting now; the people of England feel and acknowledge their happiness; the public contentment is upon a level with the public prosperity. We have learned, too, from what source these blessings flow. All the complaints of the decay of our manufactures from the change of system have proved fallacious. We no longer dread the rivalry of the foreigner in our own markets; we can undersell him in his own. The silk manufacture, since it was freed from shackles, has increased almost as fast as the cotton, which has been always free from them. We have now been fully taught that the great commercial prosperity of England has arisen, not from our commercial restrictions, but grown up in spite of them."

62. The contemporary annalists have recorded facts which demonstrate that this glowing picture was not the creation of the orator's imagination, but the faithful portrait of the time in

which he lived. "Agricultural distress," says the *Annual Register*, "has disappeared; the persons engaged in the cotton and woollen manufactures are in full employment; the various branches of the iron trade are in a state of activity; on all sides new buildings are in a state of erection, and money is so abundant that men of enterprise, though without capital, find no difficulty in commanding funds for any plausible undertaking. This substantial and solid prosperity is stimulated to an additional extent by the operations of the many joint-stock banks and companies which sprang into sudden existence in the former year. Some of them put in motion a considerable quantity of industry, and increased the demand for various articles of consumption; and all of them at their commencement, and for some time afterwards, tended to throw a certain sum of money into more active circulation, and to multiply their transfers from one hand to another. As these speculations still retain their popularity, the apparent prosperity, arising from their artificial stimulus, presents an imposing aspect, and augments the general enchantment."

63. Another contemporary annalist has recorded in graphic terms the effects of this universal prosperity upon the material wellbeing of all classes. "The increased wealth," says the *Quarterly Review*, "of the middle classes is so obvious that we can neither walk the fields, visit the shops, nor examine the workshops and storehouses, without being deeply impressed with the changes which a few years have produced. We see the fields better cultivated, the barns and stackyards more fully stored; the horses, cows, and sheep more abundant, and in better condition, and all the implements of husbandry improved in their order, their construction, and their value. In the cities, towns, and villages we find shops more numerous, and better in their appearance, and the several goods more separated from each other—a division that is the infallible token of increased sales. The increase of goods thus universally dif-

fused is an indication and exhibition of flourishing circumstances. The accounts of the bankers in the metropolis and provincial towns, small as well as large, with the balances of money resting with them, ready to embrace favourable changes in the price of any commodity, or to be placed at interest as beneficial securities present themselves, are increased to an enormous amount. This, indeed, is evident from the low rate of interest which can be got in the public securities, and the avidity with which any opening for capital is sought after. The projects for constructing tunnels, railroads, canals, or bridges, and the eagerness with which they are embraced, are proofs of that accumulation from savings which the intermediate ranks of society have by patience and perseverance been enabled to form. The natural effect of this advancement in possessions has been an advance in the enjoyments which those possessions can minister; and we need not be surprised at the general diffusion of those gratifications which were formerly called luxuries, but which, from their familiarity, are now called by the softened name of English comforts."

64. Facts decisive beyond the reach of controversy demonstrate that this prosperity was not only real and universal, but, up to a certain point, was based on solid foundations. "In the end of 1823, and greater part of 1824, there prevailed," says Tooke, "a general character of prudence and sobriety, without any apparent resort to an undue extension of credit. Due attention was still paid to the most obvious elements of mercantile calculation; and although there was an obvious tendency to increased speculation, the objects for the exercise of it were selected with a considerable degree of care and sobriety. The manufacturers had laid in their new materials, and erected their machinery on such terms as enabled them to supply both the foreign and the home markets with wrought goods, which, although comparatively cheap, still left a fair profit; and the trade and manufactures of the country had never before been in a more regu-

lar, sound, and satisfactory state than from the end of 1821 to the end of 1824." The advance in the value of the public securities, and in property of all sorts, was so great as to vindicate this eulogy of mercantile prosperity at this period, and show it was founded on solid grounds. The Three per Cents rose in July 1825 to 96, an elevation which they had not previously attained since 1792. The stocks of all banks and joint-stock companies advanced in a similar proportion, many in a much greater; and such was the rise in the price of all the principal articles of merchandise, that scarcely any speculation could be entered into which was not, for the time at least, attended with profit, often to a very great amount.* And the consumption of the raw materials made use of in the principal articles of manufacture had more than doubled in the last two years.†

65. That this extraordinary and universal state of sound and apparently durable prosperity was mainly, if not entirely, owing to the expansion of the currency which had taken place from the operation of the Act of 1822, and the general confidence in the magnitude of the supplies of gold which were anticipated from the opening of the South American mines to British capital and enterprise, cannot be for a moment doubted. The Bank of England notes in circulation had advanced, since the change of the law in August 1822, from £17,464,790 to £20,132,120, and paper under discount at the Bank from £3,622,151 to £6,255,343 in August 1824, and £7,691,464 in August 1825. The country bankers' paper had augmented in a still greater proportion: it had risen from £8,416,830 in 1822, to £12,831,332 in 1824, and £14,930,168 in 1825.‡ Had this paper circulation been rested on a proper basis—that is,

* PRICES OF VARIOUS ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE IN THE YEARS 1824 AND 1825.

	July to Nov. 1824.	December 1824 to June 1825.		Dec. 1824.	March 1824.	Dec. 1825.
Cotton, per lb.,	7½d. to 9d.	16s. to 18½d.	Wheat, . .	63s. 6d.	69s. 1d.	64s. 4d.
Cochineal, ,,	16s. to 19s.	21s. to 24s.	Barley, . .	40s. 3d.	38s. 11d.	41s. 2d.
Indigo, ,,	10s 4d to 12s 10d	12s. to 16s.	Oats, . . .	23s. 4d.	24s. 8d.	26s. 8d.
Tobacco, ,,	2d. to 7d.	3d. to 9d.	Beef, per st.,	4s. 10d.	5s. 2d.	5s. 4d.
Silk, raw, ,,	16s. 6d. to 23s.	18s. to 29s. 10d.	Mutton, ,,	5s.	6s.	5s. 4d.
Sugar, per cwt.,	29s. 11d.	41s. 5d.				
Coffee, ,,	58s. to 60s.	76s. to 79s.				
Saltpetre, ,,	19s. to 20s.	34s. to 36s.				
Tallow, ,,	31s. to 32s.	42s. to 43s.				
Iron, per ton,	£6 to £7	£11 to £12				

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 157, 135.

† IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Cotton, lb.	Wool, lb.	Raw Silk, lb.	Flax, cwt.	Linseed, bush.
1822	142,837,628	19,058,080	2,060,202	610,106	1,413,450
1823	191,402,503	19,366,725	2,453,166	553,937	1,662,456
1824	149,380,122	22,564,485	3,051,979	742,531	2,195,093
1825	228,005,291	43,816,966	2,855,792	1,055,233	2,888,247

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 135.

‡ CIRCULATION ON 31ST AUGUST IN THE UNDERMENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	Bank Notes.	Country Bankers.	Total.	Commercial Paper under Discount at Bank.
1822	£17,464,790	£8,416,830	£25,881,620	£3,622,151
1823	19,231,240	9,920,074	29,151,314	5,624,693
1824	20,132,120	12,831,332	32,963,452	6,255,343
1825	19,398,840	14,930,168	34,329,008	7,691,464

—TOOKE, ii. 382; MARSHAL'S *Parliamentary Tables*, p. 55.

had it been perfectly secured, duly guarded from excess of issue, and secured upon a *foundation not liable to be withdrawn*—this prosperity would have been durable, and Great Britain for the next quarter of a century would have enjoyed an uninterrupted period of peace and happiness. But, unhappily, this was very far indeed from being the case: on the contrary, the currency of the empire was fixed on the most perilous and insecure of all bases, for it consisted in part of issues by irresponsible parties over whom Government had no control, and it rested in whole on the retention of the precious metals—the very thing which, under existing circumstances, could by no possibility be retained. Country bankers, to the number of some hundreds in the provinces, were at liberty to issue their own notes to any extent they pleased, which, in the high state of general credit, passed as cash from hand to hand; and in addition to this, two causes had now come into operation, which, while they immensely inflamed the fever of speculation on the one hand, proportionably augmented the danger of a collapse on the other. These were the formal recognition of the independence of the principal states of South America by Great Britain, and the great excess of imports over exports in this country, owing to the general internal prosperity which prevailed; and their united action before the end of the year involved the nation in the most dreadful calamities.

66. In January 1825, Mr Canning made a formal communication to the Foreign Minister, that his Majesty had come to the determination of appointing *chargés d'affaires* with the states of Columbia, Mexico, and Buenos Ayres; and in the King's speech, on February 3d, it was declared, "In conformity with the declarations which have been repeatedly made by his Majesty, he has taken measures for confirming by treaties the commercial relations already subsisting between this kingdom and those countries of South America which appear to have established their separation from Spain." This announce-

ment was received with loud cheers from both sides of the House; and as this was an open recognition of Liberal principles on the part of the Government, the Opposition were not slow in claiming their share of credit as being the persons who had all along maintained these principles, and recommended these measures. Mr Brougham, in particular, was so loud in his declamation on this subject that it led to a celebrated rejoinder from Mr Canning, the felicity of which for the time withdrew the attention of the country from the undoubted fact, that Government and the Opposition had changed places, and that Great Britain had now taken the lead in the advancement of Liberal principles.* This official announcement, coming as it did at a time when the minds of men were already strongly excited on this subject, and the spirit of speculation had become very prevalent from the profits consequent on the general rise of prices, operated with magical effect on the moneyed classes. There was no end to the projects set on foot to work out the supposed inexhaustible mineral riches of South America, and for a time there seemed to be none to the profits realised by the fortunate shareholders. The gain made on the shares of some of the South American companies in a few months, at this period, exceeded

* "The honourable and learned gentleman," said Mr Canning, "having in the course of his parliamentary life supported or proposed almost every species of innovation which could be practised towards the constitution, it was not very easy for Ministers to do anything in the affairs of South America without seeming to borrow something from him. Break away in what direction they would, whether to the right or left, it was all alike. 'Oh,' said the honourable and learned gentleman, 'I was there before you: you would not have thought of that if I had not given you a hint.' In the reign of Queen Anne there was a sage and grave critic of the name of Dennis, who, in his old age, got it into his head that he had written all the good plays that were acted at that time. At last a tragedy came forth with a most imposing display of hail and thunder. At the first peal Dennis exclaimed, 'That's my thunder!' So with the honourable and learned gentleman, there was no noise or stir for the good of mankind in any part of the world but he instantly claimed it for his thunder."—*Parl. Debates*, xii. 24, 25.

1500 per cent.* These extravagant profits spread a sort of madness through all classes. It seized upon the most sober and retired members of society, pervaded all ranks, swept away all intellects, and in the end ruined not a few fortunes. Joint-stock companies were set up in every direction, and for all imaginable undertakings. There was nothing so absurd as not to be set on foot; scarce anything, in the end, so unfortunate as not for a few days or weeks to realise large profits to the original shareholders. When *they* had got them off their hands, and landed them in those of the widow and the orphan, they were indifferent how soon they went to the ground. The country bankers, trusting to the unbounded supplies of specie expected from South America under English management, poured forth their issues without end, and their notes were universally received, amidst the general prosperity and sanguine spirit of the times. In the beginning of 1825 there were two

hundred and seventy-six joint-stock companies in existence in Great Britain, the subscribed capital of which was no less than £174,000,000 sterling.†

67. The second circumstance which at once inflamed the general spirit of speculation, and augmented the dangers with which it was attended, was the great excess of imports over exports, which went on increasing through the whole of 1823 and 1824, and at length rose to the most portentous amount in the end of 1825. The official value of the imports had come then to exceed the declared value of the British and Irish exports by nearly £6,000,000 sterling. A great part of this difference of course required to be paid in cash, and this could end in nothing at last but a drain upon the banks, and contraction of the paper circulation issued upon their stock of bullion. But in the mean time, and before the payments required to be made, the vast amount of imports consequent on

* Companies.	Stock.	Paid.	Dec. 10, 1824. Premium.	Jan. 17, 1825. Premium.
Anglo-Mexican, . . .	£100	£10	£33	£158
Brazilian, . . .	100	10	10s. dis.	66
Columbian, . . .	100	10	£19	82
Real de Monte, . . .	400	70	550	1350
United Mexican, . . .	40	10	35	155

—*Ann. Reg.* 1825, iii.

† JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES, THEIR OBJECTS AND CAPITALS, IN JANUARY 1825.

	Number.	Subscribed Capital.
Canal and Docks, . . .	33	£17,753,000
Railroads, . . .	48	22,454,000
Gas, . . .	42	11,100,000
Milk, . . .	6	565,000
Water, . . .	8	1,750,000
Coal Mines, . . .	4	2,750,000
Metal do., . . .	34	24,490,000
Insurance Companies, . . .	20	41,800,000
Banking Companies, . . .	23	21,610,000
Supply of Corn, . . .	4	410,000
Navigation Packets, . . .	12	5,540,000
Fisheries, . . .	3	1,600,000
Pearl Fishery, . . .	1	625,000
Indigo and Sugar Companies, . . .	5	10,500,000
Agriculture, . . .	4	4,000,000
Irish Manufactures, . . .	2	2,500,000
London Improvements, . . .	3	1,410,000
Thames Tunnels, . . .	2	200,000
Baths, . . .	2	750,000
Newspapers, . . .	2	460,000
Miscellaneous, . . .	18	1,832,000

276

£174,114,000

—*Ann. Reg.* 1825, ii, iii.

the general rise of prices, and the profits made upon them, augmented the prevailing rage for speculation; for there was scarcely anything brought into the market which was not sold at a profit within it. This circumstance deserves to be particularly noticed, because it is of permanent application, and must, while our monetary laws continue on their present footing, render every period of prosperity and rise of prices the forerunner of a corresponding period of disaster. During the continuance of the former, prices rise and imports become excessive, because profitable; while exports are

checked, because production has become costly. Thus a large balance of imports over exports is at length occasioned, attended by a proportional drain upon the banks, and a monetary crisis rendered unavoidable by the very circumstance which had induced previous prosperity.*

68. The drain of bullion from the Bank of England, which is at all times the commencement of commercial distress under our present monetary system, was fearfully aggravated, during the latter part of 1824 and whole of 1825, by a circumstance the precise opposite of that which had been anti-

* VALUE OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FROM 1822 TO 1825.

Years.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Excess of Exports.	Excess of Imports.
1822	£36,968,964	£30,500,094	£6,468,870	....
1823	35,458,048	35,798,707	....	£340,659
1824	38,396,300	37,552,935	843,365	....
1825	38,877,388	44,137,482	....	5,260,094

—PORTER, 356, 3d edit.

It is a markworthy circumstance that, up to the year 1822, the declared value of the British and Irish exports always exceeded the official value of the imports; while, since 1825, the reverse has invariably been the case.

Also, that, up to the year 1819, the declared value of British and Irish produce always exceeded the official value; whilst, since that, the official has always vastly exceeded the declared value.

It is much to be regretted that, previous to the year 1854, the computed real value of the imports and of the foreign and colonial exports was not taken; so that it is only since that period that they can be compared with the declared real value of the British and Irish exports.

The method adopted by the author, as above, to obtain the difference of the exports and imports previous to 1854, he believes to give as near an approximation as can be made.

The principle on which he has gone is as follows:—To compare the official value of the imports with that of the exports would be of no use, because it is proved by the published returns, that while the official value of the exports (owing to the cheapening effect of the application of capital and machinery to manufactures since the period when the official values were assigned) has, ever since 1819, been *very much above the real value* (since 1854 it is nearly double), the official value of the imports is from thirty to forty per cent *below their real value*.—(Compare Tables I. and II. *infra*.) But this excess of the real or computed above the official value of the imports is not very different from the official value of the exports of foreign and colonial merchandise (chiefly raw material). Allowing these two, therefore, to balance each other (that is, omitting the official value of the export of foreign and colonial merchandise on the one side of the account, in consideration of the depreciation existing in the official value of the imports on the other), he has compared simply the declared value of the British and Irish exports with the official value of the imports.

To enable the reader to examine this question for himself, the following tables are given:—

TABLE I.—*Excess of IMPORTS, as shown by the Computed and Declared Real Values of Exports and Imports, 1854-57.*

Years.	Imports. Computed Value.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Foreign and Colonial Exports. Computed Value.	Total Exports.	Excess of Imports.
1854	£152,389,053	£97,184,726	£18,636,366	£115,821,092	£36,567,961
1855	143,542,850	95,688,085	21,003,215	116,691,300	26,851,550
1856	172,544,154	115,826,948	23,393,405	139,220,353	33,323,801
1857	187,646,335	122,066,107	24,108,194	146,174,301	41,472,034

cipated. South America, which, it had been expected, was to prove an inexhaustible source of mineral treasures, turned out quite the reverse;—it became the greatest drain upon the metallic resources of the country that had ever been experienced. Between July 1824 and October 1825, no less than £12,000,000 of treasure was exported from this country; the bullion in the Bank of England, which on 31st August 1823 had been £12,658,240, had sunk on 31st August 1825 to £3,634,320, and before the end of the year it was down to £1,027,000. The

greater part of this export of gold was to South America, and the cause of that brings to light one of the most instructive and memorable facts recorded in history. It arose entirely from that revolution which Great Britain had for so many years laboured so assiduously to bring about. During the course of that terrible convulsion, which had endured under circumstances of unexampled horror for fourteen years, and deluged the whole country with blood, its whole capital had been destroyed; the mines unworked had in great part come to be filled with water;

TABLE II.—*Excess of EXPORTS, as shown by the Official Values of the Exports and Imports.*

Years.	Imports. Official Value.	Official Value of Exports.			Excess of Exports.
		British and Irish Exports.	Foreign and Colonial Exports.	Total Exports.	
1854	£124,338,478	£214,071,848	£29,808,044	£243,879,892	£119,541,892
1855	117,284,220	226,920,262	31,494,391	258,414,653	141,130,427
1856	131,937,763	258,505,653	33,423,724	291,929,377	159,991,614
1857	186,215,849	255,396,713	30,797,818	286,194,531	149,978,682

TABLE III.—*Excess of IMPORTS, as shown by comparing the Declared Value of British and Irish Exports with the Official Value of the Imports.*

Years.	Imports. Official Value.	British and Irish Produce exported. Declared Value.	Excess of Imports.
1854	£124,338,478	£97,184,726	£27,153,752
1855	117,284,220	95,688,085	21,596,796
1856	131,937,763	115,826,943	16,110,815
1857	136,215,849	122,066,107	14,149,742

From these tables it appears, that to compare the official value of the exports and imports would lead to a completely false conclusion; but that to compare the official value of the imports with the declared value of the British and Irish exports, leads to a result which errs only in understating the true amount of the excess of imports over exports (as proved by Table I.) For the purpose which the author has in view, it may therefore be adopted with confidence, as it is inaccurate only in understating the conclusion he wishes to prove. Moreover, the inaccuracy contained in it becomes less and less the nearer the years 1820-24 (when the comparative value of the official and declared values first changed sides) are approached.

In considering the very large excess of imports shown by the comparison of the declared and computed real values of the exports and imports since 1854 (given in Table I.)—an excess which is every year increasing, and which in 1862 amounted to £59,000,000—it must be borne in mind that a portion of this only requires to be liquidated by actual payment in specie; for the British and Irish exports being entered in the tables at the value declared by the exporter—that is, at their cost price to him nearly—will be sold abroad at a considerably higher rate, to give him a profit and pay for freight and insurance. On the other hand, the imports being computed in the Custom-house at the estimated selling price of the several articles, their value includes the cost of freight and insurance, and a great part of the importer's profit. To make the comparison between the exports and imports fair, therefore, it would be necessary to add to the declared value of the exports the cost of freight and insurance, and the profit actually cleared by the exporter. This cannot be done; but, making every allowance for it, it is evident that there still remains in all ordinary years a considerable balance against this country, which must be liquidated in cash; and that this turns—in years in which a bad harvest necessitates large purchases of grain abroad, or foreign wars require to be fed by the exportation of guineas—into a very formidable drain upon our metallic resources, and one which, from the imposed dependence of our currency upon the retention of gold, often leads to most serious and calamitous results.

and the supplies of specie which, for ten years back, had been obtained for the use of the world, had been almost all picked up from the refuse thrown out of the mines in former days, or the gold and silver plate and ornaments which the necessities of the former capitalists and proprietors who worked them had compelled them to melt down and bring into the market. Thus the new mines set on foot by the English companies during the mania of 1824 and 1825 could be worked only with English capital, and it could only be sent out in the shape of bullion or specie. The twenty millions subscribed for the South American mining companies were in great part remitted in this way. Thence the drain on the Bank, the monetary crisis, the general distress, with all their incalculable effects upon the history of Great Britain and of the world. Moneyed ambition prompted to national crime, and in the anxiety to reap the fruits of that crime it overleapt itself, and fell on the other side. And thus it is that the sins of men are made to work out their own punishment, and Providence vindicates the justice of the Divine administration.

69. Little anticipating any such catastrophe as these symptoms so clearly prognosticated, and deeming the present prosperity permanent, and beyond the reach of change, because founded upon the new ideas of commerce, the Government proceeded energetically in the work of reduction of duties, and, by the exaggerated terms in which they spoke of the prospects of the country, augmented the danger that was impending. On the 28th February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Robinson, brought forward the budget, and drew the most flattering picture of the financial prospects of the nation. After mentioning that the excise exhibited an increase of about 15 per cent on the principal articles, and the customs, notwithstanding the large reductions of the preceding year, scarcely any diminution, he continued thus: "To what cause is this increase to be ascribed? The proximate cause, doubtless, is the increased capacity of the

people of this country to consume the produce of other countries, aided and invigorated by the increased facilities which our consumption of foreign articles gives to other countries, in the extended use of the produce of our own industry. This increase is not accidental; on the contrary, it is something the very reverse of what is ephemeral and peculiar; it arises from something inherent in the nation, and connected with the very essence of human society. The demonstrated tendency of population to increase would alone be sufficient, in a great measure, to account for it; but, independent of that cause, there is a principle in the constitution of social man which leads nations to open their arms to each other, and to establish new and closer connections by ministering to mutual convenience—a principle which creates new wants, stimulates new desires, seeks for new enjoyments, and, by the beneficence of Providence, contributes to the general happiness of mankind. This principle may, it is true, be impeded for a time by war or calamities; it may be counteracted, as we well know in this country, by the improvidence of mistaken legislation; but it is always alive, always in motion, and has a perpetual tendency to go forward: and when we reflect upon the facility which is given to its operation by the recent discoveries of modern science, and by the magical energies of the steam-engine, who can doubt that its expansion is progressive, and its effects permanent? It appears to me, therefore, that I may safely assert that the increase in this branch of the revenue is not the result of accident or of a temporary combination of fortunate circumstances, and that I am not too sanguine when I take the produce of last year as the solid basis upon which I calculate the state of that branch of the revenue for years to come."

70. In pursuance of the principles thus eloquently expressed, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a reduction of taxes to the amount of £1,500,000 a-year, on various articles of consumption, of which British spirits were the most considerable. The reduction on

them was no less than £750,000; and it was effected by lowering the duties on British spirits from 10s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. a gallon. Those on French wines were lowered from 11s. 5½d. to 6s. a gallon.* Even with these reductions, the revenue of the year was expected to exceed the income by above £5,400,000 sterling, which was to be applied to the reduction of debt, by keeping up the Sinking Fund.† This statement, however, was so far fallacious, that in the receipts of the year were included £4,470,000 drawn from the trustees for half-pay annuities, while the sum expended under that head was only £2,800,000, leaving a difference of £1,670,000, for which the nation got credit in the year, which was in reality effected by laying its proper burdens, in the shape of “dead weight” as it was called, on future years.

71. As, notwithstanding these reductions, the Sinking Fund was kept above £5,000,000 a-year, the level fixed by the resolution of the House of Commons in 1819, and the articles selected for relief of taxation were in general judiciously chosen, the budget of Mr Robinson, upon the whole, is deserving of commendation. To this approval, however, one important exception must be taken in the great reduction, to the *extent of a half*, made in the duties on British spirits. As this was a most important step, which has been at-

tended, in the sequel, with consequences of the highest interest, and on which experience has declared decidedly against the change then introduced, it seems proper to give, in the first instance, the argument by which it was supported. “The reduction of the duties on spirits,” said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, “is founded not only on the principle, now so generally admitted, of giving relief to the consumer, but on one of a higher order, and which is essentially connected with the morals and happiness of the people—I mean the prevention of smuggling. Smuggling, I conceive, is one of the very greatest domestic evils that can afflict a country. Its active instruments haunt us wherever we go; they hover round our coasts, penetrate our harbours, traverse the interior; they invade the splendid palace of the noble, and the humble cottage of the poor; they offer their seductions in every quarter, and I fear that all classes of society yield to their seductions. Surely this is an evil of tremendous magnitude, confounding all notions of right and wrong, and sapping, with incessant and increasing power, the very foundations upon which obedience to the law is built; it brings the law into disrepute, its violation into credit. We have endeavoured to check its progress by the

* The Taxes reduced were—on

Hemp,	.	.	.	.	.	.	£100,000
Coffee,	.	.	.	.	.	.	150,000
French wines,	.	.	.	.	.	.	230,000
British spirits,	.	.	.	.	.	.	750,000
Cider,	.	.	.	.	.	.	20,000
Assessed taxes,	.	.	.	.	.	.	276,000
							£1,526,000

—*Parl. Deb.* xii. 743.

† The Income and Expenditure for the year were estimated as follows:—

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
Customs,	£11,350,000	Interest of Debt,	£27,233,670
Excise,	26,400,000	Do. Exchequer Bills,	860,000
Stamps,	7,100,000	Civil List,	2,050,000
Taxes,	4,875,000	Half-pay Annuities,	2,800,000
Post Office,	1,500,000	Army,	7,911,751
Miscellaneous,	750,000	Navy,	5,983,126
Trustees of half-pay,	4,470,370	Ordinance,	1,376,641
		Miscellaneous,	2,300,000
		Sinking Fund,	5,486,654
	£56,445,370		
			£56,001,842

—*Parl. Deb.* xii. 726.

most rigorous measures; we have surrounded the coast with guards and ships as with a wall of brass; we have imposed penalty upon penalty, punishment upon punishment; but all in vain. Why? Because the cause of the evil is to be found in the law itself, and the alteration of the law has not yet been tried. Let us try it now; let us apply to England that change which has had such triumphant success in Ireland and Scotland. It may perhaps be recollected, that when I proposed to make a great change in the distillery law of Ireland and Scotland, there were not wanting persons who exclaimed, 'What! reduce the duty upon spirits! Make all the people drunk! For God's sake abstain from so fatal a measure.' The measure was, nevertheless, taken; and what has been the consequence? So far from any evil having resulted from this step, tranquillity, order, and harmony have superseded the disturbance, confusion, and ill-blood, which arose from the desolating extension of illicit distillation. Why, then, should we not try in England a system of which experience has proved to us the advantage?"

72. The reduction of duties on spirits distilled in Ireland and Scotland had taken place in 1823, and had cost the nation £380,000 in the first country, and £340,000 in the last. Mr Robinson now extended the same principle to England, and the sacrifice of revenue, by the reduction in the two islands, was £1,500,000. The measure was justified by that gentleman by alleging its *moral* tendency, in so far as it removed the practice of, and evils consequent on, illicit distillation; and the House of Commons at once embraced,

and have ever since maintained, that view of the subject. It is a curious and instructive commentary on this argument, drawn from considerations of *morality*, adduced in favour of cheap whisky, to cast our eyes on the records of crime in the two islands, and contemplate the vast and *sudden* addition to offences which took place immediately after the reduction of the duties. It would be unfair to ascribe the great increase which ensued altogether to the diminution of the duty on spirits, because, without doubt, the dreadful distress consequent on the monetary crisis of 1825 had a considerable share in it; but enough remains to show that the lowering of the duty on spirits had a most material influence upon it, and to justify the observation so often made by judges, and all others conversant with the administration of criminal justice, that two-thirds of the whole crime that is committed is owing to the excessive use of ardent spirits.*

73. The enormous mistake committed by Government on this occasion, of which the bitter effects have ever since been felt, but are now apparently irremediable, is one of the numerous instances which have occurred, in the later periods of English history, of the injurious effects which have resulted from legislation being so often conducted by persons destitute of any *practical* acquaintance with the subject with which they deal. To assert that the increased consumption of spirits by the working classes is favourable to their morality, is so strange a doctrine, and so contrary to universal experience, that it appears almost inconceivable it could have been hazarded in any intelligent assembly. Since the duties

* COMMITTEES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, FROM 1822 TO 1830.

Years.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1822	12,241	1691	15,251
1823	12,263	1733	14,632
1824	13,698	1802	15,258
1825	14,437	1876	15,515
1826	16,164	1999	16,318
1827	17,924	2116	18,031
1828	16,564	2024	14,683
1829	18,675	2063	15,271
1830	18,107	2329	15,794

on spirits have been reduced a half, the consumption of them has been increased above two hundred per cent, and the proportion consumed per head advanced in the same proportion—facts which go far to explain the contemporaneous duplication of crime during the same period. As to the cessation of demoralisation by illicit distillation and smuggling, it is a real benefit; but it is dearly purchased by the wholesale demoralisation of so large a part of the working classes, by the facility of obtaining ardent spirits. There is more crime, domestic unhappiness, family feuds, and social demoralisation produced in Glasgow by cheap whisky in one month, than ever was by smuggling over all Scotland in ten years. There is no person practically versant with the details of both, as the author has been for thirty years, who will maintain a contrary opinion.*

74. There is no such fit object of taxation, in an indirect form, as ardent spirits, because the addition which the increased duty makes to the price of the article, *when taken in moderation*, is so small as to be trifling even to the humblest consumer, while the addition to the public revenue is immense, from the vast numbers who partake of the comfort. It is on the drunkards alone it falls as a serious burden. The duty on British spirits was lowered, in 1823 and 1825, 5s. a gallon; and the price, in consequence, fell from 14s. or 15s. to 10s. a gallon, or from 1½d. to 1d. a glass. This diminution of price was a relief certainly, but not a large one, to the working classes, if they take only a glass or two a-day; but this advantage was dearly purchased, even by themselves, by the enlarged quantity which it tempted them to drink. The average

consumption of spirits in the United Kingdom is now about 24,000,000 gallons a-year. Ten shillings a gallon on this would produce £12,000,000 a-year, or nearly a fourth of our entire revenue, spread over at least as many millions of consumers, and felt as a burden by none except the drunkards, upon whose vicious habits it would be a restraint. Can there be imagined a species of taxation so productive that it would produce twelve millions a-year, and yet so light that it would be felt as a burden only by those upon whom it operates as a restraint from crime?

75. The evils experienced from the reduction of the duties on spirits have, during the last thirty years, been felt to be so excessive that they have led, in every part of the country, to societies and leagues for the purpose of promoting temperance among the working classes, and in some instances they have been attended for a time with surprising success. In Ireland, in particular, where cessation from drinking ardent spirits was, during the years of activity in the Roman Catholic League, made a primary object of effort with the Roman Catholic clergy, the success of the attempt was most remarkable: the consumption fell in Ireland from 12,296,342 gallons in 1838, to 6,485,443 gallons in 1841. But the success of this, as of all other attempts to run counter to a great and universal instinct of nature, was only temporary: the reaction in favour of whisky has been since nearly as strong as the action in favour of temperance had been. All attempts to stop *entirely* what is prompted by a general instinct of nature, must end in disappointment; or, if it succeeds, it never fails to induce evils of another

* SPIRITS CONSUMED, AND CRIMINAL COMMITMENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

YEARS.	SPIRITS CONSUMED.			CRIMINAL COMMITMENTS.
	Gallons.	Population.	Rate per head. Gallons.	
1821	9,822,573	21,193,458	0.46	29,143
1831	21,845,408	24,029,702	0.90	35,230
1838	26,486,543	25,907,096	1.02	42,235
1840	21,859,337	26,443,495	0.82	54,892
1843	22,234,379	26,800,000	0.92	73,780

kind greater than it removes. To regulate it, and reduce it to moderation, is the only wise course. This can never be effected by temperance societies, how widespread or zealous soever; for their efforts in the end affect only those who are already regular, sober, and well disposed. It is by an enhancement of the price *alone* that the consumption of the immense and heedless mass can be permanently diminished, or temperance enforced as a habit on the great body of the people. If ever a statesman would deserve a statue of gold, it would be he who could retrace the step taken with such general approbation by Mr Robinson in 1825; and happily the necessities of the Chancellor of the Exchequer have, since that time, forced a return to the old duties on the Government.

76. Following out the principles laid down by Mr Huskisson in the preceding year in regard to Free Trade, he continued the reduction in this of the import duties on several articles of consumption, chiefly those used in the different processes of manufacture. The articles selected for the reduction were foreign woollen goods, upon which the duty was reduced from 60 per cent to 15; on foreign linens, which were lowered from 100 on an average to 25 per cent; on foreign paper, from £6, 10s. per cwt. to £3, 10s.; on glass, from £80 to £20; on earthenware, from 75 per cent to 15, and 30 on ornamental porcelain; on foreign gloves, from 60 per cent to 30; on iron, from £6, 10s. to £1, 10s.; on copper, from £5, 9s. 3d. per cwt. to £2, 10s.; on lead, from 20 per cent to 15; and on various lesser articles not enumerated, from 50 to 20. The general result was, "that, upon foreign manufactured articles, where the duty is imposed to protect our own manufactures, and not for the purpose of collecting revenue, the import duty will in no instance exceed 30 per cent." "If the article," he added, "is not manufactured much cheaper or much better abroad than at home, such a duty is ample for protection. If it be manufactured so much cheaper or so much better abroad as to render £30 per cent insufficient, my answer is, first, that a

greater protection is only a premium to the smuggler; and, secondly, that there is no wisdom in attempting to bolster up a competition which this degree of protection will not sustain." Resolutions to this effect were passed unanimously in the House of Commons, and embodied in acts of the legislature. There can be no doubt of the wisdom and justice of these observations; and if they had been applied to agriculture and shipping as well as manufactures, we should not have been now (1854) importing annually ten million quarters of foreign grain, or seen the foreign shipping employed in carrying on our trade nearly equal to our own, instead of a third of its amount, as it was when Mr Huskisson commenced his labours.

77. Another change of an equally momentous character was in the same session of Parliament brought forward by Mr Huskisson, which also appears to have been founded in true wisdom as well as a liberal spirit. This was in reference to the trade to the colonies. This branch of commerce, in conformity with the colonial policy formerly common to this country with all the nations of Europe, had been entirely confined to the shipping of the mother country. This system, however, had been so far relaxed in the year 1824, that by 3 Geo. IV. c. 44 it was permitted to carry on an intercourse between any countries in America and our colonies there, in the ships of those countries; and also to the colonies to trade to any countries in Europe, provided the trade was carried on in British ships. These great concessions, which were equally advantageous to the Americans and our own Transatlantic colonies, were met in a very illiberal spirit by the Government of the United States. "What," said Mr Huskisson, "has hitherto been the return made by the United States for this indulgence? In the first session of their Congress which followed the opening of this trade by our Act of Parliament, they passed a law imposing alien duties in their ports upon all British ships which might trade between those ports and our colonies, upon the same terms and duties as the like productions of any

other country; meaning thereby the like productions, not of any other foreign country, but of our own country, or of our own provinces in North America. This is a pretension unheard of in the commercial relations of independent states. It is just as reasonable as it would be on our part to require that sugar or rum from our West India islands should be admitted at New York upon the same terms and duties as the like articles the growth and production of Louisiana, or any other of the United States." To obviate this inequality between the United States and other countries, Mr Huskisson proposed to admit "a free intercourse between all our colonies and other countries, either in British ships or in the ships of those countries allowing the latter to import all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the country to which the ship belongs; and to export from such colonies all articles whatever of their growth or manufacture, either to the country from which such ships came, or to any other part of the world, the United Kingdom and all its dependencies excepted. All intercourse between the mother country and the colonies, whether direct or circuitous, and all intercourse of the colonies with each other, to be considered as a coasting trade, and reserved entirely to ourselves." The resolutions to this effect were unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, and passed soon after into law.

78. There can be no doubt that these changes were alike founded in wisdom and justice. Colonies should be considered as distant provinces of the mother country, and treated as such. No burdens should be imposed on the staple productions of their industry, which are not imposed on corresponding productions of the parent state. Free trade with all the world should be permitted to them as much as to the mother country; the trade between the two should be reserved to themselves as a coasting trade for their mutual benefit. This is no burden or restriction upon either; on the contrary, it is a reciprocal advantage. Perhaps the whole colonial system, and the commercial intercourse with all other countries,

could not be better summed up than in the maxim: "Absolute free trade with the colonies, no taxes on their staples which are not imposed on our own, a monopoly of the trade between the two, and with other countries *real reciprocity*—that is, admission of their staples on the same terms as they admit ours." * Under such a system the colonies for long would desire to continue the connection, because they derive benefit from it; and the British empire, held together by the strong but unseen bond of mutual interest, might for centuries go on growing with the growth, and strengthening with the strength, of its mighty descendants.

79. But amidst all these important changes, and when Government and the country were lulling themselves into a fancied security from the belief in the boundless course of prosperity before them, the small cloud was already visible on the horizon which was soon to involve all in darkness. The King's speech, delivered on 6th July, congratulated the country on the "great and growing prosperity on which his Majesty had the happiness of congratulating the country at the beginning of the session;" but already symptoms of the approaching storm were visible to the reflecting few. The fatal effects of a paper currency dependent on the retention of the precious metals, and consequently abundant when they were plentiful, and contracted when they disappeared, began to show themselves. Importations, stimulated by the high prices, became so prodigious, that no amount

* Ten years after the remarks in the text were published, the British Government wisely reverted to the principle there stated; and, repudiating the idea of a benefit being derived from mere reduction of import duties, adopted that of *real reciprocity*—that is, a corresponding reduction on staples. By the commercial treaty with France, in 1860, the English lowered the duties on French wines and jewellery, and the French those on British coals, iron, and cotton goods. There can be no doubt that this was real reciprocity, and, so far as money goes, an equal advantage to both sides. The wisdom, however, in a national and political point of view, of dissipating our treasures of national strength—coal and iron—for foreign wines, may admit of a difference of opinion.

of consumption could take them off, and they began to fall. Cotton, wine, silk, wool, and all foreign articles, soon came to decline rapidly in price; and this induced a general demand for money to meet engagements which could no longer be made good by sales, or enable the holders to keep on till prices rallied.* But the bankers to whom the applications were made were themselves in equal or greater difficulties, and could not make the advances required of them. Exports had declined, from the high rate of wages and cost of the raw materials; and thus the balance daily increasing had to be paid in cash. The South American mines, instead of producing anything, were a constant drain upon the metallic resources of the country, for the Revolution had brought them into such a state that for years they could not be worked to a profit, and they entailed a loss of nearly the whole £20,000,000 subscribed. The consequence was a steady drain upon the treasure in the Bank, which continued to decline rapidly during the summer and autumn of 1825, until in August it was only £3,600,000, and daily diminishing, and in December was only £1,027,000.†

80. It may easily be conceived what, in a great mercantile community, deeply engaged in the most extensive and onerous engagements, must have been the effect of such a sudden contraction of the currency, at the very

time when its expansion was most loudly called for; but imagination itself can hardly conceive the consternation and distress which followed. The country bankers, whose issues had nearly doubled in the preceding year, having reached the enormous amount of £14,000,000, were the first to be assailed. They were besieged with applications from their numerous customers to make advances; but the demand for gold was so excessive that their stock of specie was soon exhausted, and they had no resource but to apply to the Bank of England for assistance. It was the magnitude and constant increase of this demand which constituted the source of embarrassment to that establishment. Very naturally, and, indeed, unavoidably, the Bank contracted their issues, which, in the first week of December, were down to £17,000,000. The effect of this was to bring a great number of the private bankers to an immediate stop. In the end of November, the Plymouth Bank failed; this was followed, on 5th December, by the failure of the house of Sir Peter Pole & Co. in London, which diffused universal consternation, as it had accounts with forty country bankers. The consequences were disastrous in the extreme. In the next three weeks, seventy banks in town and country suspended payment; the London houses were besieged from morning to night by clamorous applicants, all demanding cash for their

* PRICES OF THE UNDERMENTIONED ARTICLES.

	December 1824 to June 1825.	January to June 1826.
Cotton,	16d. to 18½d.	6½d. to 7½d.
Cochineal,	21s. to 24s.	13s. 6d. to 15s. 6d.
Indigo,	12s. to 16s.	7s. to 11s.
Spices,	11s. 6d. to 12s.	6s. to 6s. 9d.
Tobacco,	3d. to 9d.	3d. to 8½d.
Silk,	18s. to 29s. 10d.	13s. 3d. to 16s.
Sugar,	41s. 5d.	23s. 9d.
Coffee,	76s. to 79s.	47s. to 49s.
Iron, per ton,	£11 to £12.	£8 to £9.

—TOOKE, ii. 157.

† BULLION IN THE BANK AND NOTES IN CIRCULATION.

	Circulation.	Bullion.
February 28, 1823,	£18,392,240	£10,384,230
February 28, 1824,	19,736,000	(January) 14,200,000
April 1824,	19,300,000	13,800,000
February 28, 1825,	20,753,760	8,779,100
August 31, 1825,	19,393,840	8,634,320
December 3, 1825,	17,477,290	2,167,000
December 24, 1825,	25,611,800	1,027,000

—TOOKE, ii. 170, 137.

notes; the Bank of England itself had the utmost difficulty in weathering the storm, and repeated applications were made to Government for an Order in Council suspending cash payments. But this was steadily refused as long as the Bank had a guinea left; and meanwhile the consternation over the whole country reached the highest point. Every creditor pressed his debtor, who sought in vain for money to discharge his debts. The bankers, on the verge of insolvency themselves, sternly refused accommodation even to their most approved customers; persons worth £100,000 could not command £100 to save themselves from ruin: "we were," said Mr Huskisson, "*within twenty-four hours of barter.*"

81. In this extremity, Government, despite their strong reliance on a metallic currency, were fairly driven into the only measure which could by possibility save the country. It was evident to all what the crash which threatened universal ruin was owing to; it arose from the currency of the country being suddenly contracted from the drain upon the banks for specie, at the very time when an expansion of it was most called for to sustain the immense pecuniary engagements of its inhabitants. The remedy was obvious—*expand the circulation irrespective of the drain of gold.* This, accordingly, was done by Government. Immediately after the failure of Pole & Co.'s bank, frequent Cabinet Councils were held; and it was at length wisely determined to issue one and two pound notes of the Bank of England for country circulation. Orders were sent to the mint to strain every nerve for the coining of sovereigns; and for a week 150,000 of sovereigns were thrown off a-day. But here a fresh difficulty presented itself. Such was the demand for Bank of England notes, to fill the void occasioned by the general discrediting of the country bankers' circulation, that no amount of strength applied to the throwing them off could enable the Bank to keep pace with it. In this dilemma, when the specie in their coffers was reduced to £1,000,000, and the run was daily

increasing, an accidental discovery relieved the Bank of their immediate difficulties, and enabled them to continue the issues to the country bankers, which saved the country from total ruin. An old box, containing £700,000 in one and two pound notes, which had been retired, was accidentally discovered in the Bank of England, and immediately issued to the public. By this means, the adequate circulation was kept issuing till the new notes could be thrown off. The effects were soon apparent. The people, having got notes, abated in their demand for gold; confidence began to revive, because the means of discharging obligations was afforded; and at a meeting of bankers and merchants in the city of London, resolutions declaratory of confidence in Government and the Bank of England were passed, which had a great effect in restoring general confidence.* So vigorously were the new measures carried into effect, that the circulation of the Bank of England, which on the 3d December had been only £17,477,290, was so raised that on 24th December it was £25,611,800! Thus was the crisis surmounted, though its consequences long continued, and left lasting effects on the legislation and destinies of the nation. Mark-worthy circumstance! The danger was got over, not by any increase in the metallic treasure of the country, *but*

* "1. That the unprecedented embarrassments and difficulties under which the circulation of the country at present labours are mainly to be ascribed to a general panic, for which there are no reasonable grounds: That this meeting has the fullest confidence in the means and substance of the banking establishments of the capital and the country; and they believe that the acting generally upon that confidence would relieve all those symptoms of distress which now show themselves in a shape so alarming to the timid, and so fatal to those who are forced to sacrifice their property to meet sudden demands upon them, which it is no imputation upon their judgment and prudence not to have expected.

"2. That it having been stated to this meeting that the Directors of the Bank of England are occupied with a remedy for a state of things so extraordinary, this meeting will refrain from any interference with the measures of the Directors of the Bank, who, they are satisfied, will do their duty towards the public."—*TOOKE*, ii. 168.

by a great issue of paper, when there was no specie to sustain it.

82. Sir M. W. Ridley said, on 3d June 1828, in the House of Commons, "that in 1825 and 1826 there were seven hundred and seventy country bankers, and of these sixty-three had stopped payment. Out of the sixty-three, twenty-three had subsequently resumed their payments, and paid 20s. in the pound, and of the remainder thirty-one were making arrangements for the payment of their debts, and there was a great hope that every farthing would be paid. The country bankers who had failed in 1826 had paid, on an average, 17s. 6d. in the pound." When it is recollected that the Funds, which had been 96 in 1825, were down at 76 in December 1825, and all other securities in a still greater proportion, and mercantile stock, on an average, reduced to a half of its former value, this indicates at once the stability of the banks in general, and the enormous amount of the losses which the catastrophe occasioned to the country. On the public funds alone the loss was from 20 to 30 per cent to those who were compelled to realise; and on property of all kinds it is within bounds to say that the loss was above £100,000,000. It is evident that the country bankers, with very few exceptions, were perfectly solvent when the crash began. It was brought about solely by one cause—the drain of specie; the want of one species of property, but which, under our monetary laws, like air to the individual, is indispensable to national life. And it might have been entirely avoided had the monetary laws permitted the issuing of another species of property, to sustain the currency when the one on which all depended was withdrawn; and had the issue of £8,000,000 of notes by the Bank, with no gold to pay them, which arrested the panic when at its height, been permitted by the law at an earlier period, so as to prevent it.

83. Uninteresting to those who read history merely for stirring incidents or romantic events, the annals of Great Britain from 1819 to 1825 are fraught

with the most important lessons to the reflecting, on which the attention of statesmen in future times should constantly be fixed. They demonstrate at once the all-importance of the currency upon the fortunes of the country, and illustrate in the most striking manner the *double set of dangers* to which a monetary system, based entirely upon the retention of the precious metals, is exposed. From the first introduction of the metallic system in 1819 to the extension in 1822, the history of the country is nothing but the narrative of the dreadful effects produced by the contraction of the currency to the extent of above a third of its former amount, and the social distress and political agitation consequent on the fall in the price of every article of commerce to little more than the half of its former level. Its annals, from the extension of the currency in July 1822, to the dreadful crash of December 1825, illustrate the opposite set of dangers with which the same system is fraught when the precious metals flow in in abundance, from the undue encouragement given to speculation of every kind by the general rise of prices for a brief period. To make paper plentiful when gold is plentiful, and paper scarce when gold is scarce, is not only a dangerous system at all times and under all circumstances, but is precisely the reverse of what should be established. It alternately aggravates the dangers arising from over-speculation, and induces the distress consequent on over-contraction. The true system would be the very reverse, and it would prevent the whole evils which the preceding pages have unfolded. It would be based on the principle of making paper, cautiously and moderately issued, a supplement to the metallic currency, and a substitute for it when required, not a representative of it; and, plentifully issued when the specie is withdrawn, it should be contracted when it returns. Thus over-speculation at one time, and monetary distress at another, would be alike avoided; and an equal circulation would maintain the health of the social system, as it unquestionably does of animal life.

CHAPTER XX.

IRELAND FROM 1822 TO THE MONETARY CRISIS OF DECEMBER 1825.

1. WHILE Great Britain, in these alternate phases of feverish prosperity and lasting depression, was undergoing the usual fate of a commercial country in which the currency is made to rise or fall with the influx or disappearance of the precious metals, there existed, within a few hours' sail of its shores, an island, of which the following account was, at the same time, given by no common man, and no inexperienced observer: "The state of the lower orders in Ireland," said Mr O'Connell, "is such, that it is astonishing to me how they preserve health, and, above all, how they retain cheerfulness, under the total privation of anything like comfort, and the existence of a state of things that the inferior animals would scarcely endure, and which they do not endure in this country. Their houses are not even called houses, and they ought not to be; they are called cabins: they are built of mud, and covered partly with thatch, and partly with a surface which they call scraws, but which is utterly insufficient to keep out the rain. In these abodes there is nothing that can be called furniture; it is a luxury to have a box to put anything into; it is a luxury to have what they call a dresser for laying a plate upon: they generally have little beyond a cast-metal pot, a milk-tub, which they call a keeler, over which they put a wicker basket, in order to throw the potatoes, water and all, into the basket, that the water should run into this keeler. The entire family sleep in the same apartment,—they call it a room; there is some division between it and the part where the fire is. They have seldom any bedsteads; and as to covering for their beds, they have nothing but straw, and very few blankets in the mountain districts. In

general, they sleep in their clothes; there is not one in ten who has a blanket. Their diet is equally wretched. It consists, except on the sea-coast, of potatoes and water during the greater part of the year, and of potatoes and sour milk during the remainder: they use some salt with their potatoes when they have nothing but water. On the sea-coast they get fish; the children repair to the shore, and the women and they get various kinds of fish. The ordinary rate of wages is fourpence a-day; and during the distress of 1822, the peasantry were glad to work for twopence a-day. Yet, even at this low rate of wages, there is no possibility of finding constant employment for the population. The consequence is, that every man cultivates potatoes, which is the food of his own family, and thus land becomes *absolutely necessary* for every Irish peasant. He cultivates that food, and he makes the rent, in general, by feeding the pig, as well as his own family, upon the same food, and, if it be not wrong to call it so, at the same table, upon the same spot. By that pig he makes his rent, besides any chance that he gets of daily labour."

2. The greater part of the poor of Ireland, at this period, obtained their subsistence by begging; and to such an extent was this carried that the average expenditure of each family on the begging poor was estimated, by competent observers, at a penny a-day, which, for a million of families, would amount to £1,500,000 a-year. Independent of an indefinite sum levied every year by emigrant poor from Ireland upon Great Britain, there was raised, for the support of the destitute at home, though there were no poor-rates, on residents alone, £2,250,000, being half the pub-

lic revenue, double the tithes, and a fourth of the land-rent. The poor-rate of England, at its highest amount of £7,500,000, was only an eighth of the public revenue, a seventh of the land-rent assessed to it, and a half of the whole tithes in the hands of the clergy and the lay impropiators. This extraordinary and anomalous condition of the Irish poor is readily accounted for when their social situation at this time is taken into consideration. "There is no means of employment," said Mr Nimmo, in 1823, "for an Irish peasant, nor any certainty that he has the means of existence for a single year, but by getting possession of a portion of land, on which he can plant potatoes. In consequence of the increase of population, which is not checked by the misery which prevails, the competition for land has attained to something like the competition for provisions in a besieged town, or in a ship that is out at sea; and as there is no check to the demands by those who may possess the land, it has risen to a height far above its real value, or beyond what it is possible to extract from it under the management of the unfortunate peasants by whom it is cultivated. Add to this, that the land is almost always let by the proprietor to a large tenant, or *middleman*, who sublets it often through several gradations of sub-tenants to the actual cultivator, and each of these may distract the crop and stocking for any arrears of the extravagant rent charged on him—a privilege which, by making the peasants generally liable for others' debts, renders the growth of agricultural capital wholly impossible."

3. Under this system there existed no practical check on the power of the landlord. Whenever he pleased, or was himself pressed, he could extract the last shilling of their rent out of the unhappy cultivators even beyond what could be produced by the rude culture of the land. Thus the lower orders in Ireland could never at this period acquire anything like property; they were always in a state of beggary; and the landlord, or the middleman, who was the principal person in those cases,

on the least reverse of prices, which disabled the actual cultivator from paying what he had previously promised, had it in his power to seize, and actually did seize, his cow, his bed, his potatoes, and everything he had in the world. Any considerable fall of prices was thus the signal of utter ruin to the great body of Irish cultivators, and therefore, as the country was entirely agricultural, of the whole people. "I have known," said Mr Nimmo, "a cow sold for a few shillings; nobody would buy, and the driver bought it himself. In the town of Kilkee, in the county of Clare, when I was passing through it in the time of the distress in the year 1822, the people were in a group on the side of the pound, receiving meal in the way of charity; and at the same time the pound was full of cattle. Of course, the milk of these cattle would have been worth something if it could have been obtained, but no one could buy it."

4. What aggravated to a most distressing degree the general misery, and rendered almost nugatory all attempts for its relief, was the prodigious and daily-increasing population which overspread the country. By the census of 1821 the inhabitants were 6,801,827; and so rapid was the rate of this increase, that in 1841 this number had increased to 8,196,597, although emigration had, in the interim, drained off a considerable number, and at least half a million had in that interval settled in Great Britain, where their daily-increasing numbers began seriously to affect the employment of the people, and was a great cause of the general distress. Artificial wants and prudence in the conduct of life, the great restraints on the principle of increase in well-regulated societies, had no influence on the Irish peasantry, who were frequently married before they were eighteen, and often grandfathers at thirty-six. This rapid growth of population operated in a pernicious manner on the condition of the people in two ways. In the first place, it lowered, by excessive competition, the wages of labour, which were everywhere brought down to the lowest

point consistent with physical existence. In the next place, it proportionally raised, by the same competition, the rent of land. When a farmer, who had a few acres, had his children to portion out in the world, having never any money, he invariably divided his little piece of land among them. Thus every marriage was immediately followed by a splitting of farms, and a multiplication of indigent cultivators; and as their numbers soon became excessive, and the possession of land was the sole means of subsistence, the competition for these small possessions became so great as to raise the rents to an extravagant height, often far beyond what the land could by any possibility pay. The peasant did not care what he bid, provided he got hold of the soil; and the landlords, charmed with the prospect of six or seven guineas an acre for potato land which was not worth three, shut their eyes to the inevitable result of such a state of things upon the habits and social condition of the people.

5. To assuage the misery of the country, the beneficence of England had flowed in mighty streams, both from the public treasury and from private sources, but without producing any sensible effect in its prevention. Independent of the munificent subscription of £350,000 already mentioned, which was raised in a few weeks in Great Britain, and sent over to Ireland during the famine in the spring of 1823, the permanent grants of Government to the charities of Ireland were immense. In Dublin alone, these, in the year 1818, amounted to £171,000.* The police of the country, an admirable force, of the greatest use in preserving tranquillity, were supported almost entirely at the ex-

pense of Great Britain; no less than £530,000 a-year for their maintenance was paid by the Consolidated Fund of England, and only £29,000 by the counties and towns of Ireland. Scotland never had at that time got one farthing for this purpose, its whole police being assessed on its own inhabitants. Add to this, that Ireland never, before 1852, paid any property or income tax; and that the assessed taxes, such as they were, were repealed in 1823, and have not since been reimposed. Ireland, prior to 1838, paid no poor-rates, in consequence of which its poor swarmed over, and were thrown as a burden on the inhabitants of Great Britain. Above a million of these unwelcome visitors settled in England and Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century; and more than one parliamentary committee have reported that, but for them, there would not have been any serious distress among the labouring poor of Great Britain.

6. While these unequivocal symptoms of public suffering were prevailing in Ireland, the statistical returns of exports and imports exhibited a very great and most gratifying increase; and the Secretary for that island, when twitted with the general distress, was always able to meet the complaints with a formidable array of figures, which seemed to indicate the very highest state of industrial prosperity. Its exports and imports had doubled since the beginning of the century; the former had now come to exceed £8,000,000 sterling. By far the greater part of this exported produce was agricultural, and five-sixths of the whole was sent to Great Britain. This great increase in the ascertained productions of industry, when co-existing

* Viz.—Protestant Charter School,	£38,331
Foundling Hospital,	32,515
House of Industry,	36,610
Richmond Lunatic Asylum,	7,085
Fever Hospital,	12,000
Dublin Police,	26,500
Lock Hospital,	3,307
Dublin Society,	9,281
Society for Education,	5,523
	<hr/>
	£171,101

with an equally established spread of misery and wretchedness, is a rare combination; but it is by no means impossible, and several examples of it have occurred in later times. The returns of exports and imports exhibit a fair measure of a considerable part of the production and consumption of the country; but they tell nothing of the *proportion* in which they are divided among the inhabitants.* When it is very unequal, a great increase of productive labour may take place, and some classes may be enriched, and add to their consumption of foreign luxuries, while the bulk of the people are daily sinking deeper into the abyss of wretchedness.

7. Many causes, doubtless, have conspired to produce these results, but the principal appear to be the following:—The first place must, without doubt, be assigned to the character of the great bulk of the population. Brave, ardent, and generous, highly gifted in genius, and with many estimable and amiable qualities in private life, the Celtic populations have none of the dispositions which qualify them either for attaining temporal superiority in the world, or for constructing, without external direction, the fabric of general social happiness. Gay, volatile, and inconsiderate, the Irish enjoy the present without a thought of the future, and

are incapable of the foresight or self-control which are essential to lasting success. Above all, they are entirely destitute of the power of self-direction and self-government, which is the foundation of the entire structure of a free constitution. Thence it is that the greater the privileges which have been conceded to them, the more wretched has their condition become; until at length, when their political rights had been in all respects put on a level with those of the English, their destitution became so excessive that two millions of human beings disappeared in eight years, and the annual emigration came to exceed two hundred thousand a-year. In the next place, a prominent position must be assigned to the circumstance of the conquest of Ireland by the English, and to the atrocious system of confiscation which, in conformity with feudal usages, the victors introduced on every occasion of rebellion against their authority. Without doubt this conquest itself is to be traced to the instability of the Irish character; else why could they not keep out the English invaders, as the Scotch, with half their number and not a quarter of their material resources, effectually did?† But admitting this, as every candid mind must do, there can be no doubt that the conquest of the country, and con-

* IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FROM IRELAND IN UNDER-MENTIONED YEARS.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Of which Exports to Great Britain.
1793	£4,164,985	£5,125,934	£4,039,581
1800	4,657,784	4,350,640	3,778,520
1810	7,055,214	5,928,113	5,159,884
1814	8,170,820	7,088,756	5,731,119
1817	5,644,175	6,412,892	5,569,463
1818	6,098,720	6,436,950	5,942,351
1819	6,395,972	5,708,582	5,123,457
1820	6,278,478	6,371,328	5,621,321
1821	6,407,427	7,703,857	7,067,252
1822	6,607,487	6,771,607	6,124,356
1823	6,020,975	8,091,113	7,674,129

—*Annual Register*, 1824, p. 262; M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 9; and *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Sup. v., p. 106.

† Scotland possesses in round numbers 5,000,000 arable acres and 12,000,000 of mountain wastes; Ireland, 12,000,000 of arable acres and 5,000,000 of mountain wastes: the former country, in 1825, had 2,300,000 souls, the latter above 7,000,000. Yet was Ireland conquered by Henry II. with 1000 men-at-arms and 2000 archers; while Scotland, though in the same island as England, and so accessible by a land force, without the intervention of that mighty barrier the sea, hurled 80,000 English soldiers with disgrace out of the realm.

sequent confiscation of the estates, has been an evil of the very first magnitude to Ireland. Thence have flowed the bestowing of the forfeited estates on English nobles and companies, the middlemen who were to collect their rents and remit them to this country, and the fatal imposition of a host of persons between the owner of the soil and the actual cultivators, all of whom lived on their labour, and wrung the last shilling out of their earnings.

8. The third cause which has aggravated the miseries of Ireland, and hitherto rendered abortive all attempts to ameliorate the condition of its inhabitants, is the unfortunate circumstance of the Roman Catholic religion being that of the majority of the working classes, while nearly the whole of the persons upon whom the forfeited estates had been bestowed professed the Protestant faith. It is an unhappy state of things in any country when the landed proprietors hold a different faith from their tenantry, when the sympathy arising from meeting in the same place of worship and joining in the same prayers is wanting, and when that which should ever be the bond of peace becomes the source of discord. It became doubly so when the landowners were the persons who had dispossessed seven-eighths of the original proprietors, and the heirs of the attainted persons were working as day-labourers on the estates of their fathers. But in addition to all this there was a circumstance of peculiarly injurious tendency, that in Ireland the tithes belonged to one set of clergy and the peasantry adhered to another. The cultivators became exposed to a double set of exactions: they were compelled to uphold two separate ecclesiastical establishments, one of which enforced its rights by the arm of the temporal law, and the other by the still more formidable engine of spiritual power. And the clergy of the latter, having no source of income but what they derived from the free gifts of their parishioners, which were chiefly composed of large fees on the occasion of births, marriages, and burials, came in this way to have a decided interest in the aug-

mentation of population, and were led to exert their great influence to further rather than restrain the tendency to increase among their flocks.

9. This tendency, so strongly fostered among the peasantry, from interested motives, by the spiritual militia, was equally promoted by their temporal landlords. The Act of 1793, which extended the right of voting for members of Parliament to forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland as in England, was attended in the former country with the most disastrous results, and was another of the innumerable instances of the extreme danger of transplanting institutions from one country to another when the circumstances of the two are not exactly parallel. The Irish landlords, sharing for the most part to the very full in the indolent and *insouciant* character of the Celts, had no resource for the establishment of their sons in life but in Government employment, and experience soon taught them that for the acquisition of this nothing was to be relied on but political influence. To secure this, they favoured to the utmost of their power the multiplication of liferent possessions, which constituted freeholds, and the division of farms, to which the peasantry, from their general want of capital, were already so much inclined.* Thus everything conspired to augment the tendency to increase, to which, from the absence of artificial wants, the people were already so prone; the priests encouraged it from a desire to multiply marriages lucrative to them, and the landlords to secure influence in the Castle of Dublin for needy and idle sons. To such a length did these causes operate, that by a parliamentary survey, taken in 1846, it appeared there were no less than 1,016,338

* These little freeholds were thus composed in 1846, before the famine:—

Under £4,	500,387
From £4 to £5,	79,614
From £5 to £6,	63,113
From £6 to £7,	41,113
Above £8,	332,111
	<hr/>
	1,016,338

—Parliamentary Paper, April 7, 1850.

separate landed possessions in Ireland, of which one-half were below the value of £4, held by nearly an equal number of squalid and destitute cultivators.

10. In these peculiar and extraordinary circumstances, the introduction of the POTATO, which has in general proved so great a blessing to the working classes, became the greatest curse to Ireland, for it furnished subsistence for a vast increase of destitute cultivators, while it led them to trust entirely for that subsistence to the most precarious of all crops. Three times the number of persons can be fed on an acre of potatoes, who can be maintained on an acre of wheat in ordinary seasons; but, on the other hand, the potato crop is liable to occasional failure, or rather total ruin, to a degree unknown in any cereal crop. It is hard to say which peculiarity of this valuable root, which has now come to form so large a portion of the food of the working classes in all countries, and in Ireland composed the whole, was attended, in the circumstances of that island, with most peril to the community; for the first afforded almost boundless room for multiplication to a squalid peasantry, who were content to live on potatoes alone; while the last exposed them to the risk of famine, whenever any of the periodical seasons of failure of that crop came round. This was what happened with the potato crop of 1822, and occasioned the dreadful distress of that year, which was relieved only by the magnificent exertion of British charity; and the same disaster recurred on a still greater scale, and with circumstances of unexampled horror, in the famine of 1846. Potatoes form a most valuable *addition* to the food of the people, when the staple of their consumption is of other things; when they become their sole, or even chief subsistence, it may with safety be concluded that the social system is in a diseased state, and that unbounded calamities are at hand.

11. Last, though not least, in the catalogue of Irish grievances at this period, must be placed the entire absence of any legal provision for the poor.

The island was overrun by above two millions of beggars, being nearly a fourth of the entire population; and yet, there was no provision either for their succour in sickness or old age, their employment in health, or their emigration from the country. Their only resource was to get possession of bits of land, of two or three acres each, which they planted with potatoes, and in the interval between the planting and raising of that crop they were in total idleness, or picked up for a few weeks a precarious employment by working on the public roads, or migrating for a season to reap the harvests of Great Britain. It is true, a considerable sum, amounting to above £600,000 a-year, was levied by the grand juries, under legal authority, for county rates; but that sum was chiefly expended on roads and bridges, which were the only things in the country that in general were in an admirable state, and the work on which, of course, could only be done by the able-bodied. To the old, the infirm, the sick, the orphans, the desolate children, these afforded no relief. *They* fell as a burden almost entirely on the peasantry, whose pittance was, in a truly Christian spirit, always open to them, and the sums levied annually by the *poor on the poor* was computed, as already stated, at £1,500,000 a-year. The effect of this state of things, prejudicial in every way, was in an especial manner so in the matter of population. By keeping so large a portion of the inhabitants in a state of constant destitution, the sight of poverty in its most extreme form was constantly before the eyes of the people; and then like death to soldiers in a bloody campaign, it lost all its terrors, and the principle of increase became unlimited in its operation. Experience has abundantly proved that of all epidemic disorders there is none so contagious as *the recklessness produced by extreme poverty*, and that no remedy can be relied on for its prevention but the removal of the destitute into situations where their immediate necessities are supplied, and the demoralising effect of their example is taken away. As a

great duty of the affluent is to relieve the indigent, so this duty can never be neglected without its punishment speedily falling on the heads of the parties in fault; and never did this retribution descend more swiftly and heavily than in the case of the Irish landholders.

12. In the first instance, however, the effect of this flood of extreme poverty, which overspread the land, appeared in a form which aggravated in a most serious degree the distresses of the country. Unable to endure the sight of a mass of poverty, which they could neither relieve nor prevent, a large portion of the landed proprietors—nearly the whole who could afford to do so—left the country, spent their incomes in London, Paris, or Italy, lost in consequence all interest in their estates, and were known to their tenantry only by the periodical and unwelcome visits of their bailiffs to collect the rents. Thence arose an entire estrangement between the peasantry and their natural protectors, and a ceaseless state of hostility between the landlords and the cultivators of their lands. The former, eager to close such a state of things, and to introduce a better mode of culture and a more substantial body of tenantry on their estates, endeavoured in many instances to bring over Scotch or English farmers, possessed of some capital, to take their farms; but this attempt had for long very little success. The peasantry considered it as a prelude to ejecting them from their possessions, and throwing them to starve upon the highway. It was a struggle of life or death to them; and, animated alike by hatred at the Saxon and terror at being dispossessed, they engaged generally in secret societies, the object of which was to murder every new-comer, and every landlord or factor who was instrumental in introducing them.

13. Thence the association of RIBBONMEN, who were bound together by the most terrible oaths to work out this nefarious system, and who furnished the assassins, who were at all times ready for a trifling sum to execute the mandates of the lodges in fire-raising

or murder. This is the real secret of the long continuance and general prevalence of agrarian outrages in Ireland, and explains the fact, so different from what is experienced elsewhere, that the counties were more disturbed than the towns, and that crime was nowhere so prevalent as in the purely agricultural districts. Philosophy came to the aid of party politics in the consideration of this question, and the extraordinary doctrine was broached, and seriously maintained by eminent men, and in celebrated journals, that the absentee proprietors were no evil to Ireland, because the demand for labour, arising from the expenditure of the landed proprietors, was as great if the money was spent in London or Paris as on their own estates;—a paradox very convenient for those who wished to represent Catholic emancipation as the sovereign remedy for all the evils of the country, and about as true as if it were to be maintained that an excessive drought or famine in one country is no evil to its inhabitants, because, as the average moisture that falls on the produce which is raised from the *whole earth* is the same, or nearly so, in one year as another, the deficiency of one district will be compensated by the excess of another.

14. Finding themselves in a small minority amidst a mass of hostile and almost insurgent Roman Catholics, the Protestants, in self-defence, organised themselves in an opposite association, which, under the name of ORANGE LODGES, had in like manner secret signs, obeyed unknown authority, and too often engaged in revengeful and bloody deeds. These two antagonistic societies were soon involved in fierce and irreconcilable hostility with each other; and as nearly the whole peasantry of the country belonged to one or other of them, or at all events obeyed the mandates of their leaders, the entire inhabitants were, in some districts, arrayed under opposite banners, obeyed opposite commands, and were always ready for mutual hostility. Thus, in addition to all other causes of discord, the landholders and peasantry of Ireland became arrayed in

opposite and nearly equally dangerous secret societies; for the chief proprietors were office-bearers in the Orange lodges, and the great body of the Catholics were members of the Ribbon lodges, or belonged to the Catholic Association, which came to play so important a part in the annals of that unhappy country.

15. For a people so situated, the first necessity, and greatest of all blessings, would have been a strict and even rigorous administration of justice—such an administration as, without being stained with unnecessary severity, should have taken away the chief temptation to crime, by removing its rewards, or rendering certain its punishment. Unfortunately, however, in this matter, the British connection, which it might naturally be supposed would have been attended with the most salutary effects, was, from the opposite character of the people in the two countries, followed by the most disastrous consequences. The English, according to their usual and not unnatural custom, thought they could not do anything so good for Ireland as transplanting wholesale their own institutions into it; and the popular party in Ireland, seeing that all these institutions tended to augment the influence of the democratic leaders, warmly supported the same system. Thus they both concurred in doing what, in the circumstances of the country, was of all things the most ruinous to the cause of tranquillity and order, and the lasting interests of its inhabitants. They gave grand juries to a people so divided that no proceeding of the higher orders was ever set down to any motive but the very worst one by the lower; they insisted upon unanimity in petty juries when the inhabitants were so divided by passion and opinion, that it was scarcely possible to find twelve men of opposite creeds in it who could agree on any subject; they enfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders, and introduced popular elections among a peasantry so illiterate that they could vote only at the dictation of their landlords or their priests, and so tumultuous, when excited, that no votes op-

posed to their predilections could, during a contested election, be given in safety, but by voters escorted to the polling-place by dragoons, and protected there by the military and police with fixed bayonets. Thence a constant state of excitement in the public mind, a disastrous uncertainty in the administration of justice, and a total disbelief on the part of the peasantry in the equity of its decisions. Everything came to depend in the criminal courts, or at least was thought to depend, on the chance or official dexterity which had given a majority on the grand or petty jury to one or other party; and the courts of justice, when the awful scene of a trial for life or death was going on, were surrounded by an agitated crowd, who alternately followed with loud lamentations the cars which conveyed persons convicted, whom they believed to be innocent, to exile or the scaffold; or escorted with loud shouts assassins acquitted, whom they knew to be guilty, in a civic ovation to the homes which they had stained by their crimes.

16. As a natural mode of defeating the punishment of crime in a country so convulsed, and cursed rather than blessed by the institutions suited to a different race and state of society, the intimidation of juries and witnesses was thoroughly organised, and carried to such a height as, in cases which interested the people, rendered a conviction, even when guilt was proved, always uncertain, often impossible. The most violent threats were liberally applied by markings on doors, anonymous letters, or otherwise, to any one concerned in the conviction of the patriots who had hazarded their lives in the cause of religion and the people; and so frequently were these threats carried into execution that not only were the nerves of the jurymen often shaken, and verdicts contrary to the clearest evidence returned, but the important witnesses were so endangered that they could find safety only within the walls of a jail. Giving evidence on a trial was more certainly the prelude to removal, at the Government expense, to a distant land, to the witnesses, than

the commission of the greatest and most atrocious crime was to the accused. Thence there was an amount of crime in proportion to the population, an impunity to offenders and uncertainty in the administration of justice, which strangely contrasted with its comparatively regular and steady march, and its small amount in the neighbouring island.* And still more dreadful, the impunity for crime and the encouragement to its commission did not cease even with sentence of death and execution, for an applauding multitude attended the last footsteps of the murderer, and a fanatical priest promised him eternal rewards for his self-sacrifice in what they deemed his country's cause.

17. To a country labouring under so many and such various causes of evil, no one remedy, however powerful, could prove effectual; and it was only by slow degrees, and after a length of time, that the greatest combination of them could be expected to produce any sensible effect. As their source was mainly to be found in the habits of the people, so it was only in a change of those habits—of necessity the work of time—that the spring of improvement was to be found. Nothing could be expected to be effective but such causes as should relieve the mass of wretchedness which overspread the country, elevate the wages of labour, lessen the competition for land, and furnish other modes of employment or

the means of emigration to such as could not obtain a share of it. An expanded currency, which should raise the price of agricultural produce, the sole staple of the people; a prudent but yet liberal poor-law, which should compel the Irish landowners and their mortgagees, enjoying between them an income of £13,000,000 from the labour of the cultivators, to relieve the distress they had so large a share in creating; a vast system of emigration, conducted at the public expense, and drawing off the really destitute instead of those who had some capital, and could do well at home; and a strict and rigorous administration of justice, conducted in a way beyond the reach of violence or intimidation, could alone be relied on to prove effectual. But nothing of this was thought of. Government firmly persevered in a monetary system which, by lowering the price of agricultural produce a half, destroyed the remuneration of rural industry; they resisted all attempts to introduce a poor-law into a country overflowing with indigence beyond any state in Europe; the House of Commons was counted out the moment any motion for emigration at the public expense was made; and the friends of Ireland, on both sides of the Channel, concentrated all their efforts on political agitation to attain Catholic Emancipation—that is, open the doors of the House of Lords to a dozen highly respectable Catholic peers, and of the

* COMMITTED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, FROM 1822 TO 1834.

Years.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1822	12,241	1691	15,251
1823	12,263	1733	14,632
1824	13,693	1802	15,258
1825	14,437	1876	16,318
1826	16,164	1999	18,031
1827	17,924	2116	14,683
1828	16,564	2024	15,271
1829	18,675	2063	15,794
1830	18,107	2329	15,234
1831	19,647	2431	16,192
1832	20,829	2431	16,056
1833	20,072	2564	17,819
1834	22,451	2711	21,381

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 658, 667. The population of Ireland at this time was about 7,500,000; of Scotland, 2,500,000; and of England, 13,000,000.—numbers which strangely contrast with the opposite proportions of crime.

Commons to forty or fifty nominees of the Catholic priesthood.

18. They gained their object, as the following chapter will testify: with what effect the succeeding volumes of this history will unfold. Without outstripping the march of events, it is sufficient to observe, what is known to all the world, that this step, however loudly called for by justice and equity, has utterly failed, as is admitted by its warmest advocates, in removing one real grievance of Ireland, while it has introduced many to which the country had hitherto been a stranger. The agitation for Repeal of the Union succeeded that for Catholic Emancipation; monster meetings were held in every part of the island, to the distraction of the minds of the peasantry, and the annihilation of all feeling of security in the realm; corporate reform gave the priesthood the command of many boroughs, parliamentary reform and the Catholic Association of most counties; popular privileges were extended to the people in every direction, and popular influence became the ruling power in Dublin. The consequences of thus extending to a nation in pupilarity the privileges of manhood were soon apparent. Capitalists shunned the peopled and agitated shores of the Emerald Isle; emigration, meeting with no encouragement from Government, was suspended; the competition for land—the only means of existence—became daily greater than ever; fiendish outrages, the consequence of

the dread of losing it, more frequent; the renewal of the Coercion Act a matter of necessity even to those who had most loudly condemned it. At length Providence, seeing remedy by human means hopeless, interposed with decisive effect—a famine of the thirteenth fell upon the multitudes of the nineteenth century; nearly two millions* of inhabitants disappeared from Ireland in five years between starvation and exile; and now the annual emigration of 250,000 cultivators at once attests the consequences of the commercial policy of England in recent times, and has designated in a manner not to be misunderstood the only remedy left for the sufferings of the sister kingdom.†

19. The extreme distress of the inhabitants of Ireland, through the years 1821 and 1822, in consequence of the contraction of the currency, and the inevitable depreciation in the price of agricultural, almost its only produce, to nearly a half of its former amount, continued throughout the whole of the succeeding year. The insult to the Lord-Lieutenant in the theatre of Dublin, on the 14th December 1822, which has been already noticed, led to prosecutions, first before the Grand Jury of that city, and then before the Court of King's Bench, on an *ex officio* information, both of which proved ineffectual; the natural, and, in Ireland, too frequent result of the requiring, according to English

* Population of Ireland by census of 1841,	8,175,124
Increase to 1846, five years, at same rate as preceding decade,	211,816
Population in 1846,	8,386,940
Actual population by census 1851,	6,552,385
Decrease in five years,	1,834,555
Actual population by census 1861,	5,764,543
Decrease between 1851 and 1861,	787,842
Total decrease since 1846,	2,622,397

—*Census Report*, Aug. 6, 1854; and *Census of 1861—Dublin*.

† EMIGRATION FROM BRITISH ISLES.

1844,	70,686	1849,	299,498
1845,	93,501	1850,	280,849
1846,	129,851	1851,	335,966
1847,	258,270	1852,	368,764
1848,	248,039		

—CHESNEY'S *Results of Census 1851*, p. 56.

law, unanimity in juries, where, from the unhappy division of parties, both on religious and political subjects, it is seldom, in cases of an exciting nature, to be expected. This abortive proceeding led only to mutual recriminations by the Attorney-General and Grand Jury of Dublin, which had no other effect but to augment the irritation between them, and inflame the general discontent. The consequence was, an inquiry by the House of Commons into the charges preferred by the Attorney-General against the Grand Jury, and by the opposite party against the High Sheriff of Dublin, for alleged partiality in the selection of names for the array. The proceedings in Parliament led to no more satisfactory result than those in the courts of law; and both tended only to inflame the violence of party spirit in Ireland, and unfold the calamitous extent to which its excesses prevailed and the administration of justice was tampered with in that unhappy country.

20. These judicial and parliamentary proceedings had the effect of renewing the party riots and agrarian disturbances which, in the beginning of the year, from the rise in the price of agricultural produce, had begun sensibly to diminish. The violence of religious and political animosity disturbed the tranquillity even of those districts where life and property had hitherto been most secure. The whole peasantry sided with one or other of the great parties which divided the State; most of them were members of Orange or Ribbon lodges, where mutual animosity was fostered, and implicit obedience to chiefs inculcated; and whenever they met in any considerable numbers, insults were exchanged, and not unfrequently wounds and death were the consequences. The power of the law was shattered against these vast associations, for they led to the intimidation of witnesses to such a degree that evidence could seldom be obtained; and if it was, the course of justice was not unfrequently stopped by a refractory jurymen, who belonged to the same religious party as the accused, and positively refused to con-

vict on the clearest proof. To such a length did the disturbances proceed, that murders, arsons, and burglaries, were of daily occurrence; policemen were murdered on the public streets or roads; and the Grand Jury of the county of Cork presented a petition to the Lord-Lieutenant, in which they stated that, within the last six months, a hundred cases had come before them of houses burnt, cattle houghed, and the like, by armed bands, who compelled the unhappy owners to stand by and witness the destruction of their property.

21. In these disastrous circumstances, Government, on the application of the Lord-Lieutenant, proposed the renewal of the Insurrection Act, which was so obviously called for by necessity, that it met with very little opposition in Parliament, and passed, almost unnoticed, into a law. It never failed, for a time, to apply a rude but effective remedy to the disorders of the country, chiefly by withdrawing the cognisance of offences from juries, in whose hands justice was so effectually obstructed, and vesting it in the magistrates, by whom it was sterily but effectively applied. This, however, was only a palliative; it left the real sources of evil untouched. A step, however, was in the same season made in the right direction, by a bill introduced by Mr Goulburn, and which became law, for the legalising of compositions for tithes. This act was only permissive; it established a form by which tithes might, for a period not exceeding twenty-one years, be compounded for, with the consent of the landlord and incumbent, but gave no power of forcing a composition on either. As the bill was originally introduced, there was a clause *compelling* the incumbent to accept of a composition; but this was so violently opposed that Government were compelled to consent to its being withdrawn. The relief afforded was thus partial and local only; but still it was considerable; for the collection of tithes in kind was not only a very vexatious and irritating process, which often led to collision and bloodshed,

but it imposed a direct additional burden, often of a very heavy amount, on the cultivator. This was not the case in England, where the tenant previously calculated the amount of the tithes, and deducted it from his offer for rent, so that it fell directly on the owner of the soil; nor in Scotland, where the wisdom of its native Parliament had, two hundred years before, established a universal and compulsory process for the composition and sale of tithes over the whole country. But in Ireland, such was the competition for possessions that the peasants bade against each other, till they offered more than the entire worth of the land to their landlords alone; leaving the chapter of accidents to provide for the parson, armed with the power of dis-training, and the priest, wielding the thunder of excommunication.

22. A beneficial act was passed in this session of Parliament, which restrained all right of voting at elections under a tenement held in common with others, if the yearly value was together under £20. A great many debates also took place on the alleged malversations of those intrusted with the administration of justice and choice of juries in Ireland. But the motions for inquiry were resisted by the Government, and led to no practical result, except disclosing the deep-seated corruptions which pervaded the country, and withdrawing the attention of all parties from the real maladies by which it was afflicted. The question of Catholic Emancipation was brought on on the 17th April, in the course of which Mr Brougham pronounced a warm eulogium on the political consistency of Mr Peel, who had "always pursued a uniform and straightforward course upon the question;" contrasting it with the inconsistency of Mr Canning, who had exhibited "the most incredible specimen of monstrous truckling for the purpose of obtaining office that the whole history of tergiversation could furnish." Mr Canning declared that this was "false," which led to a most violent scene, in the course of which it was proposed that both gentlemen should be committed

to the sergeant-at-arms. At length Mr Canning agreed to make a conditional apology, and Mr Brougham did the same. Thus ended this personal affair, which made a great noise at the time, but had no other effect than withdrawing the attention of the country from the real causes of Irish distress, and rendering its discussion the signal only for party contests and personal recriminations. The bad effects of this were soon apparent. The Catholic question was got quit of by a side-wind in the Commons, on a motion for an adjournment, by a majority of 313 to 111; and a bill for extending the right of voting to English Catholics, the same as was enjoyed by their brethren in Ireland, though carried in the Commons by a majority of 89 to 30, was rejected in the Lords by 80 to 73.

23. As the great cause of the extreme distress which had, during the three preceding years, prevailed in Ireland, was the ruinous depreciation of the price of all kinds of agricultural produce, from the contraction of the currency in 1819; so, when prices were raised by the opposite consequences of the extension of the currency by the Bill of 1822, an entirely different set of effects appeared. During the greater part of 1823, indeed, the distress induced by the ruinous fall of the three preceding years kept the country in a constant ferment; but as prices rapidly rose towards the close of the year, and continued comparatively high during the whole of 1824, the distress of the peasantry, and with it the agrarian disturbances, declined. The Insurrection Act was renewed by a majority of 112 to 23,* experience having proved that it was the most effectual of all re-

* The Parliamentary Returns showed a very small number brought to trial in comparison with those apprehended under the Act. A few weeks' imprisonment answered the purpose of pacifying the country, without ulterior proceedings. They stood thus:—

	Apprehended.	Convicted.
Kildare, . . .	87	None.
Clare, . . .	189	4
Kilkenny, . . .	64	None.
Cork, . . .	117	None.
Kerry, . . .	132	1

—*Annual Register*, 1824, p. 27.

straints on the violence of the people, and that none, with so small an amount of punishment or suffering, had so surprising an effect in stilling the waves of public discontent. But the rise of prices, which rendered its enforcement unnecessary, produced a gradual but fixed amelioration in the condition of the people; and though formally continued, few districts were proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant preparatory to its being put in force, and it practically became, from the rise of prices, a dead letter.

24. An Irish barrister of ability, Mr North, introduced into the Commons by Mr Canning, gave, in the course of one of these debates, a graphic and veracious account of the condition and miseries of Ireland. "In Ireland," said he, "the people have for a series of years suffered every variety of misery. They have proceeded from one affliction to another. Each season brought its peculiar horror. In one, it was famine; in the next, it was fever; in the third, it was murder. These sad events seemed to form a perpetual cycle, the parts of which were of regular and mournful recurrence. The evils which all felt, all ascribed to different causes. The peasant attributed them to the rapacity of the landlord, the landlord to the bigotry of the clergy. In truth, however, the most conspicuous source of evil was the magnitude of the unemployed population. By no state policy or secret of government is it possible to reconcile tranquillity with idleness. To an energetic people especially, employment is an absolute want. When such a people are left without occupation, they become wild, untamable, and ferocious. Disguise it as you will, such people are in a savage state, and will ever fluctuate, as the Irish

have done, between hopeless indolence and desperate mischief. Placed at the very bottom of the scale of human beings, the Irish peasant never looked upwards. He was excited by no emulation, inspired by no hope. He remained fixed on the spot where he first drew breath, without the wish, and, still more, without the power of motion. He saw himself surrounded by men of a religion different from his own, whose interests were at variance with his, and whose chief or sole business he supposed to be, by the force of the sword and the law, to keep him quiet and poor. He saw in the violation of the law no culpability, in its chastisement no retribution. He went to the scaffold surrounded by admiring multitudes, with the spirit of a patriot, the resignation of a martyr, not the repentance of a criminal. His courage was converted into ferocity, his intelligence into fraud; and at last the peasant was lost in the murderer and incendiary."

25. One evil much complained of in Ireland was sensibly abated in this year, in consequence of the Act passed in the preceding. The Tithe-Composition Bill had been extensively carried into operation, and produced very beneficial effects. Within a few months after its enactment no less than ten hundred and three applications had been made from different parishes to carry its enactments into effect. Mr Hume made a motion for an inquiry into the condition of the Irish Church, with a view to a reduction of its establishment, which elicited from Mr Leslie Foster some very valuable statistical details as to the relative numbers of the two rival churches in the different provinces of the country.* From them it appeared that, taking the whole country into view, the proportion of Catholics to

* The proportions stated by Mr Leslie Foster were—

	Protestants.		Catholics.		Total.
Ulster, . . .	1,250,000	..	750,000	..	2,000,000
Leinster, . . .	300,000	..	1,500,000	..	1,800,000
Munster, . . .	200,000	..	2,400,000	..	2,600,000
Connaught, . .	40,000	..	960,000	..	1,000,000
	1,790,000		5,610,000		7,400,000

The annual rental, £10,000,000; tithes, 1-17th of that sum.—*Ann. Reg.*, 1824, pp. 32, 33. The proportion has now (1862) been materially changed, since the immense emigration of the last fifteen years; it is now 4,490,583 Catholics to 1,273,960 Protestants, or somewhat less than three to one.—*Census*, 1861.

Protestants was four to one; the great majority in Ulster being Protestant, in the three other provinces Catholic. It is remarkable that, while so much attention was drawn to the affairs of Ireland, and so much ability exerted on both sides regarding it, it never occurred to either party that the real causes of distress were entirely different from those which both contended for; and that as long as the inhabitants continued wholly agricultural, and the price of their produce was reduced by the contraction of the currency to a half of its former amount, while the country was swarming with two millions of persons almost, if not entirely, without either employment or the means of emigration, which Government refused to afford, it was utterly impossible to expect that any legislative measures could afford effectual relief.

26. The extraordinary agricultural distress which prevailed in Ireland from the end of 1819 to the end of 1823 produced, however, one usual result of suffering among a people neglected by the Legislature. Association is the natural resource of mankind in such circumstances; and it is only the more widespread when it arises from real evils, and dangerous when it falls under the lash of the law. The CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION arose at this disastrous period; and so naturally did it spring from the sufferings of the people, and so skilful was the direction given to its proceedings by the able and experienced leaders who guided them, that it eluded all attempts at suppression by Act of Parliament, and continued to exercise a paramount influence on the fortunes of the country till the great change brought about by Providence in the middle of the century. Its objects, as publicly divulged, could not be said to contain anything illegal, and yet the Association itself was perverted ere long to most illegal purposes. The declared objects of the Association were: 1st, To forward petitions to Parliament; 2d, To afford relief to Catholics assailed by Orange lodges; 3d, To encourage and support a liberal and independent press, as well in Dublin as in London—such a press as might re-

port faithfully the arguments of their friends, and refute the calumnies of their enemies; 4th, To procure cheap publications for the various schools in the country; 5th, To afford aid to Irish Catholics in America; and, 6th, To give assistance to the English Catholics. Most praiseworthy and meritorious aims; but these, though the ostensible, were not the real objects of the Association, nor the ones which gave it either its great celebrity or its important effects.

27. The real objects of the Association were very different, and were, beyond all doubt, to accomplish, in the first instance, Catholic emancipation, and to acquire for the Catholics the command of the elections, both in boroughs and counties; and next, to achieve by legislative means, or, if necessary, by force, the repeal of the Union, the resumption of the Church property to the Roman Catholic clergy, and the restoration of their faith as the dominant religion of the land. These were their ultimate objects, as they now stand fully proved by their own subsequent conduct and words; but in the mean time they proceeded cautiously, and their immediate measures were directed to the following ends: 1st, To collect a large sum of money annually, in name of *Catholic Rent*, from all the parishes in the kingdom, and to employ for this purpose the spiritual power of the priests, who were directed to use it with the utmost vigour towards obtaining contributions from their flocks, and furthering the objects of the Association; 2d, To appoint Committees of Finance, Grievances, and Education—the Grievance Committee was in an especial manner to take the trials in courts of law under their cognisance, and endeavour by every possible means to obtain the conviction of Orangemen and the acquittal of Roman Catholics; and, 3d, To obtain the suppression of all inferior associations, as Whiteboys, Ribbonmen, and the like, and concentrate the whole energies of the Roman Catholic body and their entire hatred at the Orangemen, styled “their natural enemies,” into one body, directed by a

few heads, and steadily pursuing by every possible means the secret objects of the Association. So numerous were the evils, so pressing the sufferings of Ireland, and so little had been done by the Imperial Parliament for their relief, that it is not surprising that the patriots of that country, often warm and generous, though hasty and unreflecting men, should have thought that the time was come when they were called upon to take the redressing of their grievances into their own hands. But experience has now abundantly proved that the means they took to effect that redress were the ones most calculated to perpetuate the wretchedness under which they suffered, and that it was from the very reverse of the policy which their representatives pursued that effectual relief to the country was alone to be expected.

28. The Roman Catholic question was not brought forward in reference to Ireland in this session of Parliament (1824); but two bills were introduced by Lord Lansdowne into the Upper House, evidently intended to prepare the way for it in the next. The first of these conferred the privilege of voting for members of Parliament on the English Catholics, a boon which had been conferred upon the Irish so far back as 1793; and the second declared them eligible for various offices in the magistracy, and removed the disabilities on the Duke of Norfolk exercising the office of Earl Marshal of England. Both bills were rejected; not so much on the ground of any danger which they themselves threatened, as of the consequences to which they might lead with reference to the future admission of Catholics into Parliament. A subordinate bill, however, was passed by both Houses, which enabled Roman Catholics to hold offices in the Revenue, without taking any other oaths but those *de fide* and of allegiance, and another removing the disabilities on the Duke of Norfolk exercising the functions of Earl Marshal of England. These debates were chiefly important as revealing the schism which existed on the subject in the Cabinet, and which, it was foreseen, would ere long

lead to a break-up of the Government; for Lord Liverpool and the Earl of Westmoreland spoke in favour of both the bills which were rejected, while the Lord Chancellor took the lead in opposing them.

29. The question of Parliamentary Reform was not agitated in this session of Parliament, for the general prosperity which prevailed rendered it an unfavourable time for bringing it forward; but a motion by Mr Abercromby to alter the representation of the city of Edinburgh, which, according to the Scotch custom, was vested in the magistrates and town-council, not the citizens at large, was negatived by a majority of 24, the numbers being 99 and 75. The increasing strength of the minority on a matter involving this vital question was ominous of change in future and no distant times. On the proposal by Mr Peel to renew the Alien Act, which gave the Government the right to send suspected aliens out of the country, an animated debate took place, in the course of which some important facts regarding the working of that much-contested Act were brought forward. It appeared that the total number of aliens residing in the country in 1824 was 26,500, having gradually increased to that number from 22,500 in 1822; that the total number of persons sent off under authority of the Alien Act, since its introduction in 1816, had been only seventeen, of whom eleven were partisans of Napoleon, and that for the last two years not a single person had been removed under it. Mr Canning announced in the course of the debate on the question, amidst loud cheers from both sides of the House, that he trusted it would expire without another renewal, and the bill extending the Act for two years longer was carried by a majority of 120 to 67. In the same session of Parliament a bill was rejected, by 80 to 50, which proposed to extend to prisoners accused of felony the same privilege already enjoyed by those charged with misdemeanours, of being heard in their defence by counsel; a rejection which affords a curious instance of the tena-

city with which lawyers adhere to old institutions, how repugnant soever to every principle of justice or expedience. A more worthy spirit was evinced by a bill which passed both Houses by acclamation, at the special request of the King, which restored the honours of the families of Kenmure, Perth, and Nairn, attainted for their accession to the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and Mar, the origin of the last of which, as was finely said by Mr Peel in introducing the measure, "was lost in the obscurity of forgotten time."

30. This question of the Alien Act is generally the object of fierce contest in Parliament, because its exercise may occasion the removal of popular or royalist leaders in other countries, who have become refugees in this, and whose fate naturally excites commiseration and interest with persons of the same opinions on this side of the Channel. Yet is the true principle which should regulate the matter noways difficult of discovery, and, as usual in such cases, it is to be found in the mean equally distant from the extremes on either side. On the one hand, it is perfectly true, as contended by the opponents of the bill, that it is of the utmost moment that some asylum should exist in Europe for persons who have been stranded in the stormy sea of politics, and with whom such a retreat is an exchange for imprisonment or the scaffold; and so various have become the mutations of fortune, that it is hard to say which of the parties that at present divide the world has most interest in the maintenance of such an asylum. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the refugees who obtain this benefit are bound not to abuse the privileges conferred upon them, and, above all, not to convert the resting-place they have acquired into a workshop for exciting sedition and revolution in this and adjoining states. When the exiles who approach our shores, whether royalist or republican, forget this, their first obligation, and make London the centre from which firebrands and bombs are scattered in every direction, they cannot be surprised, and have no right

to complain, if they are removed from the asylum, the obligations of which they have so entirely forgotten. And as long as free discussion in Parliament and a free press exist in this country, there is little danger of the powers conferred upon Government to check such an evil being abused.

31. Among the important Acts of this session of Parliament must not be omitted one for establishing a uniformity of weights and measures over the whole empire, which passed both Houses and received the royal assent. The old denominations were retained, but they were reduced to uniformity by being all fixed on one standard, and to some degree of certainty by being based on natural divisions. There can be no doubt that this was a very great improvement, although the tenacity of the people, especially in rural districts, to the old measures has prevented the imperial measure, even to this day, coming into universal use. It is only to be regretted that the same simplicity has not been extended to the current coin of the realm by the adoption of the decimal division — a change of all others the most easy to be effected, since it requires nothing but withdrawing the half-crowns from circulation and substituting in their room the new florin, and dividing the shilling into ten pennies instead of twelve: no very arduous undertaking, and attended with obvious benefit in money transactions and the simplification of accounts.

32. A matter of much importance in the internal legislation of England was brought before Parliament this year, in regard to which Government wisely conceded a committee of inquiry. This was the administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, in regard to which the most serious charges of delay, expense, and endless multiplicity of proceedings were alleged. There can be no doubt that these complaints were too well founded; and the fact is, that the evils existing in this department were so enormous that the only surprising thing is that they had been so long tolerated. Probably this was owing to the usual disposition of

party men to make use of existing abuses as an engine of attack against obnoxious individuals, rather than set about their removal with a sincere desire for the public good. The prominent position which Lord Eldon had held for nearly a quarter of a century in the Government, and the lead he had always taken in opposing Catholic emancipation and the chief liberal measures of the day, had rendered him in an especial manner the object of obloquy and attack. Thus all the delays which existed in the Court of Chancery and the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, of which the Chancellor was the head, which were certainly very great, were ascribed to his indecision and want of vigour in the despatch of cases, when, in fact, they arose from the enormous increase of business in every department during the period that he held the seals, which had more than tripled. A parliamentary committee at once ascertained this to be the case, and collected much valuable information in regard to this supreme court.*

33. The eminently prosperous state of the country in every branch of industry during the first three quarters of 1825 left the Opposition no ground for complaint or debate in Great Britain, and the whole attention of Parliament was fixed on Ireland, which afforded in every department a fruitful field for discussion. The Catholic Association presented the first object of attack, for it had grown up with a rapidity quite unexampled, and had now assumed the most gigantic proportions. It was justly deemed inconsistent with anything like government, for it had come to assume the functions both of the Legislature and the Executive, and even exercised a dangerous, and, in

many instances, most pernicious influence over the verdicts of juries and the decisions of the courts of law. Mr Goulburn, early in the next session of Parliament, brought forward a bill for its suppression, which was supported by Government, and resisted by the whole strength of the united Whig and Roman Catholic party. It gave rise to animated debates in both Houses, interesting from the ability displayed on both sides, and valuable from the information they afforded, and the light they threw on Irish affairs at this important crisis of their history.

34. On the part of the Administration, who brought forward the bill, it was contended by Mr Goulburn, Mr Peel, Mr North, and Mr Canning, that "This Association is really and *bonâ fide* acting as the representative of the Irish people, and as such it is enacting rules, promulgating orders, and levying contributions throughout the country. The amount of the Catholic rent levied by the influence of the priests, and under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, on every parish in the country, though, by no means inconsiderable, is the least part of the evil. It is the establishment of such an impost which is the dangerous thing; for it leads the people to look up to other authorities than those recognised by the Constitution, and teaches them to place confidence in a rival power created and fostered by themselves. Every man who pays this tax feels himself identified with the objects of the institution, is pledged to its support, and is bound to it 'for better for worse, for richer for poorer.' Nor is this all. The Catholic Association in Dublin is a great centre of sedition, from whence, and from the press which it supports, there flows a perennial stream of seditious and turbulent

* The parliamentary committee collected very curious and valuable statistical information in regard to the progress of business in the Court of Chancery and House of Lords during the preceding half-century.

YEARS.	Commissions of Bankruptcy.	Appeals to House of Lords.	Balances in hands of Accountant-General.
1770 to 1779	709	272	£6,000,000
1790 to 1800	1000	492	17,000,000
1812 to 1824	2000	547	34,000,000

matter into every parish in the kingdom. Then the congregations are harangued from the altars by the priests and the minor members of the Catholic Association—men as devoid of caution as destitute of education; and who are neither controlled by the dread of the press nor influenced by the weight of public opinion. From the Association in Dublin proceeds a host of rent meetings, infinitely more serious than anything which is done in Dublin itself. The objects and measures of the Association are continually changing; no man can say what they are or will be: but be they what they may, they are implicitly followed out by the whole agitators. Their language becomes more violent every day: it is the nature of such associations to generate vehemence. They cannot remain stationary. *Non progredi est regredi.*

35. "Is it possible that any man, looking at the Catholic Association—at the means, the power, and the influence of which it is acknowledged to be in possession; at the vast authority with which it is armed, and the acts it has done, and is doing—can seriously think of giving stability and permanence to its existence? Self-elected, self-controlled, self-assembled, self-adjourned, acknowledging no superior, tolerating no equal, interfering in all stages with the administration of justice, denouncing individuals publicly before trial, re-judging and condemning those whom the law has absolved, menacing the independent press with punishment, and openly announcing its intention to corrupt that part of it which it cannot intimidate, and for these and other purposes levying contributions on the whole people of Ireland,—is this an Association which, from its mere form and attributes, independent of any religious question, the Legislature can tolerate?"

36. "Ireland is sharing the general prosperity. The indications of that prosperity, and the extension of it to Ireland, are known to every person throughout the country. But does that circumstance disprove the malignity of an evil which retards the increase of that prosperity, by rendering

its continuance doubtful?—which puts to hazard present tranquillity, and disheartens confidence for the future?—which, by setting neighbour against neighbour, and arousing the prejudices of one class of the inhabitants against the other, diverts the minds of both from profitable occupations, and discourages agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and all the arts of peace—everything which blesses or dignifies social life? The tide of English wealth has been lately setting in strongly towards Ireland. The alarm excited by the Association acts at present as an obstacle to turn that tide, and to frighten from the Irish shores the enterprise, capital, and industry of England. Is it not, then, the duty of Parliament to endeavour to remove this obstacle, to restore things to the course which nature and opportunity were opening, and to encourage and improve in Ireland the capacity to receive that full measure of prosperity which will raise her, by slow degrees, to her proper rank in the scale of nations?"

37. "The Catholic Association is too wise in its generation openly to assert its being the representative of the Irish people. Had it done so, no new act of Parliament would have been required to authorise its immediate suppression. But though it has not as yet openly assumed that character, its acts betray that it considers itself as such, and it has that character attributed to it by the entire Catholic body. The repeated statements made in this very debate, as to the Catholic Association being the real representative of the people of Ireland, prove the truth of this statement. Can there coexist in this kingdom, without imminent hazard to its peace, an assembly constituted as the House of Commons is, and another assembly as completely bearing the representative character, but elected by a different process, actuated by different interests, inflamed by different passions? Does not the very proposition that such is the character and such the attributes of the Catholic Association, even if not altogether true at the present time, warn us at least what the Asso-

ciation, if unchecked, will become? And if the Catholic Association, in the full maturity of its strength, cannot co-exist with the House of Commons, shall we not check it in time, before it has acquired that strength and maturity?"

38. On the other hand, it was contended by Sir Henry Parnell, Mr Brougham, and Sir James Mackintosh: "It is the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament which is the sole cause of the existence of the Association; and how can the House of Commons, after having in 1821 solemnly recognised their right to a seat in this House, interfere now to put down an Association, the object of which is to obtain that very act of justice? Emancipate the Catholics, and the Association will at once die a natural death. Refuse that concession, and how can you persecute those who support it? The proceedings of the Association have no real danger belonging to them; there is no treason or insurrection connected with them, no obstruction to Government, no injury to life or property. The outcry is wholly artificial, and kept up studiously by the party who wish to stop that emancipation. Even if the Catholic Association had been the dangerous body which it is said to be, the character of its leaders, and especially of Mr O'CONNELL, who is a man of sense and talent, is a sufficient guarantee against their being betrayed into dangerous excesses. It has already effected the union of the entire Catholic body; it has directed public attention to their numerous grievances; it has called forth the talents of a large portion of the public press in their support; and by inducing this very debate, it will go far to open the eyes of the English people to the injustice towards Ireland to which they have so long been a party. Why then interfere to suppress an Association, the sole design of which is to effect an object which this House has solemnly approved, to terminate a great and crying injustice, to bring about a great and healing act of justice?"

39. "It is impossible to maintain, with any show even of reason, that the

objects of the Association are illegal. The very fact of this bill being introduced proves that they are not so; if they were, the law is already strong enough to reach them. Disguise it as you will, the real object of the bill is, to put down the Association when it is doing nothing illegal, but when it has become an object of dread from the justice of its cause, and the reality of the grievances of which it complains. What are—not merely its ostensible, but—its real objects? To procure and forward petitions to Parliament, to obtain redress for such Catholics assailed by Orange violence as are unable to procure it for themselves, to encourage and support a liberal and enlightened press as well in Dublin as in London, and expose the calumnies by which the Catholic body are assailed, and demonstrate the justice of their cause, to procure cheap publications for the various schools in the country, and afford aid to Irish Catholics in England and America. Is there anything in these objects either dangerous, immoral, or illegal? If there is, where is the association for the purposes of religion or benevolence that may not in the same manner, and on the same grounds, be made the object of legislative persecution?

40. "Excited as the public mind in Ireland now is, in consequence of the injustice of which that country has so long been the object, it is not only noways to be regretted, but highly to be desired, that the people should be brought under the control of leaders who may direct their energies to legal and beneficial objects. Deprived of such restraint, there is no saying to what excesses their indignation may lead. There are now in Ireland between seven and eight millions of people, who do not live for the most part in towns or villages as in England, but are spread in huts over the whole face of the country, exempt from all superintendence or control. This immense body of human beings has been banded together for the last thirty years by a sense of common wrongs, and trained by hidden societies in all the practical courses of secret assassi-

nation and open insurrection. The sympathy of grievance and religion that is universal amongst them, forms a basis for carrying on with effect the most extensive schemes of popular organisation. If any fixed determination to make a great popular effort should seize possession of their minds, in vain would the Catholic nobility, the Catholic lawyers, and even the Catholic clergy, exert their utmost endeavours to check them; and universal ruin and destruction must be the inevitable result of such popular efforts. These millions are increasing at the rate of duplication in twenty-five or thirty years. Is it not plain, therefore, that it is not only expedient, but has become a matter of absolute necessity, to break up the secret government which has so long directed the energies of the Irish people to violence and outrage, and attach them, by equal rule and a reciprocity of advantages, to the laws and the union of England? And what is the object of the Association but to avert these terrible disasters, and bring about, by open, fair, and legal means, this blessed consummation?

41. "A great change has taken place in the Catholic mind in Ireland. The more intelligent and educated among them have become accurately acquainted with the grievances under which they labour; they know their own numbers now by a regular census, and feel their own strength. It is chimerical to suppose that, with such a body, the object expected by putting down the Association will be obtained. As the Catholics, notwithstanding that, still continue to labour under grievances, they will be induced to take such steps to give vent to their feelings as will probably be an evasion of the new law. This is the first of a career of measures that inevitably will end in general confusion and rebellion. Ministers will then come down to the House with a new case of the violation of the constitution, and call for a Coercion Act. Such an act will lead to new acts of evasion and violence on the part of the Catholics, until, by new modes of evading the law, and new laws to co-

erce popular assemblies, the Catholics of Ireland will by degrees be trained to involve themselves in open insurrection. The union of the two countries, up to this moment, has existed only on paper; there is no cordial national union. Ireland is still, in feeling and in fact, a country foreign to England. The people form a clear notion of a distinct Irish and English nation; and the moment the bill passes into a law, the people of Ireland will regard it as a belligerent act on the part of the English nation against the Irish nation, and it will thereafter become impossible to negotiate a peace between the two countries."

42. The debate was continued through four nights, the Opposition, consisting both of the Whigs and Liberals as well as the friends of the Catholics, having put forth their whole strength on the occasion. The second reading, however, was carried by a majority of 155, the numbers being 278 to 123; and in the House of Lords the majority was proportionately still greater, the numbers being 146 to 44. But this decisive victory on the part of the Administration was far from accomplishing the object which Government had in view. The Association immediately dissolved itself; but as quickly a new Association was formed, on such principles as effectually withdrew it from the operations of the Act. Christians of all denominations were invited to join it, in order to obtain redress of the numerous evils which afflicted the country: no oath was required to be taken; and it was expressly declared, "that the new Catholic Association shall not assume, or in any manner exercise, the power of acting for the purpose of obtaining redress of grievances in Church or State, or any alteration in the law of Church or State, or for the purpose of carrying on or assisting in the prosecution or defence of causes civil or criminal." The objects of the new Association were declared to be, to promote peace, harmony, and tranquillity; to encourage a liberal and enlightened system of education; to ascertain the population of Ireland, and the comparative

number of persons of the different persuasions ; to devise means of erecting suitable Catholic places of worship ; to encourage Irish agriculture and manufactures ; and to publish refutations of the charges against the Catholics. These resolutions, which laid the foundation of the new Catholic Association, were received with vehement applause : but the speeches made on the occasion effectually belied their spirit, and gave a melancholy presage of what might be expected from its future proceedings.*

43. These animated discussions concerning the Roman Catholic Association were intended only as an introduction to the grand debate on Catholic Emancipation, for which, as the *cheval de bataille* for the season, both parties were preparing their whole strength, and which led to a result highly favourable to the Catholic hopes. It was introduced in the House of Commons, on March 1st, by Sir Francis Burdett, who, in a masterly and eloquent but yet temperate speech, moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the grounds of complaint set forth in the Catholic petition which he presented. It was opposed by Mr Peel and Mr Leslie Foster ; but the knowledge, which was universal, of the division in the Cabinet on the subject, paralysed the opponents of the motion, and Sir Francis' motion was carried by a majority of 21, the numbers being 248 to 227. This majority, the largest which had been obtained on the subject, was received with vehement cheering in the House of Commons, and justly regarded by all the friends of the Catholics throughout the country as prophetic of the future and not far distant triumph of their cause.

* Mr O'Gorman, the Secretary of the Association, said, "His Majesty's Ministers are not lying on a bed of roses. Independent of their internal dissensions, which I hope God Almighty will increase, their finances are in a ticklish condition. England is beginning to get uneasy, and a cloud appears to be gathering in the north, which might burst, there was no saying how soon, for Russia has 1,300,000 men in arms. All these prospects are sufficient to inspire Irishmen with hope." —*Speech of O'GORMAN, 13th July 1825; Ann. Reg., 1825, p. 45.*

44. If this division in the Commons, however, proved the progress which the Roman Catholic claims had made in the opinions of the popular branch of the Legislature, the fate of the question in the Peers was not less ominous of the difficulties with which it was beset among the aristocratic. The question came on in the House of Lords in April ; and as it had been carried by so large a majority in the Commons, the attention of both parties in the country was fixed with the most intense anxiety on the division in the Peers. They were long kept in suspense, as the presenting of various petitions on the subject gave rise, as usual on such occasions, to several desultory debates before the question itself came on. It was brought to a decision, however, on 17th May, when the measure was thrown out by a majority of 65, the numbers being 178 to 113.

45. On occasion of one of these petitions being presented, the Duke of York made, in a bold and manly tone, the following declaration, which had an important influence on the ultimate fate of the bill : "Eight-and-twenty years have elapsed since this question was first agitated, under the most awful circumstances, while this country was engaged in a most arduous and expensive, though just and necessary war : the agitation of it had been the cause of a most serious and alarming illness to an illustrious personage now no more, whose exalted character and virtues, and parental affection for his people, would render his memory ever dear to his country ; and it produced also the temporary retirement from his late Majesty's councils of one of the most able, enlightened, and honest statesmen of whom this country could boast. Upon this question we are now called upon to decide ; and from the first moment of its agitation to the present, I have not for one instant hesitated or felt a doubt as to the propriety of the line of conduct to be adopted in regard to it.

46. "A great change of language and sentiment has taken place, since the subject was first introduced, among

the advocates for Catholic emancipation. At first, the most zealous of them had endeavoured to impress upon the minds of the people that Catholic emancipation ought not to be granted without establishing strong and effectual barriers against any encroachment on the Protestant ascendancy. But how changed was now their language! Your Lordships are called upon to surrender every principle of the constitution, and to deliver us up, bound hand and foot, to the mercy and generosity of the Roman Catholics, without any assurance even that they would be satisfied with such fearful concessions. The King is bound by his coronation oath to maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, *and the Protestant reformed religion*, established by law. Ours is a Protestant King, who knows no mental reservation, and whose situation is different from that of any other person in the country. I myself, and every other individual in the country, can be released from my oath by act of Parliament, but the King cannot. The oath is a solemn obligation by the person who took it, from which no act of his own could release him; and the King is the third estate in the realm, without whose *voluntary* consent no act of the Legislature can be valid.

47. "If I have expressed myself warmly, especially in the latter part of what I have said, I must appeal to your Lordships' generosity. I feel the subject most forcibly; and it affects me the more deeply, when I recollect that to its agitation must be ascribed that severe illness and ten years of misery which at last clouded the existence of my beloved father. I shall therefore conclude with assuring your Lordships that I have uttered my honest and conscientious sentiments, founded upon principles I have imbibed from my earliest youth, to the justice of which I have subscribed after careful consideration in maturer years; and these are the principles to which I

will adhere, and which I will maintain, and that up to the latest moment of my existence, *whatever might be my situation of life*, so help me God."

48. Immense was the impression which this bold and manly declaration, coming from the next heir to the throne, and a prince whose sincere and intrepid character left no room for doubt but that he would act up to his opinions, produced over the country. Mr Brougham, to neutralise its effects, the next evening, in the House of Commons, commenced a violent invective against the Duke of York, saying that "the words he was reported to have uttered, but which must have been false, would, if true, have given him alarm, not only for good government, but the constitution of the country, and the stability of the monarchy as by law established and settled by the Revolution of 1688. No man living could believe that a prince of that house which sat on the throne by virtue of the Revolution of 1688, could promulgate to the world that, happen what would, when he came to another situation, he would act in a particular way. No monarch who ever sat upon the English throne had ever been prepared for such resistance to his people on behalf of the Catholics, as was now not only meditated, but openly avowed against them. Nothing could save the empire from a convulsion but such a large increase in the majority on the Catholic question as might render such imprudent conduct as was openly announced impossible. A little while, and it would be too late; a brief time, and the opportunity now in their hands would be lost for ever." But these statements on either part led to no decisive result. Each side was only rendered the more confirmed in its own opinions; and the Catholic question was thereby rendered an ulcerated sore in the empire, which affected all the adjoining parts so seriously, that it became evident it could not be cut out without endangering the whole body.

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH EMPIRE FROM THE MONETARY CRISIS OF DECEMBER 1825 TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS IN MARCH 1829.

1. THE year 1826 opened with such universal consternation and depression in all classes, from the effect of the terrible monetary crisis at the end of the preceding year, that the consideration of it exclusively engrossed the public mind, and scarcely any other topic occupied the attention of Parliament in the next session. All classes were suffering alike. The banks, struck with terror from the numerous failures which had taken place, could hardly be prevailed on, on any terms, or any security, to make advances to their customers; the merchants, dreading the continued fall in the price of commodities, declined entering into speculations; the manufacturers, finding their usual orders awanting, or seriously diminished, contracted their operations; the workmen, thrown out of employment, became desperate, and vented their despair upon the machinery, which they imagined was the cause of all their suffering. The immense issue of paper without any gold to support it—to the extent of £8,000,000 in three weeks—in the end of December, had indeed arrested the panic, but it had not restored confidence; and Government, by refusing to issue Exchequer bills, a relief which had always been afforded on similar occasions in time past, effectually prevented for long the restoration of credit, or the extension of any relief to the industrious and suffering portion of the community.

2. The general distress, as usual in such cases, led to serious acts of riot and disturbance in several of the manufacturing districts. On all sides the most appalling proofs of wretchedness were afforded, and in some quarters

alarming disorders took place. The recent improvements in machinery were regarded by the working classes as the main cause of the general suffering; and in Lancashire the indignation of the operatives against what they deemed an invasion of their birth-right, broke out in various and most melancholy acts of outrage. It was a woeful spectacle to see the streets of Manchester, and the chief towns in its vicinity, filled with vast crowds, sometimes ten thousand in number, whose wan visages and lean figures but too clearly told the tale of their sufferings, snatching their food from bakers' shops, breaking into factories and destroying power-loom mills, and throwing stones at the military at the hazard of being shot, rather than relinquishing an object on the attainment of which they sincerely believed their very existence depended. Serious riots took place in Carlisle, in the course of which a woman and child were shot dead; and in Norwich, where twelve thousand weavers were employed, an alarming disturbance, attended with great violence, ensued. In all the iron districts, strikes to arrest the fall of wages took place; and in Dublin and Glasgow immense crowds of operatives paraded the streets entreating relief, which was in some degree afforded by munificent subscriptions opened by the wealthy classes, and which, being judiciously laid out in the purchase of the fabrics of these poor people, instead of merely giving them money, relieved distress to triple the amount which it otherwise could have done.

3. The universal suffering attracted, as well it might, the anxious attention of Government, although, unfortunate-

ly, they were so blind to the real causes of the calamity that they brought forward measures intended to avert, which in reality had only the effect of perpetuating it. In the King's speech the all-absorbing theme was thus alluded to: "His Majesty deeply laments the injurious effects which the late pecuniary crisis must have entailed upon many branches of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom. But his Majesty confidently believes that the temporary check which commerce and manufactures may at this moment experience, will, under the blessing of Divine Providence, neither impair the great sources of our wealth, nor impede the growth of national prosperity." Yet, while the attention of all classes was riveted on this all-important subject, the only measure of relief which was afforded consisted in a bill which allowed the bonded corn in the ports, estimated at 300,000 quarters, to be sold in the country without paying the duty imposed by the Corn Law, which, after encountering considerable opposition from the landed interest, passed both Houses, but afforded scarcely any relief to the country. What was wanted was not food, but money to buy food.

4. What Government should have done at this juncture was then distinctly pointed out by some of the ablest and most experienced men in Parliament, though unhappily without any effect. The terrible crisis which the country had just gone through was obviously owing to something wrong in the currency; but a great difference of opinion prevailed as to what that error was. The partisans of Administration, and the whole Whig party, were unanimous in holding that the mischief had all originated in the extravagant speculation of the two last years, which had been unduly fostered by the perilous and excessive issue of bank-notes by the country bankers, great part of whom had no sufficient capital to support them; and the only remedy they could devise was to suppress small notes altogether, and render the currency not only in all its parts dependent on the retention of gold and silver,

but below £5 to consist entirely of it. The friends of the country bankers, on the other hand, maintained that nothing could be imagined so perilous, as at this time, when the country had so recently come through a severe monetary crisis, to tamper with the currency, and, in endeavouring to put it on a more stable footing, in a great measure to extinguish it altogether. The debates are of the highest interest, for they relate to one of the most momentous and decisive changes recorded in English history, and which was attended with the most important results. And they are extremely curious and instructive, as affording an example of the ease with which a powerful party can succeed in deluding the public mind, and conducting a nation, amidst universal applause, to the very measures most destructive to its prosperity, and in the end hazardous to its institutions.

5. On the part of Government it was argued by Lord Liverpool, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Huskisson, and Mr Canning: "The monetary crisis which this country has recently undergone is evidently owing to the mad speculation of the last two years; and that speculation has been mainly fostered by the vast increase in the issues of country bankers' notes which took place during that period of delusive prosperity. In 1822, before the mania of speculation began, the stamps issued for country bank-notes were about £4,200,000 annually; in 1824, when the mania set in, they rose to £6,000,000; and in 1825, when the mania was at its height, they amounted to no less than £8,000,000 annually. This was the amount of stamps annually issued for *new* notes: the amount actually in circulation was in general about 50 per cent more at each period, and in 1825 amounted to £14,000,000. The notes of the Bank of England had also increased during the same period, but in a much less degree: the increase in that quarter was only £3,000,000—from £19,000,000, in round numbers, to £22,000,000. The great increase in the currency, therefore, has been in the country bankers' notes; and they

are chargeable with all the disasters which have ensued. The only way to prevent a repetition of the evil is to lay the axe to the root of the cause from which it sprang.

6. "Such a measure is no innovation; on the contrary, it is the opposite system which is an innovation. In 1775 an Act passed prohibiting the issue of bank-notes for a limited time; and in 1777 another passed, which permanently prohibited the issuing of notes under £5. This continued to be the law until 1797, when, amidst the necessities of the French war, the suspension of cash payments took place until two years after a general peace, and it became necessary to legalise and re-issue small notes, as the gold had all been withdrawn. This suspension was not founded on any belief that the small-note system was at all connected with the prosperity of agriculture, commerce, or manufactures; on the contrary, all parties were agreed that they should be withdrawn as soon as possible, and no one contemplated their continued circulation after the Bank should have resumed cash payments. And yet during the whole of this period, from 1777, manufactures and commerce had flourished notwithstanding the absence of the small notes.

7. "The alarm felt on this subject, if founded in reason at all, must be grounded on the idea that the circulation will be diminished by the whole amount of the notes withdrawn; and doubtless, if that were to be the case, a very serious check to industry and the operations of commerce might be anticipated. But nothing is clearer than that no such danger is to be apprehended. During the three years ending with 1822, twenty-five millions of gold sovereigns had been coined, and of these £7,200,000 were shown by the returns to have been exported, and perhaps £10,000,000 in all had left the country. Of these, £1,000,000 had returned in the close of last year; so that the gold circulation might fairly be taken at £16,000,000. The country bankers' circulation, as measured by the stamps issued in 1825, had been

£6,000,000 in that year; and supposing double that number to be the amount of notes actually in circulation, the amount will be only £12,000,000—considerably within the gold which has been coined during the three years succeeding 1819. The present amount of country bank-notes in circulation does not probably exceed £4,000,000; while the bank-notes of the Bank of England, in the end of 1825, had risen to £25,000,000. It is chimerical, therefore, to apprehend any undue contraction of the currency from the suppression of small notes; it is only exchanging a perilous and unstable for a firm and secure circulation.

8. "There are two ways of effecting this withdrawal; and the only question really for consideration is, which of the two is safest, and likely to occasion least inconvenience to the community. The one is, by enacting that no more small notes should be stamped after a certain future period; the other, to allow those already in circulation to run a certain course till a fixed period, and prohibiting any new ones to be created. Government, after mature deliberation, have determined upon the last of these methods. No new notes are to be henceforth allowed to be stamped; those already in circulation are to be allowed to circulate for three years, but no longer. In consequence of certain differences between the banking systems of Ireland and Scotland, particularly the latter, it is not proposed, in the mean time, to extend the Act to either of these countries; though it is difficult to see any good reason, on principle, on which such a difference is to be long continued.

9. "By cautiously and gradually, in this manner, withdrawing the small notes from circulation, one inestimable blessing will be attained—the poor will in a great measure be saved from the pressure and ruin consequent on a monetary crisis. Who are the persons among whom, in the first place, these small notes circulate? The poorer classes of the community—those to whom the possession of a one-pound note is comparative riches. And when,

from the scanty earnings of hard labour and persevering economy, they have amassed three or four pounds, how can they now lay it by but in that kind of money? We have been told, and told truly, that in many districts these notes constitute the whole circulating medium. In what, therefore, must the poor man put his trust but in that paper; and if it fails him, what becomes of his savings? The necessary consequence of such a state of things is, that when an alarm begins, when he hears of failures, the poor man rushes forward to the bank to get his notes exchanged for specie, and the bank, overwhelmed with demands, is obliged to stop payment. He follows the torrent, he increases the difficulty, he adds to the distrust; and to the universality of these feelings may be traced a great portion of the late disastrous events. It is evident, therefore, that the power of issuing these notes is the chief source at once of the insecurity of country bankers, and of the widespread misery which their failure occasions among the poor. The resumption of cash payments in 1819 was unanimously agreed to by the Legislature; but the work was incompletely done, as long as small notes were allowed to remain in circulation. Now is the time to carry it fully out, and avoid all the dangers we have encountered, by establishing the currency upon a safe and lasting foundation.

10. "Till small notes are suppressed, this most desirable result never can take place. Experience has proved that, however plausible the theory that notes and specie may be mutually exchangeable, in practice it cannot exist. The one inevitably destroys the other. *People all prefer notes to coin*; for what reason it is difficult to say, but the fact undoubtedly is so. If crown notes and half-crown notes were issued, crowns and half-crowns would disappear; and if one-pound notes are to be allowed to continue to circulate, sovereigns will speedily become a rarity. There never was a gold circulation in general use in the country, except in Lancashire, where no country notes existed; and

when, in 1822 and 1823, the Bank of England was most anxious to supply the country with gold, the sovereigns sent down by one coach returned by another. Great sacrifices have already been made to effect the introduction of even a partial metallic currency in the country, and these sacrifices have been made in vain. A large supply of gold had been obtained at a great expense, and it was got only that we might see it depart, and be compelled to purchase it again at a double expense. The currency of the country can never be placed on a solid basis unless country banks are prohibited from issuing notes, except such as are of a considerably higher denomination than the current coin, so as to save it entirely from the competition of the paper currency.

11. "The principle of the measure, therefore, can be resisted only by those who maintain that the pecuniary interests will be best secured by prescribing a metallic currency. Its necessary effect will be to give solidity to the banks themselves, by compelling them to maintain a portion of their circulation in gold instead of worthless paper, and thus avoid those ruinous runs which have proved fatal to so many of the most respectable establishments. It will prevent the widespread misery which such failures now induce, for the savings of the working classes will be laid by in specie; and as it will form the chief medium of circulation, the greatest panic cannot produce a run. Let the Bank of England retain in its coffers as much gold as may be necessary for the ordinary circulation of the country, for the exigencies of Government, and to enable it to adjust an unfavourable state of foreign exchanges. Let every country bank be governed by the same rules, and compelled to keep an amount of gold proportioned to its operations; and this will not only give them security, but occasion a sensitiveness to occurrences likely to cause a pressure on the country banks, which will tend to the security of the whole kingdom. The issues will be kept within due bounds, and the

gold will be kept within the kingdom."

12. On the other hand, it was argued by Mr Baring, Mr Heygate, and Mr Gurney, all great mercantile men—"The proposed measure is alike inadequate to meet the evils complained of, and ill suited to the present state of the country. What is the cause of the embarrassment now so generally felt by all classes? Is it not the sudden contraction of the currency, and consequent destruction of credit at the close of last year? And what remedy does Government propose for the evil? To contract it still more. Taking the currency at £20,000,000, and the chasm produced by the recent failures in it at £3,500,000 the proposed measure will produce a further chasm to the extent of £7,000,000, with which it will be impossible to carry on the commerce of the country. The postponement of the suppression of small notes for three years is no alleviation, but rather an aggravation of the evil, for it is the nature of the human mind to exaggerate impending evils: nothing is so bad in reality as it appears in prospect. The country bankers, having the suppression of small notes hanging over their heads, must, as a matter of necessity, contract their issues, and this can only be done by refusing accommodation to their customers, and calling up such advances as they have already made. This will of necessity stop industry in numberless channels. This stoppage is what is now going on, and the proposed measure will seriously tend to aggravate it. The extent to which this evil is spreading no man living can estimate, and it will probably lead to consequences which none can contemplate without horror. How is the gap which is to be made in the circulation to be filled up? and if it is not supplied, how is the industry of the country to be supported? As a measure of present relief, the proposed measure is unwise and inappropriate; as a measure of prospective security, it will be nugatory.

13. "The country bankers, of whose improvidence and mad speculation so

much is said, are in truth the only persons who have not speculated, and who have exerted all their influence to arrest the dangerous spirit among their customers. A prudent regard for their own safety forced this course of conduct upon them. Where did the extravagant speculation which has been attended with such ruinous consequences originate? In Manchester and Liverpool, a district in which, as well as all Lancashire, no small notes at all were in circulation. Where did it next spread, and assume its most dangerous aspect? In the Stock Exchange of London, a city in which, and for sixty-five miles around, no bankers' notes can be issued. In 1720, the only year in which wild speculations at all similar to those of the last year prevailed, there were no country banks or bankers' notes; and in 1797, when the run took place upon the banks which rendered the suspension of cash payments a matter of necessity, there were not only no country small notes, but no Bank of England small notes in circulation. It was the failure of the seven great bankers in London, in whose hands the bills of more than a hundred country bankers had been placed, which occasioned the greater part of the country failures; and had it not been for the solidity of the country bankers, the catastrophe would have been far greater than it actually was. So far from the country bankers having begun the mischief, and their notes having been the means of spreading it, it was the merchants and capitalists of Liverpool, Manchester, and London, without small notes, who began it, and the small notes of the country bankers were only brought in at the close of the day to arrest its devastation.

14. "The embarrassments which have been experienced are always ascribed to over-trading; but there is a great deal of injustice in this imputation. By far the greater part of it is to be ascribed to the fluctuations in the currency, which no prudence on the part of the mercantile classes could avert, and no wisdom foresee. In 1823 and 1824, the Bank had accumulated

a very great treasure, amounting at one time to £14,000,000, in their coffers; and their circulation was proportionally extended, which, as a matter of course, led to a proportionate increase of the country bankers' issues, which always increase with those of the Bank of England. In consequence of the quantity of money thus thrown into the market, interest fell to 4 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; and of course, as it could be got on such easy terms, speculations of all sorts were proportionally extended. This ere long led to a run, as such a state of things must always in the end do, on the Bank for gold to carry on the immense undertakings thus set on foot, great part of which were in distant countries, and could be conducted with nothing else; and then the Bank, in its own defence, was compelled suddenly and violently to contract its issues. The banks were compelled to do so, for the first duty of the directors is to look after their own interests; but still the consequences were the same. The London bankers, hard pressed themselves, called upon their correspondents in the country, who again called upon their customers, and soon every creditor came to take his debtor by the throat. Then came the panic, which in such circumstances was inevitable, and the Bank was too much fettered by its engagements with and advances to Government to be able to afford the public any relief. That is the simple account of the whole catastrophe, and what had the country bankers to do with inducing it? So far from their having had any share in bringing it about, they were its first victims; and the real cause is to be found in the monetary operations of the metropolis, where their notes did not circulate, and with which they had no concern whatever.

15. "The distress which the crisis produced, and which was much more serious than Government seemed to be aware, will be increased rather than diminished by the proposed change. The very exertions of the country bankers to prepare for the intended change have already most fearfully augmented the general distress. They

were indeed preparing; but they were preparing by screwing, almost to destruction, every farmer, manufacturer, or other customer in the country, from whom they could get their money. Was this the way to relieve a country already suffering under a shortening of credit and a want of money? Unless Parliament allowed them more time to meet the new order of things, utter ruin to all the small shopkeepers, manufacturers, and farmers in the country must ensue. The question is not, what is theoretically best, but what, in the circumstances, is most expedient?—and the general distress which pervades the country districts is the first thing to which, in discussing questions of this nature, Parliament is bound to attend. The present measure can be productive of nothing but evil. What is really required, and would relieve the distress, is to establish joint-stock banks on such principles as to induce persons of capital to enter into them, to introduce silver as a standard of currency as well as gold, and to relieve the Bank of England from those incumbrances connected with Government which at present render it impossible for it to come forward on a crisis to relieve the public distress."

16. Ministers carried their measure by an overwhelming majority, Mr Baring's amendment, that "it is not expedient, in the present disturbed state of public and private credit, to enter upon the consideration of the banking system of the country," having been lost by a majority of 193, the numbers being 232 to 39. In the House of Lords the preponderance was equally great, the numbers being so decisive that the matter was not pressed to a division. The prohibition to issue £2 and £1 notes was at the same time extended to the Bank of England, by a majority of 66 to 7—in the face of a protest by Mr Gurney, that "if Government destroyed all the country bankers' notes, and at the same time stopped the issue of small notes by the Bank of England, they would leave the country in a state of destitution of which they could form no adequate conception." This observation produced no sort of

impression, and it passed into a law that stamps for £2 and £1 notes should no longer be issued either to the Bank of England or country banks, and that, at the expiration of three years from March 1826—that is, in March 1829—their circulation should be prohibited altogether in England.

17. Mr Canning said, upon this question being brought to a vote, that “he hoped the decision of it would be regarded as decisive of the principle, and determine it FOR EVER.” It did so: and it may be added that, as putting the finishing hand to the currency system of 1819, it in a great measure DETERMINED ALSO THE FATE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Thenceforward a series of causes and effects set in, which no human power was afterwards able to arrest; and which, in their ultimate effects, changed the governing party in the British Islands, induced Catholic emancipation, and an entire alteration of our ecclesiastical policy, overturned the ancient constitution of the empire, and established a new one, resting on an entirely different basis, and directed by entirely different men, in its stead. It had a material influence in bringing about Negro Emancipation, the Repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws, Free Trade, and the entire alteration which followed in our foreign alliances, and policy, and system of government, domestic, foreign, and colonial. The Act of 1826, justly regarded as the complement of that of 1819 in regard to monetary measures, and which rendered our entire circulation and mercantile credit dependent on the retention of gold, the very thing which the daily-extending operations of commerce rendered it impossible at all times to retain, is to be regarded as the turning-point in our whole history, domestic, social, and foreign; and without a steady observation of it, and appreciation of its effects, all attempts to explain, or even understand, the subsequent changes which occurred in the British empire will be nugatory.

18. To understand how this came to pass, and how such mighty effects flowed from a change at first sight so

trivial as the suppression of small notes, and the substitution of sovereigns in their room, it is only necessary to reflect on the *universal* influence which, in an industrious and highly-civilised community such as that of Great Britain, the price of commodities—that is, the remuneration earned by industry—has on the wellbeing, and through it on the feelings, opinions, and desires of all classes, and then on the immediate and decisive effect which the expansion or contraction of the currency has on these prices and that remuneration. It is a mistake to suppose that political discontent, or an earnest desire for change, either social or religious, is ever excited among the people of this country by mere fickleness of disposition or the arts of demagogues, how skilful in their vocation soever they may be. That is sometimes the case among a people ardent and changeable, like the French, who have been long excited by the changes of revolution, and among whom large parties have come to look for advancement by its success. But in a peaceable industrious community like that of Great Britain, intent on individual wellbeing and social amelioration, it is in *general suffering* that the foundation must be laid for the general desire for political change. Demagogues, when the feeling is once excited by this means, often inflame it, and determine the direction which it is to take, but they cannot call the passion into being. All the popularity of the cry for cheap bread, and all the talents of Mr Cobden, would have failed in bringing about the repeal of the Corn Laws, had not five bad seasons in succession brought the reality and evils of *dear bread* home to every family; and all attempts to pacify Ireland while the prices of agricultural produce were unremunerating, were as fruitless as all attempts to disturb it have been since the great emigration, and the opening of the huge banks of issue, by Providence, in California and Australia, have secured an adequate return for rural labour in the Emerald Isle.

19. To be convinced of the decisive

effect which the destruction of small notes, and entire founding of the currency on gold, has had on the future destinies of Great Britain, we have only to cast our eyes on the table below, which shows the immediate effect of these changes on the prices of commodities, and the speedy result of their decline or rise in inducing or preventing political change. Three years of suffering and general misery followed the resumption of cash payments by the bill of 1819, and the determination of suppressing small notes in 1823, then announced. This absolutely forced Government to alter the law, and prolong small notes for ten years longer; and three years' unbounded prosperity, good prices, and general contentment followed the change. The unfortunate dependence of our currency on gold by the bill of 1819, coupled with the entire abstraction of that gold to carry on our South American speculations, brought on the terrible monetary crisis of 1825; and it was immediately succeeded by the stoppage of the issue of stamps for small notes, and their announced suppression in three years.

Three years of low prices and misery followed, which, driving to desperation an agricultural country in which they operated most powerfully, produced such an outcry as forced Catholic emancipation on a reluctant Government. The entire suppression of small notes took effect in 1829, and three years of still lower prices and increased misery followed, which induced general discontent and political agitation, and ended in the Reform Bill, the passing of which was a virtual revolution, and occasioned a total change in our entire policy, foreign and domestic. So close and invariable is this connection, and so uniformly do the same effects follow from the same causes, that we have only to look at the state of the money market in London, the rate of discount fixed by the Bank of England, and the number of notes in circulation, for any considerable time during the last half-century, to be able to predict with unerring certainty the tone of general feeling, the amount of general suffering or happiness, and the degree of political change, which is immediately to follow.*

* AMOUNT OF PAPER IN CIRCULATION, THE EXPORTS, IMPORTS, REVENUE, PRICE OF WHEAT AND COTTON, WITH THE GREAT POLITICAL CHANGES IN GREAT BRITAIN IN EVERY YEAR FROM 1818 TO 1832, BOTH INCLUSIVE.

Year.	Bank of England Notes, 31st August.	Country Banks.	Total.	Com. Paper discounted at Bank.	British and Irish Exports Declared Value.	Imports Official Value.	Revenue.	Average price of Wheat per quarter.	Price of Cotton per lb.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.
1818	26,202,150	20,507,000	46,709,150	5,113,748	46,603,249	36,885,182	53,747,795	83 8	2 0
1819	25,252,690	15,701,328	40,954,018	6,321,402	35,208,321	30,776,810	52,648,847	72 3	1 11
1820	24,299,840	10,576,245	34,875,585	4,672,123	36,424,652	32,438,650	54,282,958	65 10	1 5
1821	20,295,300	8,256,180	28,551,480	2,772,587	36,659,630	30,792,760	55,834,192	54 5	1 1
1822	17,464,790	8,416,830	25,881,620	3,622,151	36,968,964	30,500,094	55,663,650	43 3	1 0
1823	19,231,240	9,920,074	29,151,314	5,624,693	35,458,048	35,798,707	57,672,999	51 9	0 10
1824	20,132,120	12,831,332	32,963,452	6,255,343	38,396,300	37,552,935	59,362,408	62 0	1 0
1825	19,398,840	14,930,168	34,329,008	7,691,464	38,877,388	44,137,482	57,273,869	66 6	1 0½
1826	21,563,560	8,656,101	30,219,661	7,369,749	31,536,723	37,686,113	54,894,989	56 11	1 0
1827	22,747,600	9,885,300	32,632,900	3,389,725	37,181,335	44,887,774	54,932,518	56 9	0 10½
1828	21,357,510	10,121,476	31,478,986	3,322,754	36,812,756	45,028,805	55,187,142	60 5	0 8½
1829	19,547,380	8,130,327	27,677,697	4,589,370	35,842,623	43,981,817	50,786,682	66 8	0 8½
1830	21,464,700	7,841,396	29,306,096	3,654,074	38,271,597	46,245,241	50,056,616	64 3	0 8½
1831	18,538,630	7,914,216	26,452,846	5,848,478	37,164,372	49,713,889	46,424,440	66 4	0 9½
1832	18,320,000	8,221,895	26,541,895	3,247,169	36,450,594	44,586,741	46,988,755	53 8	0 9
				Reform Bill passed	July 18 32.				

—PORTER, third edition, pp. 356, 475, 148; TOOKE *On Prices*, vol. ii. pp. 382, 383, 401; MARSHALL'S *Parliamentary Tables*, p. 55.

20. The persons who debated the case of the suppression of small notes in 1826, able and well-informed as they were on both sides, took a very partial view of this great question; and subsequent and dear-bought experience has enabled us to discover wherein their error consisted. They argued it on the one side as if the sole point for consideration was, how the currency could be rendered secure, and the holders of it be saved from those terrible failures which had recently spread such universal consternation; on the other, as if the chief danger to be apprehended was the shortening or cutting off of credit to persons engaged in commerce or agriculture, and the suspension of industry which might ensue in consequence. What was alleged on both sides was in reality the truth, but on neither was it the whole truth. Neither party seemed to be aware of *other* effects resulting from the measure under discussion, which subsequent experience has nevertheless completely brought to light, and which has given the paramount importance of the decision now taken to future times.

21. The first of these is the consideration that small notes, from their adaptation to small, and therefore the great bulk of transactions, are the ones which can chiefly be relied on as likely to remain in circulation; and upon the plenty or scarcity of which, with the public, the ease or tightness of the money market is mainly dependent. Every banker knows this; if any private person doubts it, let him reflect whether he most frequently has several £5 notes, or an equal amount in sovereigns or £1 notes, in his pocket. The second is, that the plenty or scarcity of these notes, or of sovereigns, in circulation, determines not merely the amount of credit which persons engaged in either commercial or agricultural speculations are to receive at the time, but also *the price of the articles in which they deal* for a course of years, and consequently whether their business is to be a gainful or a losing one for a long period. Invariably it will be found that a contraction of the currency is followed, not only by a

great and most distressing diminution of accommodation, and ruin of credit to persons engaged in business, at the moment it takes place, but by a lasting reduction of prices, often continuing for years together, and which occasions the destruction of a large proportion of these persons. The third is, that a currency, consisting, below £5, entirely of gold and silver, is liable to be entirely withdrawn at times by the necessities of war or the changes of commerce; and, consequently, if there is no other currency equally adapted to ordinary operations to supply its place, entire ruin to credit and industry may at any time be induced, without the possibility of human wisdom or foresight guarding against it. A campaign on the Rhine or the Danube, three weeks' rain in Great Britain during August, a potato rot in Ireland, a great demand for gold in America in consequence of commercial distress or political convulsions, may at any time bring ruin upon the whole industry of the country, when most wisely conducted, and in the most prosperous state, and sap the very foundations of our national existence, by driving some hundred thousand of our most industrious and valuable citizens annually, for a course of years, into exile. This is exactly what happened in 1847, and from the effects of which the nation so long suffered; and the same effects may be confidently expected to return from the same cause, as long as the ordinary circulation of the country is rested entirely on a metallic basis.

22. What the Legislature should have done in 1826 on this all-important question has now become apparent, and had been so clearly pointed out by experience, that had not a small but influential portion of the community, who, from their wealth, got the command of the public press, been interested on the other side, it was impossible that the proper remedy could have been mistaken. What brought on the crisis was the entire dependence of the circulation on gold, which inflamed speculation as much in 1824 and 1825, when the precious metals were plentiful, credit was high,

and prices of everything were rising, as it starved industry and ruined credit in the end of 1825, when twelve millions of sovereigns were drawn away to South America. What rendered it so eminently disastrous, and the ruin it induced so widespread, was the great number of failures among the country bankers, and the destruction of industry which took place by the sudden withdrawal of all credit from their customers. Induced by the abstraction of twelve million sovereigns, it was stopped by the issue of eight million additional Bank of England notes, when the Bank had only £1,000,000 in specie to meet notes to the amount of £25,000,000! What should have been done, therefore, was to guard against the ruinous effects of an exportation of the sovereigns, by providing an issue of notes by the Bank of England, *to the amount of the gold withdrawn, not convertible into specie*, and therefore not liable to disappear; and have avoided an over-issue, by causing it to be drawn in by being taken in payment of taxes, and not reissued when the gold returned. At the same time they might have averted the worst effect of the country bankers' failures, by issuing small notes of the Bank of England to the amount required by the country, or compelling the country bankers to deposit Government securities with the Bank of England to the full amount of the notes they issued. Instead of this, they continued the entire dependence of the currency on gold, and suppressed small notes in England altogether—the very measures best calculated to insure a recurrence of the disasters of which the nation had so recently experienced the bitterness.

23. How strongly wedded soever the Government and great majority of the House of Commons were to the cheapening system, and however resolute to face all imaginable danger, in order to establish, as they thought, the currency of the country on a secure foundation, the necessities of the state drove them into some measures of an opposite tendency, and which in a considerable degree relieved the general suffer-

ing. The first of these was a bill allowing private bankers to have an unlimited number of partners, instead of six, to which they were by law restricted—a just and wise measure, and which the jealousy and influence of the Bank of England alone had prevented being earlier adopted. The second was an Act authorising the establishment of branches of the Bank of England in the country towns—a wise measure also, and which tended to introduce in a wider degree the circulation of small notes of the Bank of England during the three years they were allowed to remain in circulation. Finally, upon the most urgent petitions from Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and all the other manufacturing towns, setting forth the necessity of some assistance from Government, Ministers agreed to guarantee advances by the Bank on goods and other securities, to the extent of three millions. This was deemed a better mode of proceeding than issuing exchequer bills themselves, to which they were strongly urged, as Government, it was said, had nothing to do with the currency or the banking operations of individuals. But although that principle might be well founded in the general case, it assuredly was not so in this, when the crisis which had ensued had been caused entirely by the Government itself resting the currency wholly on a metallic basis, and then going into measures connected with South America which caused that basis to be cut away.

24. The bill for the suppression of small notes was not by its provisions extended to Scotland or Ireland, in both of which countries a different banking system had long prevailed, subject to none of the objections stated against the English country banks, and to the existence of which the rapid progress both countries had made in wealth and industry of late years was mainly to be ascribed. In Scotland, in particular, a system of banking had been in existence for above a hundred and thirty years, which, combining prudence with liberality, was established on so firm a footing that it had stood with entire success the storm

which had proved so fatal in the southern part of the island. There were thirty banks in that country, nearly all of which issued notes which were in universal circulation, and had entirely superseded gold in the ordinary transactions of business with all classes. These notes amounted in general to about £3,500,000; and to this issue, which gave to a country not as yet possessing it all the advantages of realised capital, the extraordinary progress which it had made both in agriculture and manufactures was, beyond all question, to be chiefly ascribed. Few failures had occurred for a long period in the provincial banks—the last was that of a country bank doing little business, during the crash of 1825; and Scotland, in consequence, had suffered greatly less than England at that disastrous epoch. The extension, however, of the new English system to Scotland, even in a modified form, by the Act applicable to that country which followed, induced a terrible failure—that of the Western Bank of Glasgow—in after times.

25. It was not proposed, in the first instance, to extinguish small notes in Scotland, but the known opinions of Government, and the course of examination by the adherents of Administration of the witnesses who were questioned on the subject in committees of both Houses of Parliament, left no room for doubt that, in the next session at latest, the law would be made the same in both ends of the island, and that the fate of Scotch and Irish notes would be sealed. In this extremity was seen what can be effected by the vigour and patriotism of one man. As soon as it was known in Edinburgh that the Scotch notes were seriously threatened, there appeared in the columns of the *Weekly Journal*, a paper conducted by the Messrs Ballantyne, a series of papers on the subject, signed "Malachi Malagrowther," in which the public soon recognised the vigour, sagacity, and fearless determination of SIR WALTER SCOTT. Albeit closely connected both by political principle and private friendship with the Administration, that great man

did not hesitate a moment to break off from them on this momentous question, and to sacrifice both a sense of past obligations and the hopes of future preferment on the altar of patriotic duty. His efforts were crowned with entire success. Scotland rose as one man at the voice of the mighty enchanter; petitions against the threatened change crowded in from all sides and the most influential quarters. Ireland followed in the wake of its more energetic and far-seeing rival; and in the end Ministers gave a reluctant consent. The decisive words were at length wrung from Mr Huskisson, "Well, let them keep their rags, since they will have them." The rags were kept; the small-note currency was saved in Scotland and Ireland from destruction, and has ever since been enjoyed by both countries; and the consequence has been, that, excepting in so far as they have been affected by the monetary crises of England, or have been chastised by the visitations of Providence, both countries, and especially Scotland, have enjoyed, so far as industry goes, a career of unbroken industrial prosperity. Never, perhaps, did a private individual, not wielding the powers either of legislation or government, confer so great a blessing on his country as Sir Walter Scott did on this occasion; and it called forth from the Chancellor of the Exchequer an ironical compliment to Scotland, veiled under the words of eulogy, which showed how sorely their defeat had been felt by Government.*

* "But, sir, I confess that when I have been passing in review all the signal triumphs which Scotland has achieved in all that adorns, and ennobles, and benefits the human race—when I have recalled the grace, the originality, and the genius of her poets, the eloquence, the accuracy, and research of her historians, the elaborate lucubrations and the profound discoveries of her philosophers—when I have watched their progress, either when they traversed the delightful regions of fancy, or penetrated the depth and recesses of history or science—I never thought of including among her worthies the members of the Excise Board. Our present measures, dictated alone by the necessity of judicious retrenchment, may indeed be represented as punishments inflicted on an innocent and unoffending people, and the wrath of Scotland may be denounced against their author; but

26. "The miserable," says Miss Martineau, "are always restless : hunger roams from land to land as pain tosses on the bed it cannot leave. The poor of Ireland every year, and, when food or work fall off from other causes, the grave and decent poor of England and Scotland also, wander away, shipping themselves off to the westward, or to our farthest settlements in the East. The subject of EMIGRATION must sooner or later become of interest and importance to every civilised, and soonest to an insular kingdom." The great emigration from the British Isles, which since has become so immense, and has come to exercise so important an influence on the fortunes of this country and of the world, may be dated from this period : as the notes were drawn in, the poor began to go out. The number of annual emigrants from the United Kingdom, which had sunk to 8000 during the prosperous years of 1823 and 1824, rose rapidly after the monetary measures of 1826, until, in the year 1832, when the Reform Bill passed, it had reached the then unprecedented number of 103,000.* This emigration, though not a third of what it has since become, when, from 1851 to 1854, it averaged above 300,000 a-year, was more than five times what it had ever been before, and spoke volumes as to the suffering felt by the working classes, which had thus come to overbear feelings the most powerful, and obliterate attachments the most profound. "The restlessness which

as long as I am armed with the consciousness of seeking to diminish the burdens and to increase the happiness of the people, I can look without terror at the flashing of the Highland claymore, though evoked from its scabbard by the incantations of the first magician of the age."—*Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer* (Mr ROBINSON), Feb. 13, 1826; *Parl. Deb.*, vol. xiv., pp. 1318, 1319.

* EMIGRANTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM
FROM 1820 TO 1833.

1820,	18,984	1827,	28,003
1821,	13,194	1828,	26,092
1822,	12,349	1829,	31,198
1823,	8,860	1830,	56,907
1824,	8,210	1831,	88,160
1825,	14,891	1832,	103,140
1826,	20,900	1833,	62,684

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 128, 129, 8d edition; and *Parliamentary Returns*.

forces upon us the question of emigration," says Miss Martineau, "is of course greatest in seasons of adversity; and in the adversity of the year 1826 it was fierce enough to originate what may prove to be an important period in our national history."

27. How little inclined soever Government at this time were to give any public encouragement to emigration, and however imbued with the popular doctrine that improvidence must be left to its own punishment, and misery, like other things, find its own level, the cry of distress which arose from all parts of the empire in the spring of 1826 was so piercing that they were compelled to make a show at least of doing something on the subject. Nothing more was attempted than to appoint a select committee to inquire into the expediency of encouraging emigration from the United Kingdom. In 1823, during the severe distress produced by the Bill of 1819 contracting the currency, a committee had been appointed, and an experimental grant of £50,000 voted for the removal of emigrants to Canada; and Mr Wilmot Horton, one of the under-secretaries for the colonies, who now moved for a fresh committee, reported that two hundred and sixty-eight persons had availed themselves of the Government offer, who had been settled in Canada at an average expense of £22 a-head. Several eminent political economists, however, and in particular Mr M'Culloch, had given strong opinions before the former committee against any Government grant on the subject—a doctrine which met with the cordial approbation of the Lords of the Treasury, and was re-echoed by many whose intelligence and principles might have led them to a very different conclusion.

28. In moving for this committee, Mr Wilmot Horton, whose efforts on this subject are deserving of the very highest praise, observed: "I do not pretend to say whether Mr M'Culloch's doctrine is right or wrong; but at all events, the very first principle of emigration is, that the persons sent out should be assisted by the mother coun-

try for a certain time, until they receive such an impetus as will enable them to go forward themselves. Nor can the assistance thus afforded be considered as so much lost or thrown away, for the mother country will share its eventual advantages, and the capital thus employed, though transferred to another place, still remains within the empire. The question of emigration mixes itself up with our whole colonial system: both parties are benefited; and by increasing emigration we shall be increasing the aggregate profits of the empire. Is the system of our ancestors to be departed from or not? Is a measure which seems calculated to convert a riotous peasantry into a class of industrious yeomen and farmers not deserving of consideration at this present time, when we are devising improvements in our criminal code, and endeavouring to lessen crime?" "Give the poor man £20," said Mr Hume in reply, "and he will establish himself as well in Ireland as anywhere else. Mr M'Culloch said that sending out one hundred thousand persons would be no more than a drop of water in the ocean. Five hundred thousand might have some effect, provided reproduction could be prevented; for otherwise, in two or three years we should have the same number again." The committee was agreed to in a very thin House, which narrowly escaped being counted out.

29. From such small beginnings did the great question of emigration take its rise, which has now assumed such colossal proportions! What would the members who now slipped away to dinner or their clubs, the moment the subject was mentioned, have said if they could have foreseen that in less than thirty years this was to become the question of questions to the British empire and the whole globe; that three hundred and thirty thousand emigrants were for a course of years together to leave the shores of Great Britain and Ireland, and five hundred thousand annually those of Europe; that our exports to our colonies were to rise to thirty, and latterly to forty millions annually, and to one—that of Austra-

lia, not yet numbering five hundred thousand inhabitants—reach the enormous and almost incredible amount of £14,500,000, while it yielded to the local government a revenue of £3,600,000 a-year!* In this overlooked and neglected question was to be found the remedy, and the only remedy, for the manifold ills of Ireland—a source of daily increasing strength to the British empire, and the great means by which the ends of Providence, for the dispersion of mankind and the civilisation of the world, were to be carried into effect.

30. A signal error, accompanied by the most disastrous consequences, long prevailed on this subject. This was the opinion, which was all but universal at that period, and is only now beginning to be abandoned, that the migration of the poor should be left to their own resources, and that any attempt to give an impetus to it by the assistance of Government was unwise, and might come to be pernicious. There never was a more erroneous opinion. Admitting that the strength of a state is at all times to be measured by its numbers, *coupled with their well-being*, what is to be said to the condition of a country which is overrun with paupers, who cannot by possibility find a subsistence, and must, in one way or other, fall as a burden on the more prosperous classes of the community? Emigration, when they have it in their power, is, in such circumstances, their only resource; and if it is left to the unaided efforts of the working classes, what is to be expected but that the better conditioned of these classes will go off, and leave the destitute and paupers behind? Thus the holders

* EXPORTS TO UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA.

Years.	America.	Australia.
1845,	£7,142,837	£1,201,076
1853,	23,658,427	14,513,700

—*Parliamentary Returns*, Sept. 2, 1854; *Statistical Abstract*, No. X., 42, 43.

Perhaps it is impossible to exhibit the wonderful influence of the gold regions of California and Australia so clearly as by these figures. Since the year 1858 the exports to British possessions have come to exceed £40,000,000 annually. — See *Statistical Abstract*, No. X., 44.

of small capital, whether in town or country, the little farmers, the small shopkeepers, the workmen who have amassed ten or fifteen pounds—in other words, the employers of labour—disappear, and none are left but the rich, who will not, and the poor, who cannot, emigrate. No state of things can be imagined more calamitous; and it only becomes the more so when measures are in progress through the Legislature calculated to diminish the price of commodities, and consequently lessen the remuneration of industry, and passions afloat among the people which lead them to long passionately for a general, and, it is to be feared, unattainable felicity.

31. The common sophism, that it is useless to send the poor abroad, because their place will soon be supplied by others from the impulse given to population at home, admits of a short and decisive answer. It takes a week to send a poor man abroad; *it takes twenty years to supply his place.* In the interval between the two, the supply of the labour market is lessened, and the pressure on the working classes diminished. Even, therefore, if every one sent abroad caused the production of one at home who would not otherwise have come into the world, there is a great gain: the supply is kept twenty years behind the demand occasioned by the removal. But the truth is, that the emigration of the poor, so far from occasioning their reproduction, has a tendency to check it. It is among the utterly destitute that the principle of population always acts with most force, because they are wholly uninfluenced by the reason and artificial wants which in more comfortable circumstances restrain it. This has now been decisively demonstrated. Since the great emigration from Ireland began, in 1847, the population, so far from having increased, has declined above 2,500,000: the cottars have got better clothes, better beds, more comforts, higher wages, but not more children.

32. The prosperous state of the country during the preceding year had, in the early part of 1825, en-

abled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take credit for the large amount of taxes, amounting to £3,146,000, taken off in that year, making, with those of the three preceding years, above eleven millions taken off since 1822, and £27,522,000 since 1815.* He observed with pride that, notwithstanding this great reduction of taxation, nearly £23,000,000 of debt had been paid off in the last three years, funded and unfunded, being at the rate of £7,500,000 a-year, and that the annual charge of the debt during the same period had been diminished by no less than £1,339,000. Such were the financial resources of the country during the three years that small notes had been in circulation, and the nation had enjoyed the advantage of a currency adequate to its necessities, and capable of sustaining prices. But the deplorable state of commerce and manufactures in the beginning of 1826 rendered it impossible in that year to make any reduction of taxation. On the contrary, he anticipated a diminution of no less than £1,300,000 in the excise alone, and could only hold out the hope of a surplus of £714,000, being not a tenth of that of the preceding year.

33. The year 1826 witnessed the first serious discussion which had occurred since they were established in 1814, for the REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS. This question, which became so momentous in after years, had never been mooted for a long period—for this obvious reason, that the contraction of the currency had lowered prices of agricultural produce so much that it was thought they could not well be lower,

* Viz. :—

Years.	Repealed Sums.
1822,	£3,355,000
1823,	3,280,000
1824,	1,727,000
1825,	3,146,000
	£11,428,000
	Debt paid off since 1822.
Funded Debt,	£18,401,000
Unfunded,	4,577,000

Paid off in three years, £22,978,000
Annual charge lessened by £1,339,000

—*Ann. Reg.* 1826, 71, 72; and *Parl. Deb.*, xiv. 1311-1326.

and more distress prevailed among those engaged in its production than among those who depended on the various branches of manufacturing industry. Now, however, the case was in some measure altered. Distress had spread to all classes alike, and, if not more acutely felt, was at least more loudly complained of in the manufacturing than in the agricultural districts. The operatives, suffering under a great and sudden fall of wages, vehemently demanded a corresponding diminution in the price of their subsistence. Government, anticipating such a demand, had in the close of the preceding year sent a very intelligent gentleman, Mr Jacob, on a mission to the various harbours in the north of Europe, to ascertain the price of various kinds of grain, and at what rates they could be brought to this country. He brought back a great deal of valuable information, which was embodied in a Report that was printed and laid before both Houses of Parliament. From thence it appeared that the price of wheat in some parts of the north of Germany was 14s., and in some as low as 10s. a quarter; and that, including every charge, it could be brought to any British harbour at from 20s. to 25s. These prices, compared with 56s. to 60s., which wheat bore at the same time in England, made a prodigious impression, the more so, as the wages in the manufacturing districts had fallen during the last three months from thirty to forty per cent. and great numbers of persons of both sexes were out of employment altogether. The opinion consequently became general amongst a great part of the thinking men in the country, and was eagerly spread by the leaders of the popular party, that all the public distresses were owing to the Corn Laws, and would be effectually, and for ever, cured by their repeal. The time was deemed, in consequence, favourable for bringing forward the question, and a motion was made on the subject, in the House of Commons, by Mr Whitmore.

34. On the part of the advocates of the repeal, it was argued by Mr Whit-

more, Mr Phillips, and Sir Thomas Lethbridge: "The present moment, when we are on the eve of a general election, may possibly be an inconvenient one for the discussion of this great question; but the circumstances of the country are so pressing, the general distress is so overwhelming, that it is not safe to delay the discussion of it for a single hour. After Government has applied the principles of free trade to every other branch of industry, it becomes indispensable to apply it also to that which has for its object the providing subsistence for the workman; for what can be so unjust as to pay him his wages at the reduced rate produced by free trade, and compel him to buy food for himself and his family at the high rate produced by a monopoly in the raising of grain? The British manufacturer can never enter unprotected into competition with his Continental rivals, while the chief means of his subsistence are kept up at an artificial rate, far above their cost in any other country of Europe. If reciprocity of trade is to be established at all, it is evident that we ought to select those articles for its operation in which foreign countries had the greatest interest. Now, to all the countries from which grain is to be obtained, nothing is of so much importance as the exportation of corn, and yet our system of Corn Laws had actually been diminishing in those countries the production of that with which alone they can purchase our manufactures. In consequence of our prohibitory system, the price of wheat in some parts of Germany is only 14s. the quarter, in some only 10s. The result is a diminished production of grain on their part, and a diminished ability, in consequence, to purchase our manufactures. This appears from Mr Jacob's report, who states that the exportation from Dantzic and Memel, which from 1801 to 1805 had been 549,365 quarters, sank, in the years from 1821 to 1825, to 83,000 quarters, and a similar falling off had everywhere taken place. If home grain was so low as 56s. to 60s., *we need never fear a greater importation than*

400,000 *quarters*; and with such an average price the English agriculturists ought not only to be satisfied, but to regard themselves as the most enviable class of the community.

35. "It is this free trade which Adam Smith has so beautifully described, as exhibiting the harmonious operation of the commercial system; by means of which the private interests of individuals, the more they are exercised, conduce the more to the general prosperity of the community. But the Corn Laws tend alike to depress the general interest, and to ruin the individual trade. Between 1817 and 1822 the fall of prices was from 94s. to 43s. a quarter—a fall quite sufficient to ruin all engaged, whether in its production or its purchase.* In consequence of that depression, both the agriculturist and the corn-dealer were constant losers. Corn in bond can now be purchased at from 20s. to 30s., while that in the market brings 50s. or 60s. It is evident, from these prices, that no man in his senses will engage in the corn trade under its present restrictions; and if the capital now engaged in that traffic is either destroyed or diverted into other channels, what resource will remain to the country in those seasons of periodical scarcity which must always, in this climate, be looked for? As matters now stand, a single bad season might bring us, without the possibility of relief, to the very borders of famine.

36. "The extremely small quantity of foreign wheat imported, being only 12,577,000 quarters in twenty years, or about 600,000 quarters a-year, proves how little danger there is to apprehend any inordinate supply from foreign

* Viz. :—

1817, 94s.	1820, 65s. 10d.
1818, 83s. 8d.	1821, 54s. 5d.
1819, 72s. 3d.	1822, 43s. 3d.

—PORTER, 148.

It never occurred to Mr Whitmore that the Bill of 1819 had anything to do with this great fall, or that of 1822 in restoring prices, which in the three following years stood thus :—

1823,	51s. 9d.
1824,	62s.
1825,	66s. 6d.

—PORTER, 148.

countries.* The importation, it is to be recollected, has been thus small, though the average price of corn during the period was 84s. 6d., and though until 1815 there was, in reality, no obstruction to the importation of foreign grain. It may safely be concluded, therefore, that, with prices from 55s. to 60s., the importation of wheat will never exceed 400,000 quarters.† Mr Jacob has stated that a duty of 10 or 12 per cent would stop the importation of wheat altogether, even though the price were from 60s. to 64s. The cost of bringing a quarter of wheat from Poland to this country is 19s., which of itself fully compensates the difference of prices in labour, and affords an ample protection to the British agriculturist. On the other hand, if they persisted in their present course for some time longer, it required no great penetration to see that, on the first succession of bad seasons, we shall be involved in the most frightful calamities."

37. On the other hand, it was contended, in a most able speech by Sir Francis Burdett, who took an unexpected part on this question: "I shall vote for the motion to go into inquiry, but from very different motives from those from which it is brought forward. I am convinced that the particular interests of the landholder and the general interests of the country are the same, and that they do not consist in that

* WHEAT IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM FOREIGN PORTS.

Year.	Quarters.	Year.	Quarters.
1800,	1,263,771	1811,	188,563
1801,	1,424,241	1812,	129,867
1802,	538,144	1813,	341,846
1803,	312,458	1814,	626,745
1804,	391,068	1815,	194,931
1805,	836,747	1816,	210,860
1806,	207,879	1817,	1,030,829
1807,	359,835	1818,	1,586,030
1808,	41,592	1819,	471,607
1809,	387,863	1820,	591,731
1810,	1,439,615		

In all, . . . 12,577,029 quarters.

Average, . . . 598,906 "

Average price, . . 84s. 6d.

—*Parl. Deb.*, xv. 329.

† In 1858, of wheat it was above 5,000,000, and of all kinds of grain 11,000,000 quarters. In 1862 it rose to, of wheat, 11,500,000; and of all kinds of grain and meal, 18,400,000 quarters.

which the motion contemplates. The welfare of society is best promoted, not by employing a great number of hands to produce a comparatively small surplus for the use of the other classes of society, but by creating a large surplus by the skilful and well-directed labour of a few. The great and striking proof of the prosperity of the country is comprised in the fact, that, with the small number of hands employed in agriculture, not exceeding a third of the whole, they raise enough to maintain themselves and all the rest in prosperity and abundance; for such, notwithstanding partial and passing visitations, is the general condition of the people of this country. The result of the labours of the agriculturist exhibits a spectacle not equalled in any other country in the world, that a third of the inhabitants raise food for double their own numbers besides themselves—a state of things quite unexampled, and which is the real cause of our acknowledged superiority in commerce and manufactures, as well as in the power of capital, over any other nation.

38. "Look at France. Four-fifths of the entire population, which amounts in all to thirty millions, is employed in agriculture, and the remainder in manufactures and other pursuits. It may be judged from this circumstance in what a wretched state the agriculture of that country must be, and how inferior to that of this country. The infinite subdivision of landed property, and the consequent poverty of the cultivators, is the cause of this state of things in both interests; for how can the manufacturers be prosperous if their customers in the country are in a state of destitution, or the cultivators be affluent if they have not a ready market in towns for their produce? Nothing can be clearer than that there is, and ever must be, only one interest between the manufacturers and the farmers, for they mutually depend on each other for the disposal of their produce. The only reason why England has so large a body of manufacturers, the only reason why she is able to support them, is that her agriculturists produce, with so little labour, comparatively speak-

ing, so much more than is needed for their own consumption. The more the agriculturist's labour produces, the more he has to sell to the manufacturer; the less exertion the manufacturer has to lay out upon his commodity, the more the agriculturist receives in exchange.

39. "It is said, on the other side, 'Give the manufacturer cheap bread, and he will give you cheap commodities;' but those who reason thus do not consider that the words 'cheap' and 'dear' are relative terms, and, applied in either way, become convertible. To say that manufactures are dear, is to say that corn is cheap, and *vice versa*. Both trades might flourish; the greater and easier production of both was an advantage to both; but that the produce of both should be dear when they came to mutual exchange is impossible. Those who are disposed to endanger the safety of agricultural property are shortsighted in their views of their own advantage, since they stop the source from which their own chief means of existence are derived. Without the agricultural produce, it would be impossible for the manufacturer to live; and the same may be said of the merchant, the lawyer, the men of literature and science, who are the ornament of society, and all other classes. It is of no consequence to the working people what is the price of corn, provided their wages keep the same level; and the only effect of the low price of corn, for which the manufacturers so strenuously contend, will be low profits to the agricultural classes, and with them diminished purchases from, and low wages to, the manufacturing.

40. "Already the truth of these principles has become apparent. From Glasgow, Manchester, Bradford, Paisley, we hear of nothing but 'stagnation in trade,' and 'heavy low prices;' complaints which come with a very bad grace from those who are using every endeavour to bring about 'a heavy low price' in corn. The price of corn, as of every other article of commerce, measured in money, depends, on an average of years, entirely on the

plenty or scarcity of the currency; but the real value—that is, the exchangeable value, as measured by other commodities—depends upon an entirely different thing, viz., the quantity which the country has of surplus produce. The manufacturers complain of the high price of corn; but would the free trade in grain, for which they contend, better their condition, if their wages fell in the same proportion? If free trade in grain is to be admitted, there must be free trade in everything else; but how is this possible, when the half of our public income, and the whole funds for payment of the interest of the national debt, are derived from duties on imported articles? And if such duties must be maintained—that is, the industry employed in their production be protected—what is repealing the Corn Laws but singling out one great interest in the country for destruction, while the others are preserved and cherished? The Corn Laws may be, and probably are, an evil; but they arise necessarily from our social position: repeal all import duties, or none."

41. Ministers resisted the motion, not on its general merits, but on the inconvenience of going into such a general question, involving such weighty interests, at an advanced period of the session, and on the eve of a general election. The motion to go into a committee at that time accordingly was lost by a very large majority, the numbers being 215 to 81. The Government, however, pledged themselves to go into the whole question early next session; and as the distress of the manufacturing classes, owing to the sudden contraction of the currency, continued without mitigation, and alarming riots had taken place in several districts, particularly Lancashire, in which power-looms to a great extent had been destroyed, and which were not suppressed without loss of life, it was deemed indispensable to adopt some measures calculated to afford immediate relief. With this view a bill was introduced, and carried by 214 to 82, allowing wheat to the extent of 500,000 quarters to be intro-

duced at a duty of 10s. a quarter, and inferior grains at lower duties; and another, empowering Government during the recess to admit foreign grain during a limited time and at a limited duty, was also, as a temporary measure, though with great difficulty, carried through both Houses. Surprise was expressed by many members that last year, when the price of corn was 8s. a quarter higher than at present, Ministers asked for no such powers; but the reason was obvious—there were then high prices and no distress. The monetary crisis and contraction of the currency had since intervened, and they invariably beget the cry for cheap bread, in ignorance of the fact that, if got, it is the very way to prolong and extend the suffering.

42. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who spoke so ably on, and took so unexpected a view of, this question, was a very remarkable man, whose character deserves to be drawn, not only from the prominent part which, during a long parliamentary career, he took in public affairs, but from his being, as it were, the type of a class of men peculiar to England at that period, and which since has become well-nigh extinct. Descended from an ancient family, and inheriting a noble estate, he was a favourable example of the old English country gentleman. Passionately fond of field sports, his time was divided between hunting and politics. A commanding figure, a ready flow of language, and powerful elocution, gave him that power over his auditory which such qualities seldom fail to confer; and as his principles were extreme on the popular side, he was for a quarter of a century the idol of the democratic party. His ample estates lay in Derbyshire; but he was too great a favourite with the populace to be permitted to come in quietly for a county, and "England's pride and Westminster's glory" stood forward as the champion of that great democratic constituency which he long represented in Parliament. He vehemently opposed the Castlereagh administration, and contended for Parliamentary Reform, Catholic Emanci-

pation, a reduction of expenditure, and all the objects which the popular party at that time had at heart. But he was far from being the slave of the republicans. He inherited from his Norman ancestors all their independent spirit, and was equally inclined to resist oppression when it appeared in the encroachments of a popular assembly as in the stretches of arbitrary power. His long lead of democratic constituencies had rendered him somewhat fond of theatrical effect; and when his house was forced open, under the Speaker's warrant, in 1810, for a libel on the House of Commons, and he was conducted to the Tower, he was found quietly seated in his library hearing his son translate *Magna Charta*. His powers of eloquence were of the very highest order; second to none in the House of Commons in the days of Pitt and Fox, of Brougham and Canning. The preceding skeleton of his speech proves that he was capable of mastering the most intricate questions of political economy. His extreme political principles kept him at a distance from power during his long parliamentary career, but his talents were always respected, his capacity dreaded, by his political opponents; and in his later years, when popular principles were in the ascendant, he gave many unequivocal proofs, that, though willing to be the leader, he would not condescend to be the slave, of the people.

43. The year 1826 was long remembered in Great Britain from the excessive drought which everywhere prevailed, and the extraordinary heat with which it was accompanied. The dry weather began early in June, and continued almost without intermission till the end of October, during the greater part of which time the thermometer in the shade was above 80°. It was the climate of the West Indies, without its moisture or sea-breezes. The consequences were remarkable and curious in the extreme; they clearly demonstrated that a long succession of such seasons would change the character, and with it the destinies, of the

British people. Harvest began in the south of England in the beginning of July; it was general over the whole island in the first week of August.* The wheat crops did not suffer materially from this long drought. It was not likely that a vegetable which comes to perfection under the sun of Egypt should wither under his rays, however ardent, in Great Britain. But the oats were so deficient, that in the beginning of September they were 30s. the quarter, or double the usual price. The deer perished of thirst in the parks, the cattle in the fields. The green crops failed entirely; the grass was everywhere burned up, the hay harvest was almost nothing; and the price of fodder, and all kinds of food for animals, rose to such a degree in the succeeding winter, that it was evident that a succession of such seasons would confine the use of animal food to the most wealthy classes of the community. Who can calculate the effect of such a change in unbracing the nerves, and lessening the courage and energy of the great body of the British people? And this shows how insensible we are to the greatest blessings of our social and physical situation. We lament our fogs and our rains, and envy the blue skies and cloudless sun of Italy; forgetting that it is these fogs and rains, and the mild and humid winters with which they are accompanied, which have provided the food for man by which his physical and mental energies are developed in the highest degree. But for them, the Anglo-Saxon race, instead of performing its destined mission to "replenish the earth and subdue it," would perhaps have been pining in hopeless subjection to the Scythian, like the Ryots of Hindostan or the Fellahs of Egypt.

44. The parliamentary session terminated on 31st May, and next day the House of Commons was dissolved by royal proclamation. The elections

* The Author saw a field of wheat cut down on the banks of the Esk, six miles to the south of Edinburgh, on the 11th of July. This is fully a month earlier than what is reckoned an early season, and about the time of harvest in Spain and Italy.

were conducted without heat or animosity: the measures of Government had become so liberal and conciliatory that the Opposition had hardly a topic left whereon to declaim. Even the Corn Laws, the last stronghold of the aristocracy, had been partially yielded to the demands of the people, and this concession begat the hope of still further relaxation. The Catholic question was the principal topic on the hustings, and Mr Canning and the Duke of York were the acknowledged leaders of the opposite parties. The future Prime Minister and the heir-apparent to the throne divided the affections of the thinking and religious portion of the community, and each of the two parties had a worthy leader to follow. To neither of these men had Providence allotted a long span of existence; ere two years had expired they were both gathered to their fathers. The anti-Catholic party, however, upon the whole, decidedly gained by the elections. Two candidates in Yorkshire were elected on the ground of opposing the Catholics. Lord John Russell was defeated in Huntingdonshire, and the Bedford interest generally appeared to be waning, from the vigour of the Protestant party. The elections in Great Britain, however, passed over without riots; and they were memorable for one circumstance, heretofore unknown in England, that several persons going to them were struck down on the road by *coup de soleil*, and that it was often impossible to get water for the horses engaged in transporting the electors.

45. In Ireland, the elections gave token of a more alarming spirit, and augured unequivocally an approaching storm; for the priests, for the first time, took an active part in the contests. Mr Sheehan said to the peasantry, "Here are the natural enemies of your country; and here are your priests, who wait on the bed of sickness, and we, your friends alike in prosperity or woe—follow us or them." Mr Shiel afterwards said, "The whole body of the peasantry have risen up in a tumultuous revolt against their landlords. I avow that this extraordinary

political phenomenon is, to a great extent, the result of the interposition of the clergy, whose influence has been brought into full and unrestrained activity." Several elections in Ireland were gained to the Catholic cause by this new and powerful religious co-operation, but not so many as were lost in England from the zeal of the opposite party. The great majority in the two islands were arrayed under opposite banners, and stood in open hostility to each other—an ominous circumstance, which it was evident Catholic emancipation would not remove, and which augured ill for the peace of the empire in future times.

46. The next session of Parliament was opened on the 14th November, in consequence of the necessity of providing an immediate remedy to the high price of oats. The rise in their price had been so rapid, from the drought of the summer, that the averages taken by the existing law, at the prices of the six weeks preceding, would not rise soon enough to let in the requisite supplies immediately from abroad, and partial famine might be the consequence. Parliament was assembled accordingly, and the general distress which prevailed formed a leading feature in the royal speech. "I have deeply sympathised," said his Majesty, "with the sufferings which, for some time past, have been so severely felt by the manufacturing class, and contemplated with satisfaction the exemplary patience with which they have been borne. The depression under which the trade and manufactures of the country have been labouring, have abated more slowly than I thought myself warranted in anticipating; but I retain a firm expectation that this abatement will be progressive, and that the time is not far distant when, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the commerce and industry of the United Kingdom will have resumed their wonted activity."

47. The measure proposed by Government to meet the existing crisis was an Act of Parliament sanctioning an Order in Council, which had been issued on the 15th September preced-

ing, authorising the importation of foreign grain, at a duty of 2s. a quarter, till the 15th February, when the next averages might be struck. This measure, being founded in obvious necessity, the price of oats having risen to 30s. a quarter, met with general concurrence—the agricultural party only protesting that their acquiescence in it was not to be regarded as any abandonment of their general principles, but a concession only to the overbearing necessities of the moment; the adoption of such *temporary* relief, so far from a deviation from, being strictly in harmony with the spirit of the existing Corn Laws.

48. Before the House of Commons, however, had sat many weeks, a topic of a far more momentous and exciting kind was brought before it, which, more than the rise in the price of oats, had been the real cause of its early convocation. On the 11th December, a message was brought from the King to both Houses of Parliament, which stated, in substance, that “an earnest application had been received by his Majesty from the Princess-Regent of Portugal, claiming, in virtue of the ancient obligations of alliance and amity subsisting between his Majesty and the Crown of Portugal, his Majesty’s aid against a hostile aggression from Spain; that repeated assurances had been given by the King of France that he would neither commit, nor allow to be committed, any hostile act on the realm of Portugal; but that, notwithstanding these assurances, hostile inroads into the territory of Portugal have been concerted in Spain, and executed under the eyes of the Spanish authorities, by Portuguese regiments, which had deserted into Spain, and which the Spanish Government had repeatedly and solemnly engaged to disarm and disperse.” This message took both Houses of Parliament, the country, and the world, entirely by surprise. No one had the slightest idea that any such events, so obviously ominous to the peace of Europe, were in progress; and the excitement thence arising throughout Europe was proportionally greater.

49. To understand how this came about, and how the rival powers of England and France, and the principles of constitutional and despotic government, were thus openly brought into collision, it is only necessary to recollect that, though Spain had undergone a counter-revolution, in Portugal a constitutional monarchy still existed, under the sway of the infant daughter of the King of Brazil, the laws of which provided that its crown should never be united to that of Portugal. The government of Portugal, remodelled, as already mentioned, after the counter-revolution of 1823, was a constitutional one; but so moderate and tempered that it had excited no enthusiasm in the Liberal party, either there or elsewhere. Such as it was, however, it was the object of great jealousy both to the Spanish Government and the Royalist party in Portugal; and a civil war having arisen, as will be more fully narrated in the account of the transactions of the Peninsula, Don Miguel, the King of Brazil’s younger brother, had been proclaimed King; and the Portuguese regiments in the Royalist interest having been driven into Spain, were there received with open arms, equipped afresh, and led back to maintain the cause of absolutism in the Portuguese dominions.

50. In introducing this subject to the House of Commons, Mr Canning, after narrating the treaties, offensive and defensive, between Great Britain and Portugal in 1661, 1703, and 1815, said: “This being the state of our relations with Portugal, when the Regency of that country, in apprehension of the coming storm, called on Great Britain for assistance, the only question we had to consider was, whether the *casus fœderis* had arisen. In our opinion it had. Bands of Portuguese rebels, armed, equipped, and trained in Spain, had crossed the Spanish frontier, carrying terror and devastation into their own country, and proclaiming sometimes the brother of the reigning sovereign of Portugal, sometimes a Spanish princess, sometimes even Ferdinand VII. of Spain, as the rightful occupant of the Por-

tuguese throne. These rebels crossed the frontier, not at one, but at several different points—first on the province of Tras-os-Montes, and next in the south, where we on Friday received an account of the invasion of Alentejo, and the capture of Villa-Viciosa, a considerable town on the frontier. Can it be denied that these repeated and systematic attacks do not call for the interposition of this country, in virtue of the ancient treaties in behalf of its ancient ally? If a single company of Spanish soldiers had crossed the frontier in hostile array, there could not be a doubt as to the character of the invasion. Shall bodies of men, armed, clothed, and regimented by Spain, carry fire and sword into the bosom of her unoffending neighbour, and shall it be pretended that it is no invasion because these outrages have been committed by men to whom Portugal had given birth and nurture? Had Spain employed mercenaries to effect the invasion, there could not be a doubt of its hostile character; and does it render it less so that the mercenaries in this instance are the natives of Portugal?

51. "In some quarters it has been said that an extraordinary delay has taken place between the taking of the determination to give assistance to Portugal, and the carrying of that determination into effect. But how stands the fact? On Sunday, December 3, the Portuguese ambassador made a formal demand of assistance against a hostile aggression from Spain. Our answer was, that although we had heard rumours to that effect, yet we had not yet received such precise information as justified us in applying to Parliament. It was only on Friday that that information arrived. On Saturday his Majesty's confidential servants came to a decision—on Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty—on Monday it was communicated to both Houses of Parliament—and to-day (Tuesday), at the hour on which I have the honour of addressing you, the troops of Great Britain are on their march for embarkation.

52. "The reasons I have stated en-

tirely satisfy my judgment that we are imperatively called on at this crisis to render the aid to which we are bound by treaty to Portugal. Nothing short of a point of national faith or honour would justify me, at the present moment, in anything that approximates even to war. Let it not be supposed from this that I dread war in a good cause—and in no other cause may it ever be the lot of this country to engage. I dread it upon other grounds. I dread it from an apprehension of the tremendous consequences which might arise from any hostilities in which we might now be engaged. Some years ago, on occasion of the invasion of Spain by France, I said that the next war that would arise in Europe would be a war, not of nations, but of opinions, and that it was by neutrality alone that we could maintain the balance between them. Not four years have elapsed, and already my anticipations are realised! It is a war of opinion that Spain is now waging against Portugal, and who will venture to foretell to what consequences such a war may lead? It is the contemplation of the new power which will rise up in any future war that fills me with apprehension. It is one thing to have a giant's strength, but it would be another to use it like a giant.

53. "The consciousness of such strength is undoubtedly a source of confidence and security, but in the situation in which the country now stands, our business is not to seek opportunities of displaying it, but to content ourselves with letting the professors of violent and exaggerated opinions on both sides feel that it is not for their interest to convert an umpire into an adversary. The situation of England, amidst the struggle of political opinions which agitates more or less sensibly different countries of the world, may be compared to that of the ruler of the winds as described by the poet—

"Celsa sedet Æolus arce,
Sceptra tenens; mollique animos et temperat iras;
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum,
Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras."

The consequence of letting loose the passions, at present chained and confined, would be to produce a scene of desolation which no man can contemplate without horror, and I should not sleep easy on my couch if I were conscious that I had contributed to accelerate it by a single moment. This is the reason why I dread the recurrence of hostilities in any part of Europe, why I would forbear long on any point which did not taint the national honour ere I let slip the dogs of war, the leash of which we hold in our hands, not knowing whom they may reach, or how far their ravages may be carried. Such is the love of peace which the British Government acknowledges, and such the necessity for peace which the circumstances of the world inculcate. Let us fly to the aid of Portugal because it is our duty to do so; and let us cease our interference when that duty ends. We go to Portugal not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe constitutions, but to defend and preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted, foreign dominion shall not come."

54. Never, perhaps, did a speech delivered in the British House of Commons produce such an effect as this did, which was enhanced by his still more eloquent reply, given in a former volume, in reference to the French invasion of Spain, where he said he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. The effect was electrical, both upon the House and the country. All hearts were moved, all heads swept away by it. In vain Mr Hume, and one or two others of the partisans of economy, urged the impolicy of thus hurrying into a war of which we could neither foresee the duration nor calculate the expense. His objections were overruled. Such were the murmurs of the House that he could scarce obtain a hearing; and his amendment, "that the House be called over this day week," found only four supporters. Both Houses, by overwhelming majorities, supported the Government. The

troops were embarked with such expedition that, though they only received their orders to march on December 11, on Christmas day they began to land in Lisbon, amidst the cheers of the multitude, in whom the well-known uniforms inspired confidence. Six thousand men were soon established there; and this vigorous demonstration, as is often the case, averted war by proving that it was not dreaded. The incursions from Spain ceased, the frontier was no longer disquieted; and France, which was the real principal in the affair, disavowed a proceeding which it was no longer prudent to acknowledge. No hostilities ensued. Before eighteen months had expired the troops had all returned to England, without having fired a shot; and this affair passed over with no other result but that of rendering Mr Canning the idol of the Liberal party throughout the world, and demonstrating to the astonished nations the elements of war which, amidst all their pacific interests, slumbered in the breasts of the British people.

55. There can be no doubt that Mr Canning's decision on this occasion was both wise and honourable. Nothing could have been more derogatory to British honour, or in the end subversive of British interests, than to have permitted French interest and domination to extend over the whole Peninsula—the very thing which it had been the object of all the campaigns of Marlborough and Wellington to prevent. The entire success of the demonstration leaves no doubt as to its wisdom. But it is a curious proof of the manner in which party influences or opposite interests can blind even the clearest intellects, that neither Mr Canning, nor his numerous and enthusiastic supporters in the House of Commons or the country, saw that the principles on which his intervention in *defence* of Portugal were based, were directly the reverse, and afforded the strongest condemnation of those on which his own previous conduct in regard to South America had been founded. If it was right in him, as it unquestionably was, to put forth

the strength of England to resist the incursions of armed bands, raised and equipped in Spain to effect a revolution in Portugal—what shall we say to his own conduct in permitting bands of adventurers, armed and equipped in England, to sail from the Thames, with Tower muskets in their hands, to revolutionise South America? Intervention is always an odious and dangerous thing, and only the more dangerous when it invokes for its cover a sacred name, a heartstirring principle; but it is not less so in the hands of the Liberals than in those of the Conservatives, when it sets forth from the Thames, in the name of freedom, to desolate South America, than when it starts from St Petersburg, in the name of religion, to establish Muscovite domination at Constantinople. But so utterly blind are men to the plainest truths where their interests or passions are concerned, that the same individuals who had most cordially applauded English intervention in South America, the source of unnumbered woes to humanity, were now most vehement in their condemnation of Spanish intervention in Portugal in favour of absolutism. And it was hard to say whether the cheers of the House of Commons were loudest when Mr Canning announced, in his opening speech, the departure of the British troops for the well-known heights of Lisbon, where foreign dominion shall not prevail, or on his reply, when he declared that when France made one aggression on Spain he determined that England should make another, and that “he called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old.”

56. This warlike interlude interrupted only for a very short period the fixed attention of the British people to objects of domestic interest. These soon resumed their accustomed course, and entirely absorbed general thought. The improvement of the country during the course of the winter of 1826-7, though slow, was steady: if the cheering symptoms of general prosperity had not yet returned, those of universal suffering had sensibly abated. There were no longer any failures of banks, and no call for additional public measures to re-

store commercial confidence. Those already adopted had gone far to assuage the general suffering; a crisis which had been brought on by a sudden and unexpected contraction of the currency in the midst of the greatest and most pressing money engagements, had been successfully arrested by the measures forced upon the Government, in opposition to their strongest prepossessions, by the public necessities. The issue of nine millions of additional Bank of England notes in the last three weeks of 1825 had stopped the panic; the guaranteeing by Government of loans to the extent of three millions more by the Bank had sensibly arrested its effects. Wages, indeed, were still low—in many branches of industry distressingly so—but employment was general; and though the failure of the home market was still severely felt, yet foreign ones had generally revived, and the happy prospect of the continuance of general peace enabled the merchants to begin again, though as yet with fear and trembling, their renovating speculations.

57. Two domestic events occurred in the early part of this year, attended with important consequences, and which, in the critical state and equal balance of parties at that period in the British empire, were attended with lasting effects. The first of these was the death of the Duke of York, who expired on the 5th January. The health of the illustrious Prince had been long declining, though no immediate danger was apprehended; but during the last six months the symptoms had assumed the character of decided dropsy, which, though for some time baffled by the skill of his physicians, assumed, in December 1826, the most alarming symptoms. The increase of his bodily sufferings, however, and the near approach of death, with which he was well acquainted, could not for a moment render him insensible to the call of patriotism. He continued to the very last to discharge all his important duties as Commander-in-Chief; and when grievously oppressed by breathlessness, and supported by pillows in bed, he per-

sonally gave the whole orders, and made the entire arrangements for the small but brilliant expedition which left the British shores in the middle of December, and did such service to the interests of humanity by preserving the peace of Europe, when violently threatened in the close of 1826. On the 28th December the sacrament was administered to him, along with his sister the Princess Sophia, by the hands of the Bishop of London; on the next day he received the parting visit of his royal brother; and on the 5th January he expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

58. The character of the Duke of York, as of all persons who have taken a decided part in great political questions which divided society, has been variously drawn by writers of different parties; but it is possible at this distance of time to represent it in its true colours, without intemperate bias on either side. By one party he is represented as a firm patriot, a sincere politician, the intrepid assertor of the principles which had placed his family on the throne; by another, as an obstinate bigot, who wilfully shut his eyes to the lights of the age, and obstructed, as long as he had the power, the greatest social amelioration in the British empire. He was in reality neither so great a man as his panegyrists represent, nor so reprehensible as his detractors assert. He was an honest, kind-hearted, intrepid Prince, without any extensive reach of vision, but with a clear perception of his duty within the limits over which it extended, and the resolute will which, having once discerned, never hesitated to discharge it. Possessed of good abilities, he had exhibited early in life, in the campaign in Flanders, the decision and daring which form such material elements in the character of a good soldier, though without any of the *coup d'œil* or comprehensive mind required in a great general. But when subsequently raised to the important situation of Commander-in-Chief, which he held for thirty-two years, the services he rendered to the army were such that he may be truly

said to have laid the foundation of the edifice of which Wellington raised the superstructure.

59. Indefatigable in his attention to business, zealous in the discharge of duty, easy of access, affable in manner, he won the hearts of the officers by the courtesy of his demeanour, the straightforwardness of his conduct, and the equity of his distribution of patronage; while he endeared himself to the private soldiers by his unwearied attention to their interests, and the vast improvements which he introduced both in their material comforts and moral training. With truth he said, on his deathbed, that if the condition of the first English expedition, which landed at Ostend in 1794, were compared with that which he had recently despatched to Lisbon, it would not be believed that they belonged to the same age or nation. Mr Peel said, in moving an address of condolence to the King on the death of his brother, that he did not believe that, during the ten thousand days he had held his exalted situation, there had been one on which he had not devoted some time to its duties. It was by his long and judicious efforts that great part of the numerous abuses existing in the army at his entry on office were rooted out, promotion put on a better footing, the station of the soldier elevated, and that noble body of men created, who carried the English standards in triumph to Paris, Delhi, Washington, and Peking. That he was not an immaculate character, is only to say that he was a child of Adam. Liberal even to profusion, he was generally deeply in debt; his attention was so incessantly absorbed by the cares of his office, that he allowed his private affairs to fall into confusion, and he left nothing but the memory of his great services behind him. His irregularities of another kind, the frequent accompaniment of exalted rank and an ardent disposition, and allied with undue meretricious influence in the disposal of commissions, were fastened on, during one memorable investigation, by the combined forces of scandal and faction, with such intensity as rendered his temporary retire-

ment from office a matter of necessity. But he was soon restored to it, with the unanimous approbation of the nation, which, however frequently overborne for a time by the vehemence of party or the clamour of the press, is rarely in the end unjust in the estimate of private character, or ungrateful for public services. His decided and manly declaration of his sentiments on Catholic emancipation, shortly before his death, exposed him again to unbounded obloquy at the time; but experience has long since stilled that clamour, and suggested a doubt whether those who are reckoned, during their life, to have been behind the age, were not sometimes in reality in advance of it.

60. The Duke of York was soon followed to the grave by another public man, who had long held a prominent place in the councils of the country. Lord Liverpool, who since 1812 had been Prime Minister, had himself moved the address of condolence to the King on his brother's death in the beginning of February, and had announced that he would on the 15th introduce the intended alteration on the Corn Laws in the House of Peers, when he was suddenly seized with a paralytic attack, which, though not at the time fatal, was of such severity as to render his retention of office impossible. He tendered his resignation to his Majesty as soon as returning consciousness, six weeks after, enabled him to do so; and his situation was such as to give the Sovereign no alternative but to accept it. During the long interval the nation remained without a Prime Minister.

61. Lord Liverpool was not a man of striking abilities, and still less of decision of character; but on that very account he was peculiarly fitted for the situation which he so long held. The period during which he was Prime Minister was, at least during its last twelve years, essentially one of transition. He came into office when the crisis of the war was over, and he had only to reap the fruits of the courage and capacity of his predecessors. His long reign occurred when difficulties of

another kind were accumulating round the throne, when new ideas were fermenting in the nation, when extended power was loudly demanded by the people, and whole classes of society, enriched by industry and peace, were prosecuting their objects of separate aggrandisement. The utopian dream of the interests of all classes being identical, was then fast giving way to the stern reality of the more powerful seeking to enrich itself at the expense of the weaker. The opposite parties at that period were so nearly balanced, that if he had acted with decision, and thrown himself, without reserve, into the arms of either, he would have inevitably brought on a collision, which would have certainly proved fatal to his administration, probably to the peace and liberties of the country. The Conservatives were too firmly entrenched in power, and rested too strongly on ancient traditions, to relinquish it without a struggle; the Liberals too aspiring, and too sensible of their growing ascendancy, to shrink from the encounter. Lord Liverpool's whole reign was a long preparation on either part for the strife which all foresaw was approaching; and his great skill and prudence in postponing the period of collision, was proved by the rapidity with which it ensued when he was removed by the stroke of fate from the helm.

62. Prudent, sagacious, and reflecting, carefully watching the signs of the times, and still more carefully shunning those which portended danger, his great object was to steer the vessel of the state in present safety through the shoals by which it was surrounded. His skill consisted in his discernment of the means by which this was to be brought about, and the characters by whose agency it was to be effected. In these respects he had very great merit, if merit it can be called, which consists in adjourning danger, not averting it, and purchasing present tranquillity by postponing the conflict to future times. He clearly discerned where the ruling party on every great question was to be found, and ranged himself with the dominant

side; holding out, at the same time, the olive branch to the minority, by conceding to them lesser, but still material objects of ambition. Thus, while he stood firm with the then ruling Conservative majority in the nation on the great questions of Catholic emancipation and reform in Parliament, he cordially joined the Liberals on the minor, but still important, points of incipient free trade, a contracted currency, and the reciprocity system, which were so many outworks, the possession of which enabled them to breach the body of the place. By standing firm on the first, he retained the confidence of his old Conservative friends; by yielding on the last, he awakened the hopes and disarmed the hostility of his new Liberal supporters.

63. He brought Mr Canning and Mr Huskisson into the Cabinet, and had influence enough to make them act along with Lord Eldon and the Duke of Wellington—a perilous conjunction, as much fraught with future danger as it was with present tranquillity. His greatest failing was a constitutional nervousness, which made him, as he himself said, never on one day during which he held office break the seals of a heap of letters without a feeling of apprehension; his greatest error, the cordial support which he gave to the measure for the contraction of the currency, urged upon him by the Liberal portion of the Cabinet, and supported by so great a majority in both Houses of Parliament. But that was the error of the age in which he lived, and it would be unjust to visit upon him the responsibility shared by him with nearly all the strongest heads in the realm. He was disinterested and just in the extreme in the administration of Government; unostentatious and conciliatory in private life; his mind was stored with a vast variety of facts on every important question, which he brought out with equal judgment and skill in debate; and he left behind him the reputation of being, if not the greatest, certainly the most prudent and fortunate Minister, that ever conducted the affairs of Great Britain.

64. Lord Liverpool's retirement

from the direction of the Government brought the schism which had long existed in the Cabinet prominently into their own view, before the dissension was yet fully known to the country. The King was under the necessity of appointing a successor; and the question was, who was to be the new Prime Minister? The temporising system could no longer be carried on; the selection must be made; the leader of the Cabinet could only be taken from one or other of the parties into which it was divided, and the appointment would at once confer or indicate the superiority. The King, for many reasons, was averse to Mr Canning, who had on several occasions exhibited symptoms of an ambitious, intriguing spirit, little suited for a Prime Minister, and had rendered himself personally obnoxious to the Sovereign, by the prominent part he had taken as an adviser of Queen Caroline. But the circumstances left him no alternative. Mr Canning was the leader of the House of Commons, and the most popular minister who, since the days of Chatham, had directed the foreign affairs of the country; while the anti-Catholic party in the Cabinet did not contain any man qualified to be placed at its head. Lord Eldon was disqualified by age, the Duke of Wellington by his military habits, and Mr Peel was as yet too young for such a situation. In these circumstances, the King, though most reluctantly, sent for Mr Canning, with whom he had a long conference, which, at first, led to no definite result, and Mr Peel was sent for to advise his Majesty as to the possibility of constructing an anti-Catholic Ministry. But that gentleman, to whom the balance of parties in the House of Commons was well known, gave it as his opinion that an anti-Catholic Ministry could not be formed; and the issue was, that, after a fortnight of anxious suspense and difficulty, the King intrusted Mr Canning with the formation of a Ministry; and the Duke of Wellington, Mr Peel, Lord Eldon, Lord Bathurst, Lord Westmoreland, and Lord Melville, resigned.

65. In taking this decided step, the

great Tory lords were not so much actuated by political differences as by personal feeling. It was not that they dreaded Catholic emancipation, or the placing England in the vanguard of the Liberal powers of Europe: their feeling was, that they had been supplanted by a political adventurer—a man of genius, indeed, and eloquence, but without family connections, and who had raised himself, independent of aristocratic support, to the highest position in the State. They were mortified at the thought of power having slipped from the old influences; they felt the jealousy which rank invariably does of genius, when it is not entirely subservient to its wishes. They dreaded the ascendancy of a rival power. On the other hand, Mr Canning, anticipating the defection of his Tory colleagues, had made overtures to the Liberal chiefs, and secret communications had passed between him and Sir Robert Wilson and Mr Brougham. All was jealousy and commotion; the female political coteries were in incessant activity; party spirit had never run so high; and the rancour of the rival leaders at each other found vent in bitter taunts and reproaches.* The Whig peers were in secret not less exasperated at the aspiring commoner, who threatened to shake the long-established dominion of their order, than the Tory; and Earl Grey's hostility, in particular, exhaled in a powerful and sarcastic speech against Mr Canning in the House of Peers, which made a great sensation at the time, and contributed not a little, by pointing out the inconsistencies of his public career, to diminish his reputation in the country.

66. In the midst of these dissensions, however, the King remained firm to his new promise; and after a considerable delay and much difficulty the new Cabinet was formed, containing, as might have been expected, a decided

majority of Whigs, or persons of known Liberal opinions. The most prominent changes were, that the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Copley, was made Lord Chancellor, by the title of LORD LYNDBURST, in room of Lord Eldon; the Duke of Clarence, Lord High Admiral, in room of Lord Melville, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Wellington was succeeded as Master-General of the Ordnance by the Marquess of Anglesea; Mr Robinson, with the title of Viscount Goderich, was made Colonial Secretary, in room of Lord Bathurst; Lord Dudley, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, instead of Mr Canning, appointed to the Premiership; and Mr Sturges Bourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, in room of Mr Peel, in which important office he was, after a few weeks, succeeded by the Marquess of Lansdowne. By these appointments the Government became entirely Whig or Liberal, and the long-established dominion of the Tories, established by Mr Pitt in 1784, was subverted.*

67. These three events—the death of the Duke of York, the appointment of Mr Canning as Prime Minister, and the entire remodelling of the Cabinet on Liberal principles—succeeding one another in rapid succession in the first months of 1827, deserve to be particularly noticed as turning-points in the modern history of England, and big with vast consequences in future times.

* The new Cabinet stood as follows:—

In the Cabinet.—Lord - Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst; Earl of Harrowby, Lord President; Duke of Portland, Lord Privy Seal; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Bexley; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Viscount Dudley; Secretary for Colonies, Viscount Goderich; Secretary for Home Department, Mr Sturges Bourne; President of Board of Trade, Mr Huskisson; Secretary at War, Viscount Palmerston; First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Canning.

Not in the Cabinet.—Lord High Admiral, Duke of Clarence; Master-General of the Ordnance, Marquess of Anglesea; Lord Chamberlain, Duke of Devonshire; Master of the Horse, Duke of Leeds; Secretary for Ireland, Mr Lamb.

Law Appointments.—Master of the Rolls, Sir John Leach; Vice-Chancellor, Sir A. Hart; Attorney-General, Sir Jas. Scarlett; Solicitor-General, Sir N. Tindall. — *Ann. Reg.* 1827, p. 105.

* "The whole conversation in town is made up of abusive, bitterly abusive, talk of people about each other; all fire and flame: I have known nothing like it. I think political enmity runs higher, and waxes warmer, than I ever knew it."—Lord ELDON to Lady J. T. BANKES, April 7, 1827; *Eldon's Life*, ii. 588.

The first changed the heir-apparent to the throne, and brought forward as its immediate inheritor a prince who, with many good and amiable qualities, was by no means endowed with the strong understanding and masculine intrepidity of the Duke of York, and was influenced by a secret love of popularity, the quality of all others the most dangerous in a ruling character in stormy times. The second placed the avowed and elegant leader of the House of Commons in the situation of Prime Minister, and that not as the "Great Commoner" in the days of George II., from the combined influence of aristocratic connections and personal talents, but from the last of these influences alone. The steady and intrepid opponent of Catholic emancipation now rested in the vault of Windsor, its supporter wielded the whole power and patronage of Government; the hero of the Peninsula was in retirement, and the new Premier had recently sent the British standards to Lisbon to support a Liberal constitution, and boasted he had severed the dominions of an ancient ally, and "called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." Changes so vast could not fail to exercise a powerful influence on the course of events in future times; and it was the greater that they were in great part themselves the result of an alteration in general opinion, and the approach of a new era in human affairs.

68. The magnitude of the change which had taken place appeared in the most decided manner when the ministerial explanations, as usual in such cases, took place in Parliament. Both Houses were crowded to excess, both in the highest degree excited; but the excitement in the two was as different as the poles are asunder. In the Commons it was the triumph of victory; in the Peers, the consternation of defeat. So clearly was this evinced, that it obliterated for a time the deep lines of party distinction, and brought the two Houses, almost as hostile bodies united under different standards, into the presence of each other. The Commons rang with acclamations when

the new Premier made his triumphant explanation from the head of the ministerial bench; but they were still louder when Mr Peel from the cross benches out of office said, "They may call me illiberal and Tory; but it will be found that some of the most necessary measures of useful legislation of late years are inscribed with my name." The tide of reform had become so strong that even the avowed Tory leaders in the Lower House were fain to take credit by sailing along with it. In the House of Lords, on the other hand, the feeling of the majority was decidedly hostile to the new administration, and that not merely on the Tory benches, where it might naturally have been looked for, but among the old Whig nobility, who had long considered government as an appanage of their estates. The forms of that decorous assembly prevented any outward indication of excitement, but it was not felt the less strongly within; and it was not easy to say whether the old Peers on both sides responded more strongly to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Eldon's explanation of their reasons for declining to hold office, or to Earl Grey's powerful and impassioned attack on the new Premier. The division of the two Houses was clearly pronounced: the one presaged its approaching triumph, the other its coming downfall. A secret sense of unavoidable change had ranged their members in unwonted combinations; and the vital distinction of interest and order had for the time superseded the old divisions of party.

69. LORD ELDON, who resigned with his Tory colleagues on this occasion, and, from his advanced years, and the semi-liberal character of all subsequent administrations, never was again called to the labours of office, was one of the most remarkable men who ever sat on the Woolsack, and, from the decided uncompromising character of his political opinions, the most exposed to party violence and misrepresentation. Indeed, so uniformly has such vituperation, for a long period, attached to every independent intrepid character on either side in politics, that its in-

tensity may be considered as not the worst test of real merit and ability. The people can tolerate anything but independence of their wishes and commands; but they will not waste their abuse except on those they fear. The insignificant they pass over in silence. As a lawyer, Lord Eldon is now acknowledged, by all men of all parties capable of judging of the subject, to have attained the very highest eminence. He was the greatest of the many great lawyers who ever sat on the English bench. He was said at the time to be dilatory and undecided; but the first is now known to have arisen from the enormous and overwhelming mass of business with which he was oppressed; the last is the frequent accompaniment of the most acute and penetrating intellect. Men of such mental characters often seem undecided, not because they see little, but because they see much. Everything which can be adduced on either side presents itself at once and so forcibly to their clear and far-seeing mental vision, that instant decision is impossible. Decision of character, the quality of all others the most important for success in life, often arises from the will being more powerful than the judgment; and the opposite side being disregarded, not because it cannot, but because it will not, be looked at. Witness Napoleon's obstinate perseverance in the Moscow campaign, and retention of his position on the Elbe before Leipsic.

70. As a political character, while there is everything to esteem so far as purity of intention, conscientiousness of disposition, and intrepidity of mind are concerned, there is less in Lord Eldon to admire without reservation. He was the very first of the steadfast class of statesmen, those who abide by the ancient landmarks, and resist as dangerous or pernicious every change from the established order of things. Such men must always be respectable, if their motives are disinterested, from the principles by which they are guided, and sometimes useful, from the obstacles they oppose to hasty and ill-advised legislation; but they are as

often detrimental, from the resistance they present to real improvement, and dangerous, from the vehemence which their firmness excites in the movement party. A great general is not he who never retreats, and would be cut to pieces where he stands rather than retire; but he who knows when to advance and when to recede, and prepares by cautious movements, whether to the front or rear, the means of ultimate victory. Wellington was even greater when he retired to Torres Vedras, than when he gave the signal of advance at Waterloo. It belongs to the highest class of intellect to discern the time and place for resolute resistance, and the season for judicious concession. But it is scarcely possible that this frame of mind can coexist with that of a great lawyer; for the latter is based on the invariable observance of, and vast acquaintance with, precedent; the former is dependent on the power to discern when it is to be discarded, and entrance afforded to new influences. In private life Lord Eldon was simple and unostentatious in his manners, kindly and affectionate in his disposition. During the quarter of a century that he held office, he made a judicious and conscientious use of the immense patronage at his disposal; and though he died rich, he had become so from the legitimate emoluments of his office, not any improper devices to increase his fortune.*

71. Although, however, Liberal principles were thus in the ascendant in the Cabinet and the House of Com-

* Lord Eldon has left a curious proof of the grasping disposition of applicants for situations, in which all who have had the misfortune to be intrusted with patronage will probably concur. On the eve of his retirement he thus wrote to Lady J. T. Bankes: "If I had all the livings in the kingdom vacant when I communicated my resignation (for what *since* that falls vacant I have nothing to do with), and they were cut each into threescore livings, I could not do what is asked of me, by letters received every five minutes, full of eulogies upon my virtues, all which will depart when my resignation actually takes place, and all concluding with: '*Pray give me a living before you go out.*'"—Lord ELDON to Lady J. T. BANKES, April 7, 1827; *Eldon's Life*, ii. 594.

mons, there was one question on which the Whigs had lost ground by the election. For the first time for several years, the Catholic question was decided against the Romish party in the Lower House. The debate began on March 5, and was opened by a most powerful speech by Sir Francis Burdett. It continued three nights, and was concluded at five in the morning of the 7th, by a majority of *four against* the Catholics, the numbers being 276 to 272. The arguments were the same as those so often before urged, and of which a summary will be given in recounting the final debate on the subject. But the speech of Mr Peel on the occasion deserves to be recorded, both from the weight of the arguments it contained, and the strange contrast it presented to those adduced by him so soon after on the same subject; and it was evident, from the increase in the anti-Catholic party in the House, and the manner in which his speech was received by the country, that, under a real representation of the people of Great Britain, the Catholic question had little chance of being carried.

72. Mr Peel observed on this occasion: "The reasons advanced for the emancipation of the Catholics increase my dislike to it; and I cannot admit that the great names pressed into the service stand at all in my way. Mr Pitt had always rested his reasons for the removal of Catholic disabilities upon grounds entirely different from those now adduced. When Mr Fox proposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1790, a measure the same in principle as the one now proposed, Mr Pitt repudiated the change in the strongest terms which it was possible for man to use; and in 1805, he said that he would not allow, at any time, or under any circumstances, the Catholics could claim the removal of their disabilities as a matter of right. Neither can I do so; and looking on it only as a question deeply involving the public good, I find myself unable to vote for what is termed Emancipation, and compelled to say frankly that I prefer

a system of exclusion to one of securities.

73. "I fairly confess that I have a distrust of the Roman Catholics. I do not find fault with the faith of any man, and I think quite as highly of a Catholic as a Protestant; but if on a man's faith there be founded a scheme of political influence, then we have a right to inquire into that scheme; and I cannot contemplate the doctrines of absolution, and confession, and indulgences, without having a strong suspicion that these doctrines are maintained for the purpose of confirming the influence which man exercises over man. What is it to me whether that authority be called spiritual or otherwise, if it is such as practically to influence man's conduct in society? Is it because religious doctrines are made subservient to worldly and political purposes that they are therefore to be excluded from the consideration of the Legislature in the discussion of the present question? On the contrary, if the authority derived from these doctrines be only the stronger on account of their being borrowed from religion, and misapplied to worldly purposes, that, in my opinion, furnishes an additional motive for closely investigating the doctrines themselves. When I find the Pope issuing bulls to the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, and such documents sent forth to four or five millions of people destitute of education, I must say that they are very apt to influence their conduct in life. When I hear, too, such doctrines ascribed to a desire to promote the pure doctrines of Christianity, I cannot help having a lurking suspicion that they are rather intended to maintain a spiritual authority, capable of being applied to temporal purposes, which is said to be extinct, but which it is evident is still existing.

74. "I have no objection to the professors of the Roman Catholic religion as individuals; I quarrel not with their religious tenets as a matter of faith: but I am jealous of the political system which is engrafted on those tenets; and I think I have a perfect right, on the present occasion, to con-

sider what has been the tendency of that political influence in different countries. Without going back to dark and distant ages, and viewing the effect of the Catholic religion, as it exists at the present day in different countries—in some where it luxuriates in undisputed growth, in others where it is only struggling for supremacy, in a third class where it is subordinate to another and a purer system—the result of my investigation and observation is, that it is expedient to maintain in this country the mild, mitigated, and temperate predominance of the Protestant Church. It is the natural desire of every man to promote the welfare of the religious faith to which he is sincerely attached. If Roman Catholics were admitted into Parliament, what could be more natural than that they should labour to extend the influence of their religious system over the country, and to bring it into closer connection with the Government? The consequence would be to bring the Catholic and Protestant religions into collision, in such a manner as might prove the destruction of the latter; and I consider the confusion and disorders which must prevail for ages before that event takes place as a greater evil than the event itself.

75. "Although I believe that the admission of Catholics into Parliament and the great offices would endanger the constitution, yet, if I was satisfied that it would tranquillise Ireland, and produce all the benefits which are anticipated from it, I would sacrifice my apprehensions to the attainment of so immense a benefit. But I cannot bring my mind to believe that the removal of the disabilities would produce such a consummation. If, indeed, the friends of the Catholics proposed, after having carried this point, to make the religion of the great majority of the Irish people the religion of the State, to restore the possessions of the Church to the Catholics, and open to them the great offices of state, possibly such a line of policy might appease and tranquillise the Catholics. But this they do not say; on the contrary, they disavow any intention to attack the Established

Church. But if they maintain the Protestant Church, there will still be a barrier between the two religions: the real apple of discord will remain, only you will have augmented the power of the Catholics to produce the confusion. Would not the Catholic priests exercise their spiritual authority for temporal purposes? The priests have already been lauded for exercising their influence at elections, which they have done to an extent which is utterly unjustifiable; but that is nothing to what may be expected in future, if by such interference they have the prospect of advancing, for the interests of their faith and their temporal advantage, the measures of the Legislature. And this is the measure which is to tranquillise Ireland, and eradicate the poison of faction from the land.

76. "The influence of some great names, of some great men, has been lately lost to the cause I support; but I never adopted my opinions upon it from deference either to high station or high ability. Keen as the feelings of regret must be with which the loss of these associates is recollected, it is still a matter of consolation to me that in the absence of these individuals I have now an opportunity of showing my adherence to those tenets which I formerly espoused—of showing that, if my opinions be unpopular, I stand by them still, when the influence and authority that may have given them currency are gone, and when it is impossible that in the mind of any human being I can stand suspected of pursuing them with any view to favour or personal aggrandisement." The honourable consistency of Mr Peel on this occasion deserves to be particularly noticed, and his sincerity cannot be doubted; for the death of the Duke of York and of Lord Liverpool had deprived the Protestant party of their chief support; and the state of the Cabinet, and probable accession of Mr Canning to its head, rendered the opinions then so manfully delivered to all appearance a very long, if not perpetual, exclusion from office.

77. Equal, if not superior, to the

agitation excited by the discussion of this great political question, was that awakened by the Government measure on the Corn Laws, which, in pursuance of the pledge given last session, the Ministers brought forward. The bill originally framed by Lord Liverpool's Cabinet was introduced by Mr Canning, on March 1st, in a speech of very great ability, which added another to the many proofs which history affords, that ability of the highest order is capable of application at the will of its possessor to any imaginable subject. He began by stating: "Everybody admitted the necessity of protecting the agricultural interests; the only question was the mode and degree in which that protection should be administered. That protection is due to domestic agriculture can hardly be denied; and, on the other hand, stern inflexible prohibition can hardly be defended; for even those of the agriculturists who were most attached to it, uniformly made it a recommendation of their plan, that Parliament, if it were sitting, and if not, the executive government, might always step in, in cases of necessity. Three modes of protection had been proposed: the first, that of Mr Ricardo, that the duty on wheat should be 20s. a quarter, to diminish a shilling with every year till it reached a *minimum* of 10s.; the second, a similar duty, lowering 1s. every year, but beginning at 16s. and coming down to 10s.; the third, a fixed duty of 5s. or 6s. once for all, without any reference to the price.

78. "The great fluctuations of price between 1815 and 1822 proved that some modification of the Corn Law, introduced in the former of these years, was necessary, and a new Act was accordingly passed which gave up unlimited protection, and recognised a certain duty; but the effect of it was in a great measure lost by a clause which declared that the new Act should come into operation only when the price exceeded 80s., which it had never since done, so that the Act had remained a dead letter. Instead of this, what is now proposed is, to adopt, not a fixed, but a variable duty, which should vary

in the relative proportion to the price of corn. The duty on wheat is to be 20s. when the price has reached 60s. a quarter, and to diminish 2s. a quarter with every 1s. advance of the price, so that at 70s. all duty would cease. On the other hand, when the price is 59s. the duty would be 22s., and so on, till, when it fell to 55s., it would amount to 30s., which might be considered as equivalent to a prohibition. On inferior grains, the same variable duty, but at a lower rate. Barley, at 30s., is to pay a duty of 10s. a quarter; oats at 21s., of 7s.: the former to diminish by 1s. 6d. for every 1s. advance in the price, and increase for every 1s. in the fall below that standard; the latter to increase or diminish by 1s." The obvious intention of this proposal was to fix the price of wheat as nearly as possible at 60s. a quarter, that of barley at 30s., that of oats at 21s.

79. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the arguments used on this occasion on either side, which were substantially the same as those adduced in the preceding session, of which an account has already been given. But several very curious things occurred in the course of it, indicating at once the strength of the agricultural interest in the Legislature as then constituted, and the strange mistakes on the subject which were made on both sides in the discussion of it. "On a division," says the annalist, "the amendment was lost, and the resolutions of Ministers carried by a majority of 335 to 50; so small was the proportion of members from whom the agriculturists had to fear any very near approach to a free trade in grain." In the committee the majorities in favour of Ministers were generally 3 to 2, and the bill passed the Lower House ultimately without a division; but its fate was very different in the House of Lords. Before it went there the change of Ministry had taken place; Mr Canning was Premier, and the Duke of Wellington leader of the Opposition in the Upper House. The Corn Laws, which so powerfully affected the interests of the greater part of that assembly, were deemed a favourable ground on which to combat the new Ministry

with the forces of the old Tory aristocracy, and an amendment was prepared which it was hoped might prove fatal to the bill. The result did not belie these anticipations. There were, it was understood, above 500,000 quarters of foreign grain in bond in the country; and the Duke of Wellington moved as an amendment, that "no foreign grain in bond shall be taken out of bond until the average price of corn shall have reached 66s." This was resisted by Ministers on the ground that the effect of this clause would be to keep the average price up at 66s., and entirely defeat the principle of the bill; but on a division it was carried against them by a majority of 4, the numbers being 78 to 74. This majority, upon a subsequent division in a much fuller House, increased to 11, the numbers being 133 to 122. Upon this the Ministers threw up the bill, not without many expressions of anger and disappointment. Even Mr Canning, in speaking of the subject in the House of Commons, in the last speech he ever made in that assembly, said that the Duke, "while meaning no harm, had made himself the instrument of others for their own particular views."*

80. As the Corn Laws were settled on a footing which lasted some years in the next session of Parliament, this defeat was a matter of little public importance; but three things are very curious, and deserving of being recorded, which occurred in the course of it. The first is, that Mr Peel said, in reference to an amendment of Sir John Newport to raise the duty on wheat-flour by a permanent duty of 4s. at all times, "No other country

* It appeared from a correspondence between the Duke of Wellington and Mr Huskisson on this amendment, that the Duke had laboured under a misapprehension of the views of Government regarding it. Mr Huskisson stated that Ministers would not object to the amendment, understanding it to apply only to the corn "*then in bond*;" but the Duke of Wellington thought he meant they had no objections to the prohibition up to 66s., as a *permanent restriction* on foreign importation. There is no reason to doubt the good faith of either in the affair; but assuredly they were very different things.—*See the Correspondence*, June 1827, in *Ann. Reg.* 1827, pp. 148, 153.

besides the United States could enter into competition with our markets, and she *had not much to send*. The largest importation of American flour was in 1817, and that was only 100,000 barrels, equal to 68,000 quarters." To us, who have seen several millions of quarters of American flour or grain annually imported into Great Britain for a course of years, this is a memorable instance of the danger of legislating for future times, on the supposition that they are to remain the same as the present. The second was, that, from the returns of prices for forty-four years prior to 1827, the average price of wheat had been 56s. a quarter, of barley 30s., and of oats 20s. 6d. Third, these returns were referred to by Mr Peel as affording the best criterion of the rates at which cultivation could be carried on at a profit in the British Islands; and so they would, if no changes in the currency had taken place during the period embraced by the returns. But it never seems to have crossed his mind that the successive expansion and contraction of the currency had entirely changed prices of every article of subsistence during their continuance, and that the price of food was much more dependent on the number of notes in circulation than even on the number of quarters of foreign grain imported.* But that was the prevailing error of the age; and it speaks not a little for the penetration and statesmanlike wisdom of Sir Francis Burdett, that nearly alone in the House of Commons he supported the opposite views, and referred to the bill of 1819 as far more instrumental

* The following parliamentary return, referred to in the course of this debate, will show how close had been, in the preceding ten years, the connection between the price of grain and the amount of the currency:—

Years.	Price of Wheat.	Circulation of Notes in England.
1818,	84s.	£46,000,000
1819,	73s.	42,000,000
1820,	65s.	38,000,000
1821,	54s.	34,000,000
1822,	43s.	31,000,000
1823,	52s.	35,000,000
1824,	64s.	39,000,000
1825,	66s.	42,000,000
1826,	57s.	36,000,000

—*Parl. Deb.*, xvii., p. 283.

in producing the depression of prices, of which the agriculturists so much complained, than either the variations of season or any importation of foreign grain.

81. The finances of the country during the years 1826, 1827, and 1828, exhibited a painful proof of the extent to which its industrial resources had been affected by the monetary crisis of December 1825, and the contraction of the currency by the suppression of small notes in the spring succeeding. There was no more boast of a remission of £12,000,000 of taxation in three years, as had been done in the three preceding years: it was with great difficulty, and only by pressing the dead weight into the service, that a surplus of revenue at all above expenditure was exhibited, or the real sinking fund in terms of the resolutions of the

House of Commons in 1819. As the dead weight was in truth a loan, paid annually by instalments on the credit of future years, this view was of course fallacious, and gave a melancholy proof of the shifts to which successive administrations were now reduced to conceal the effect upon the finances which their own measures had produced. During these three years the entire taxation reduced was £261,000 a-year; and the sums applied to the reduction of debt, funded and unfunded, were in all £15,993,902.*

82. The other proceedings in Parliament during this session do not require particular notice, as they were chiefly the consequence of measures already adopted, and of which the bearing has already been discussed. Mr Peel, though out of office, continued his meritorious labours for the

Years.	Taxes remitted.	Money applied to Debt.
* 1826,	£84,000	£5,621,231
1827,	51,000	5,704,706
1828,	126,000	4,667,965
	<u>£261,000</u>	<u>£15,993,902</u>

The finances of the three years stood as follows:—

INCOME.			
Ordinary.			
	1826.	1827.	1828.
Customs,	£17,280,711	£17,235,405	£17,235,408
Excise,	19,172,019	18,483,707	20,759,635
Stamps,	6,702,350	6,811,226	7,107,950
Taxes,	4,702,743	4,768,273	4,849,303
Post-Office,	1,570,000	1,463,000	1,508,000
Lesser Sources,	197,657	205,941	200,729
Ordinary revenue,	<u>£49,625,485</u>	<u>£49,581,576</u>	<u>£51,665,077</u>
Extraordinary.			
Dead Weight,	4,380,000	4,245,000	3,082,500
Lesser Sources,	889,501	1,005,930	339,564
	<u>£54,894,989</u>	<u>£54,932,518</u>	<u>£55,187,142</u>
EXPENDITURE.			
	1826.	1827.	1828.
Interest of Funded Debt,	£27,245,750	£27,366,601	£27,146,076
Unfunded,	831,207	873,246	949,429
Army and Navy Pensions,	2,800,000	2,800,000	1,692,870
Civil List,	2,164,173	2,218,218	2,204,553
Public Advances,	510,000	254,200	2,337,497
Army,	8,297,360	7,876,682	8,084,042
Navy,	6,540,634	6,414,727	5,667,969
Ordinance,	1,869,606	1,914,403	1,446,972
Miscellaneous,	2,566,783	2,863,247	2,012,115
Do.,	1,060,024	1,217,964	....
	<u>*£59,272,925</u>	<u>*£59,068,778</u>	<u>*£54,623,565</u>

* Including charges of collection.

—Finance Accounts in *Ann. Reg.*, 1827, 264; 1828, 271, 272; 1829, 256, 258.

reform of the criminal law, and capital punishment was taken from many offences which it was a disgrace to English legislation to have ever affixed to them. The silk-weavers and ship-owners made loud complaints of the manner in which their interests had been sacrificed at the altar of Free Trade, and referred to numerous arrays of figures in support of their petitions, which produced long and interesting debates in both Houses of Parliament. No result, however, followed from these discussions, except the usual one of confirming both parties in their opinions. The weavers and shipowners referred, in support of their complaints, to the miserably low wages—not a half of those of the preceding year—which they were able to earn, and the diminished number of ships and tonnage they employed. Mr Huskisson and the Free-Traders replied by referring to the steady importation of the raw material, and the increase of the *entire* tonnage, foreign and domestic, employed in conducting our trade. Neither answer was decisive—for persons in distress generally try to compensate lessened profits by increased production, and thus enlarged consumption of the raw material arises from the very suffering of those engaged in working it up; and the question in regard to shipping was not how our whole tonnage, foreign and domestic, stood, so much as the proportion increasing or diminishing of the one to the other, which has been already fully given. The curious thing, however, is, that scarce any mention was made by either party of the contraction of the currency and consequent reduction of prices, as imposing a weight on the springs of industry which all the energies of the country were unable to shake off. And the insensibility of the Legislature to the complaints of the persons suffering under these causes is to be remarked, as one of the many circumstances concurring at this period to shake the confidence of the people in existing institutions, and spreading far and wide the opinion that any change would be for the better, and that some

alteration had become necessary in the composition of a Legislature which had proved itself indifferent to the sufferings of the people.

83. When men's minds were in this unsettled state, and the working classes were in many places petitioning for some compulsory law to arrest the fall of wages, an event occurred which gave the ill humours which were afloat a definite direction, and turned them into a torrent which ere long became irresistible. At the last election—as is generally the case when parties run very high, and great exertions are made on opposite sides to increase their adherents in Parliament—bribery had prevailed to a very great, and, as it was said by the advocates of reform, unprecedented extent. Numerous petitions against returns upon this ground were presented, and in two instances—those of PENRYN and EAST RETFORD—the proof of corruption on the greatest scale was so complete that not only was each of the returns set aside, but leave was given to bring in bills to disfranchise both boroughs. The bill brought in by Government proposed only to extend the franchise to the adjacent hundred, that being, as Mr Canning said, “a mitigated penalty suited to the nature of the offence proved, although, in more flagrant cases, such as Grampound, he should not hesitate to vote for total disfranchisement.” The Whigs, however, led by Lord Milton and Mr Brougham, insisted for total disfranchisement, and an amendment to that effect was carried by a majority of 124 to 69. No resolution was taken concerning the place to which the franchise should be transferred, but great anxiety was already felt on the subject. The Liberals contended for Birmingham, the Conservatives inclined to the circumjacent hundred. Both parties felt the vital importance of the question, but they mutually feared each other; and the session closed without any determination having been come to on the subject. But the point was mooted, and could no longer be avoided; and this deserves to be noted as the commencement of the great question of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

84. The session was closed by a speech from the throne, by the Lords Commissioners, on the 2d July; and an event soon after occurred which made a profound impression on England and the world, and afforded a memorable example of the unstable tenure by which worldly greatness is held. Mr Canning now saw every wish of his heart gratified. He had raised himself, by the unaided force of genius and eloquence, from a private station to the highest position in the State. He was the Prime Minister of the Crown, the admired leader of the House of Commons, the head of an administration stronger than any since the days of Pitt, and looked up to, in every part of the world, as the protector of the oppressed, the enlightened assertor of liberal principles. He was still in the prime of life; he had done much in conciliating the regard of his Sovereign; his sway in Parliament was unbounded; and he might hope for a long career of fame, fortune, and usefulness. "Vanity, vanity—all is vanity:" the hand of fate was already upon him, and he was to be suddenly snatched from the scene of his glory, at the very moment when he seemed to have attained the summit of earthly felicity!

85. Though by no means of a weakly constitution, Mr Canning shared in an infirmity common to all men of genius, and which, though it is sometimes concealed by the vigour of a powerful understanding, is never probably entirely absent from a mind gifted with the highest imaginative faculties. He was not irritable, but eminently *susceptible*; he felt kindly, but he also felt warmly: incapable of harbouring an ungenerous sentiment, he suffered grievously under what seemed a want of generosity or justice in others. To a mind of this temperament, the very greatness to which he had been elevated became a source of anguish, the cause of disappointment. He had ascended the ladder, not at the head of his friends, but alone. At the summit of the battlement, he found himself surrounded by new faces, supported by former antagonists, while his old comrades, in

sullen discontent, stood at a distance, lending no assistance. Cheered as he was from all sides of the House, leading a decided majority in his country, revered in every quarter of the globe, he yet felt that one thing was now wanting—the confidence of old friends, the sympathy of former associates. He had attained the pinnacle of ambition, but he found himself there in solitary grandeur. He felt like Burke: "I am alone; I know I have lost my former friends, and I am too old to form new ones." The cold look, the averted eyes, the unreturned pressure of the hand, told at what price he had purchased his present elevation; and this was felt the more keenly, that his own heart was still overflowing with the generous affections, and he experienced in success none of the irritation which his former friends perhaps not unnaturally evinced in disappointment.

86. These causes of irritation proved the more serious to Mr Canning, that, although temperate in his general habits, and addicted to no excess, he participated in the pleasure, as much as he excelled in the powers, of conversation; and when in company, he sought a momentary relaxation from the cares of office, and the irritation at defection, in the brilliant and animated discourse which spread so great a charm over his private society. This insensibly led to a greater indulgence in the pleasures of company than was perhaps prudent in a person of his excitable temperament. He drank largely, especially during dinner, though never to excess; and the result was an inflamed state of mind and body, which led to fatal results. On the 15th July he became seriously indisposed, from having caught cold while sitting under a tree, when warm with walking, at Lord Lyndhurst's, at Wimbledon. On the 25th, he was, on the recommendation of his medical advisers, removed to Chiswick, the beautiful villa of the Duke of Devonshire, where he was lodged in the room in which Mr Fox died. His complaint, which turned into inflammation of the bowels, after having more than once abated so as to give hopes of conval-

escence, returned ere long with redoubled violence. His sufferings were dreadful, and painful to witness, but he never lost his serenity of mind; and on the Sunday before his death he had prayers read to him by his daughter, his custom always when he could not attend church. Shortly after this, his sufferings ceased, but it was from the commencement of mortification in the seat of the disease. He gradually sank, and breathed his last on the morning of Wednesday, August 8th. His funeral, at his own request, was a private one; but he was laid in Westminster Abbey, among the ashes of the great; and it was voluntarily attended by a large concourse of the nobility and estimable persons, as well as an immense crowd of spectators, anxious to testify their respect to the first and most gifted citizen of a free people.

87. Mr Canning's death made a prodigious impression in the world, second only to that produced twenty-five years after by the decease of the Duke of Wellington. It was not merely the genius and talents of the departed statesman, great as they were, which led to this sensation,—it was the direction which they had latterly taken, the objects to which they had come to be applied, which caused the heart of the world to thrill with emotion. "His," it has been finely said, "was a life in which all put trust, more, perhaps, than they should in that of mortal, from the isles of Greece to the ridges of the Andes." For the first time since the French Revolution, the Government of England, under his direction, had been turned to the support of democratic principles: he was looked up to as the head of the liberal party throughout the globe. Great was the sensation produced by this conversion. The popular party in every country anticipated a speedy triumph to their principles, the immediate elevation of themselves to power and riches, now that the great antagonist State, which had conquered the child of Revolution, was brought round to the other side at the voice of this mighty enchanter. Proportionally deep was

the gloom, general the distress, when he was thus cut off in the very zenith of his career, and at the very time when he had attained the means of carrying his principles into practice.

88. And yet there can be no doubt that these anticipations were fallacious, and that these hopes would have been disappointed had his earthly career been much prolonged. Mr Canning was too great a man to be a republican: his was not the temper that would yield to the dictates of an imperious democracy. Questions were coming on, and could no longer be avoided, which would have dispelled the illusion, and deprived the great commoner of the halo of renown with which he descended to the tomb. He was averse to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, he was throughout the steady and uncompromising opponent of parliamentary reform. His opposition to the Liberals on these questions would have speedily alienated the popular party, who can bear anything rather than a check from their own leaders; and a few years more of his life would probably have seen the windows of the emancipator of South America barricaded, like those of the deliverer of the Peninsula. He was essentially Conservative and *national* in his feelings, and that was the secret of his otherwise inconsistent career. A Conservative on principle, he was a Liberal from feeling and ambition. His sympathies were with freedom; but his judgment told him it was not to be won by yielding to the people. His most celebrated acts, the expedition to Portugal and recognition of the republics of South America, were not, as the Liberals suppose, instigated by a desire to elevate popular power, but from a strong patriotic principle, and a determination to counterbalance the influence and divert the ambition of France.

89. Many of Mr Canning's last acts, which occasioned so much excitement at the time, were plainly justifiable. His interference in favour of Greece, and conclusion of the treaty of 6th July, which established its independence, was a noble act, called for by every consideration of justice and

expedience, and calculated in its ultimate results to terminate one of the greatest evils of modern times, the government of the Turks in Europe. His expedition to Portugal was done on the call of an ancient ally, and necessary to maintain the character of England among nations, as well as stop the ambitious projects of France. But his interference in favour of the insurgents of South America, which chiefly gained him the applause of the Liberals, was an unjustifiable measure, calculated to partition the territory of ancient ally, and spread the discordant passion for republicanism among a people alike unable to exercise its rights or bear its excitement. It has, accordingly, been attended with the most disastrous results. Mr Canning said he resolved, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain and the Indies, and that he called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. What was this but to imitate the example of Maria Theresa, who said, when the Empress Catherine invaded Poland, "If you take Lithuania, it shall not be Lithuania with *Gallicia*; and I will appropriate the latter province to maintain the balance of European power." It is justifiable to assert the rights, and maintain, by fair means, the influence of your country; but it is a very different thing to do so by partitioning an ancient ally, and spreading a form of government, in a new hemisphere, unsuited to its character and ruinous to its happiness.

90. Mr Canning's talents, both for business and debate, were of the very first order. Like all other men gifted with the highest class of intellect, his was capable of application at will to any subject; and the man whose eloquence and play of fancy had so often charmed and enchained the House of Commons, was equally felicitous when he came to discuss the details of finance or the corn averages, as Chancellor of the Exchequer or leader of the Lower House. But though his powers were thus capable of various application, his disposition led him to the realms of imagination; his longing was to the

world of fancy more than the world of reality: he was fitted by nature to have been a great author rather than a great statesman. As it was his powers of eloquence which gave him the lead in the House of Commons, so it was the qualities with which they were allied which cut him short at the highest point of his career. The susceptibility to sentiment, the fineness of feeling, the refinement of thought, which constituted the charm of his eloquence not less than logical precision its strength, were mainly owing to the unhappy sensitiveness with which, in poetic minds, they are so frequently allied, and which threw him, on the alienation of his friends, into the state of mental excitement which led to results that proved fatal to his constitution. If the brevity of his career as Minister gave him few opportunities of engraving his acts in indelible characters on the annals of his country, he made good use of the short time that was allotted him, and has left a name second to none, in point of brilliancy, of all the statesmen who ever guided the destinies of England.

91. The King, it is now known, had been personally hurt at the resignation of the six Cabinet Ministers when Mr Canning was appointed,* and for this reason, as well as the strength of the Liberal party in the Cabinet, no attempt was made to offer the premiership to any of their party. Mr Huskisson, whose health, as well as that of Canning, had suffered severely from the anxieties of office during the last six months, had gone abroad on the close of the session, and was in the Styrian Alps when the intelligence of Mr Canning's death reached him. He was not, moreover, of sufficient weight in the House to justify his being placed at the head of the Government. The King, therefore, as a matter of necessity, sent for Lord Goderich, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the days of prosperity, had been a very

* "The King blamed all the ministers who had retired when Mr Canning was made Minister, and represented in substance, that it was they, and not he, who had made Mr Canning Minister."—*Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon*, iii. 82.

popular minister, and he was appointed Premier. Mr Huskisson succeeded Lord Goderich as Colonial Secretary, and Mr Herries was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. His appointment gave such offence to the Whigs that Lord Lansdowne waited on his Majesty with his resignation of his office as Home Secretary, and was only prevailed on to hold it on the assurance that it was not the King who had recommended him to Lord Goderich, but Lord Goderich who had recommended him to the King. Lord Harrowby retired from the office of President of the Council, which was bestowed on the Duke of Portland, and Lord Carlisle succeeded his Grace as Lord Privy Seal. Sir A. Hart was made Chancellor of Ireland, and Mr Shadwell Vice-Chancellor of England. The Duke of Wellington, who had retired chiefly from a sense of personal slight on Mr Canning's appointment, immediately resumed his place as Commander-in-Chief, though without a seat in the Cabinet. The Government, as remodelled, was, upon the whole, of a Whig character, though several members of it adhered to Conservative principles.

92. Lord Goderich's Cabinet has become a byword in subsequent times; and certainly its troubled existence, and speedy termination without external causes, prove that the seeds of dissolution were from the first implanted in its bosom. It was not, however, from any deficiency in ability that this tendency to decay arose; on the contrary, the Cabinet presented a splendid array of names, which it would have been difficult to have found a parallel to, in point of ability, in any other list in the kingdom. Its weakness arose from that very ability itself, and the different sentiments with which its highly-gifted members were animated. The infirmity of a coalition is in the direct ratio of the talent and vigour of its members; its strength, of their weakness, provided there are one or two brilliant exceptions. What makes them, in general, after a brief period, fall to pieces, is not that they want talents to do great things, but that

those things are different. Weak men of different opinions can hold together, because they all yield to the ascendant of superior genius; but strong men cannot do so for any length of time, because no one will yield to another.

93. Though nearly impotent from this cause for good, the new Ministry showed, even in its cradle, it was adequate to evil. One of its first steps was to reduce to a third of its former amount the yeomanry cavalry of Great Britain, the numbers being reduced from 35,500 to 13,500. Various additions have since been made to this noble force, which unites the high and the low by the bonds of common loyalty to their country and each other; but it has never attained anything like the numerical amount which it had then reached. This strange step was the more reprehensible that the military force of Great Britain, reduced to the lowest point by the clamour for economy, was dispersed over every quarter of the globe in defence of our colonies; that the alarming insurrections of 1820 and 1821 had been put down mainly by the yeomanry force, which had a moral influence much beyond its physical strength; and that the state of Ireland, as will be immediately shown, was so threatening that every regular soldier was required from Great Britain to prevent rebellion openly breaking out. All these considerations, how pressing soever, yielded to the desire to suppress the "Tory clubs," as the yeomanry regiments were called in private by the Whig leaders.* This reduction excited the greatest discontent, and many of the regiments offered to serve without pay, but it was refused; a decision which demonstrated it was political, not financial, considerations which had suggested the reduction. It was a melancholy proof of the length to which party spirit can carry even estimable and able men, when the first use of power made by a great party, when they had obtained it after a long exclusion, was to weaken the bulwarks of the throne in order

* The Author often heard them so designated at that time by persons of the highest eminence in the confidence of Government.

that they might extinguish the cradle of loyalty.

94. The divisions in the Cabinet were so well known that it was generally expected it would break up before the end of the year. It dragged a painful existence on, however, to the beginning of 1828. Matters were brought to a crisis in the first week of January by the necessity of appointing a finance committee, agreeably to a promise made by Mr Canning, when opening the budget of the preceding year. The Cabinet, on the suggestion of Mr Tierney, who took the lead in the House of Commons on the occasion, had resolved on LORD ALTHORPE, eldest son of Earl Spencer, a Whig leader, who soon after rose to eminence. This resolution was taken with the concurrence of Lord Goderich, but without the knowledge of Mr Herries, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, naturally thought he should at least have been consulted on such an appointment. The result was, that Mr Herries tendered his resignation, which Lord Goderich received with considerable agitation. On his side, Mr Huskisson intimated to Lord Goderich that he would resign if the nomination of Lord Althorpe was not carried through; and as Lord Goderich now deemed it requisite to put a veto on that appointment, Mr Huskisson tendered his resignation, and Lord Goderich, seeing it impossible to carry on the Government, escaped the difficulty by resigning himself.

95. The King, thus deserted by the Coalition Ministry, as a matter of necessity sent for the Duke of Wellington, who, albeit of military habits, and little skilled in the intrigues of courts, hastened, with his wonted patriotic spirit, to respond to the summons of his Sovereign. Few changes in the Cabinet, in the first instance at least, took place on his appointment. The Liberal Tories remained, but the decided Whigs retired. Lord Lansdowne resigned his situation as Home Secretary, which Mr Peel, with the entire concurrence of the nation, resumed. Mr Tierney gave up the Mastership of the Mint; Lord Melville was restored

to his position as head of the Admiralty; Mr Goulburn was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Earl Bathurst President of the Council. Sir James Scarlett resigned the office of Attorney-General, and was succeeded by Sir Charles Wetherall. But the whole Canning party—Lord Dudley and Ward, Lord Palmerston, and Mr C. Grant—retained their places; and even Mr Huskisson and Mr Herries, whose hostility had proved fatal to the late Ministry, remained in power, not without some regret on the part of the friends of the former.

96. Mr Huskisson, however, soon found that it is easier to retain office in a divided Cabinet than public estimation by forming part of it. A question ere long arose, on which the divergence of opinion between him and the majority of his colleagues became apparent. The great question of parliamentary reform lay as a stumbling-block in their way, and it was brought on early in the next session of Parliament by the pending bills for the disfranchisement of Penryn and East Retford. The bill for the first passed the Commons without opposition, with a clause transferring the franchise to Manchester—the Tories trusting that it would be thrown out in the Peers, and wishing to throw upon the Upper House the odium of an unpopular step. But as a town had got one of the disfranchised seats, they contended, not without some show of reason, that the country should get the next; and, accordingly, they all voted, with the exception of Mr Huskisson, against transferring the seat to Birmingham. It was carried against giving the seat to Birmingham by a majority of 19; the numbers, 141 to 122. Mr Huskisson, however, voted with the minority; and deeming this deviation from his colleagues, on a vital question, a sufficient reason for not longer retaining office, he sent a letter to the Duke of Wellington, at two in the morning, after returning from the debate, resigning his office.* This resignation

* "DOWNING STREET, 2 A.M., May 2.—MY DEAR DUKE,—After the vote which, in regard to my own consistency and personal charac-

the Duke next day carried to the King, by whom it was accepted. Mr Huskisson does not seem to have reckoned on this being done; for Lord Dudley, on his part, went to the Duke, to endeavour to convince his Grace that he laboured under a mistake, and that no resignation was intended. The laconic answer of the Duke, however, since become proverbial, cut the matter short: "It is no mistake; it can be no mistake; and *it shall be no mistake.*" The Duke persisted, after some correspondence, in regarding it in this light; and Mr Huskisson being thus out of the Cabinet, his retirement was followed by that of the whole Canning party. Lord Dudley, Lord Palmerston, and Mr C. Grant, immediately resigned; and this was soon after followed by that of the Duke of Clarence from the situation of Lord High Admiral. This last resignation, however, was on separate grounds from the general withdrawal of Mr Canning's friends.

97. These resignations deprived the Ministry of its coalition character, and the Duke of Wellington proceeded with his usual decision in filling up the vacant offices. The persons to whom situations were offered were partly military; but the capacity they evinced in their new duties soon proved that the Duke had not been mistaken in his estimate of their characters. Mr Huskisson was succeeded in the Colonial Office by Sir George Murray, the tried and able Quartermaster-General in all the Peninsular campaigns; Lord Dudley in the Foreign Office by Lord Aberdeen; Sir Henry Hardinge, the hero of Albuera, was made Secretary at War

instead of Lord Palmerston; Mr Vesey Fitzgerald was put at the head of the Board of Trade in room of Mr C. Grant. The Cabinet was now reconstructed entirely out of the Tory party, and the weakness incident to a coalition was at an end. But it soon appeared that the days of Tory domination were also closed, and that even the decided will of the "Iron Duke" must yield to the necessities of his new situation, and the opinions of a growing Liberal majority in the House of Commons.*

98. One of the first debates in the next session of Parliament was on the celebrated speech from the throne concerning the battle of Navarino, which was justly looked forward to with great interest by all Europe, as embodying the sentiments of the new Ministry on the Greek revolution. His Majesty then said: "In the course of the measures adopted with the view to carry into effect the treaty of July 6, a collision wholly unexpected by his Majesty took place in the port of Navarin, between the fleets of the contracting powers and that of the Ottoman Porte. Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the combined fleet, his Majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope that this *untoward event* will not be followed by farther hostilities, and will not prevent that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede." These words, and especially the expression "*untoward event*," which was certainly unsuitable for so glorious an achievement as that which de-

* The Duke of Wellington's Cabinet, as finally constructed, stood as follows:—

First Lord of the Treasury, Duke of Wellington; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Goulburn; Home Secretary, Mr Peel; Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen; Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray; Lord Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst; Secretary at War, Sir H. Hardinge; First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville; President of the Council, Lord Bathurst; Privy Seal, Lord Ellenborough; Board of Trade, Mr Vesey Fitzgerald; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Anglesea.—*Ann. Reg.* 1823, pp. 19, 21.

ter, I have found myself compelled to give on the East Retford question, I owe it to you, as the head of the Administration, and to Mr Peel, as the leader of the House of Commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands, as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the King's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his Majesty's Councils, however unfounded in reality, or however unimportant in itself the question which has given rise to that appearance."—*Ann. Reg.* 1823, p. 15. This was couched in almost the express words of the resignation of Mr Herries, not many weeks before.

livered an entire Christian people from the Ottoman yoke, excited an immense sensation both in this country and over all Europe, and was justly deemed an undeserved slight on the commander who brought on the engagement. They were obviously dictated by the strong sense which the Duke of Wellington entertained, and has often expressed, of the importance of the independence of Turkey to the general balance of power in Europe, and of the obvious fact that the destruction of the Ottoman fleet exposed Constantinople without defence to an attack from the Russians issuing from Sebastopol. But that has always been the inherent and insurmountable difficulty of the Eastern Question, that justice cannot be done to the Christian population of Turkey without weakening its Mussulman Government, or independence given to its oppressed provinces without endangering that of the European States.

99. Ministers, much to their honour, brought forward, early in the session, a proposal for a suitable provision for the family of Mr Canning, which had been raised to the peerage the day after his funeral. Mrs Canning was made a Viscountess, with remainder to her sons. Richly as this testimonial to long and valuable public services was deserved, the proposal met with a strenuous opposition from Lord Althorpe, Mr Hume, Mr Bankes, and other leaders of the retrenching party in the House of Commons, who, while they admitted the splendid talents of the deceased, objected on economical grounds to such an appropriation of the public money. The grant, however, of £6000 a-year, was carried by a majority of 161 to 54, and the debate was chiefly memorable as containing a tribute from eminent men to the merits of the deceased. "That he was a man," said Sir James Mackintosh, "of the purest honour, I know; that he was a man of the most rare and splendid talents, I know; that he was a man renowned through Europe for his brilliant genius and philosophic thinking, not a member of this House can be ignorant; or that, with his best zeal,

as well as with success, he applied that genius and those views of policy to advance the service and glory of his country. If there were those from whom he had differed—and can it be doubted that every politician will have some opposed to him?—this is not an hour when those differences should be recollected. A friendship of thirty-six years with him has given me, and I am not ashamed to confess it, a deep interest in any measure which is intended to do honour to his memory."*

100. The Finance Committee, which had proved so fatal to the Goderich Administration, was appointed without opposition; Mr Peel was chairman, and both Mr Herries and Mr Huskisson were members. The Catholic question was again introduced, in a most eloquent speech by Sir Francis Burdett; and after a prolonged debate of three nights, carried in favour of emancipation by a majority of 6, the numbers being 272 to 266. This majority, in a Parliament which, in the preceding session, had decided the other way by a majority of 11, proved how very nearly balanced the parties were on this momentous question, inasmuch that it was a mere accident which way the vote went. It was well known also that there was a division, nearly as equal, even in the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet, on the subject; and this equality, alike in the Government and the Legislature, deserves to be specially noted, as obviously tying up the hands of Ministers, and precluding the adoption of vigorous measures against the Irish malcontents. It was, in truth, the main cause of the sudden conversion of the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet on the subject, and the carrying of Catholic emancipation so soon after. It led, however, at the moment, to no practical result; for when the matter was carried to the House of Peers, it was thrown out by a majority of 44, the numbers being 181 to 137.

* Mr Canning's eldest son, to whom the title descended, was in the navy, and perished accidentally soon after his father. Fortunately the pension was granted for the life of the second son, to whom the family honours descended.—*Ann. Reg.* 1823, p. 78.

101. The two great measures of the session were the Corn-law Settlement, and the REPEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS. Both were legislative acts of the utmost moment; for the first settled for a long period the disputed question between town and country, and the last struck the first successful blow which had been delivered during a hundred and fifty years at the supremacy of the Church of England. It was obviously indispensable to come to some arrangement in regard to the Corn Laws—the bill for which, after having passed the Commons by a large majority, had been abandoned, as already mentioned, in the Peers, in consequence of an amendment deemed fatal to the principle of the bill, prohibiting the letting out of bonded corn, having been carried by the Duke of Wellington. The new bill, introduced now by Mr V. Fitzgerald, adopted the principle of the sliding-scale, and made no alteration on the duties proposed the preceding year on barley, oats, and rye; but in regard to wheat the turning-point was different, beginning at 52s., when the duty was to be 34s. 8d., and falling 1s. by every shilling the price advanced, till at 73s. it became 1s. only. The bill met with considerable opposition, the agriculturists contending for a higher, the Liberals for a lower rate; but at length it passed both Houses by large majorities—that in the Commons being 202 to 58; in the Lords, 86 to 19. So firmly fixed was the agricultural interest at this period in both Houses, at no great distance, in point of time, from an organic change which was to deprive them of all protection whatever.

102. So strongly was the cheapening party, notwithstanding this, intrenched in the Legislature, that Government brought forward a bill to prohibit the circulation of Scotch bank-notes in England. These notes, being for £1 each, were found to be extremely convenient in practice, and accordingly they everywhere crept across the Border, and were received at last in all the northern counties of England, as far as York and Preston. This was justly

complained of as a grievance by the English bankers, who, restrained from issuing small notes themselves, found this profitable branch of their business taken out of their hands by strangers who still enjoyed the privilege of doing so. It never occurred to the Legislature that the system of excluding such notes from circulation was the really erroneous thing; and that the English public would not testify such anxiety to get Scotch notes, unless their circulation was found to be convenient in business and advantageous to the operations of commerce. All these considerations yielded to the desire felt to contract the circulation, and rest it entirely upon a metallic basis; and in this desire the landed interest, in total blindness as to the effect of such measures upon their own fortunes, for the most part concurred. Sir James Graham—whose tenantry at Netherby, on the western border, had largely shared in the benefits of the Scotch notes, and who himself had published an able pamphlet against the existing monetary system—in vain moved for a committee to inquire into the subject. He was answered by the argument, that to make any inquiry would be tantamount to going back on our whole monetary system. The result was that the bill passed both Houses by great majorities—in the Commons by eighty-two to seventeen—and the circulation of Scotch notes in England was entirely stopped. Very great distress was in consequence brought on the northern counties, especially among the small traders and farmers, who had long been supported by the advances of the Scotch bankers in the same way as they everywhere were to the north of the Tweed. This law, which excited little attention at the time, deserves to be noted as one of the many circumstances which concurred at this period to spread distress among the industrious classes, and consequently dissatisfaction at existing institutions, and which were silently but irresistibly preparing a change in the constitution.*

* This bill did not pass without the strongest opposition and clearest prophecy of future evils from the few in the House of Com-

103. The next important question of the session, however, was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which, in themselves momentous, acquired additional importance at the period when it was brought forward, from its being an obvious step to Catholic emancipation. To understand this subject it is necessary to premise that, by the 13th and 25th Charles II., all persons, before they were admitted into situations in corporations, or received into any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the Crown, were obliged to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. By the 16th Geo. II. certain penalties were removed from persons who had not qualified in terms of this Act, who were appointed to situations under Government; but still it remained in force, especially so

mons who entertained views different from those of the majority on the subject. Sir James Graham, who made a most admirable speech on the occasion, thus expressed himself: "To think that things could return to what they were before the war, was one of the most dangerous errors that could be entertained. The gentlemen opposite had contrived, however, not only to reduce corn to the standard that it maintained before the war, but in 1822 to 43s., lower than it had been since the Revolution. This miracle was produced by a very simple process—merely that of tampering with the currency, from which the landlord is sure to be the first to suffer. The value of money was heavily increased, while all contracts remained fixed to their nominal amount. The change bore down the amount of the landlord's receipt for his produce, while all the fixed charges and encumbrances on his property were increased. He was bound to pay in a currency 30 per cent higher in value than that in which he had borrowed, and the consequence was that he must retrench, abandon the hospitality and liberality of his ancestors, and live like a niggard and degraded man, and squeeze his tenants like an oppressor, or the moneyed man in five years walked in and took possession. The error was in the system: we had attempted a change which we could not bear, and we should be compelled to abandon. A decrease in the quantity of money in any country is the first step in the highroad to ruin. The right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr Peel) had said the other evening, in the debate on the Corn Laws, 'that the calling in the one-pound notes would increase the value of money, and consequently increase the amount of those duties out of which the protection was derived.'

"Suppose there should be a bad harvest. It is admitted that there is not more in the

far as regarded situations in corporations, and acted as a barrier against the admission of Dissenters into places of trust and emolument at their disposal. As such it was regarded as one of the most important bulwarks of the Church of England; for not only did it prevent persons of adverse religious principles from getting into situations of trust, but it secured the advantages of such situations to those of the orthodox creed. On the other hand, the Dissenters alleged with reason that such distinctions were unjust and invidious between persons professing at bottom the same religious belief, and that it argued little of the strength in reason of the Established Church when it required to be propped up by such temporal considerations.

104. The question came on for debate on the 18th March, when it was

country than would afford a short supply. How was this to be made good but by an importation from abroad; and how could that be got but by an exportation of gold from this country? Here, then, would a want of currency be felt; and what was certain on the one hand would be uncertain on the other; for the intended limitation of the small paper currency would prevent the reissue of the notes, and this would bring about such a difficulty as was felt in 1825, the only difference being that the one case was a domestic demand for gold, the other would be a foreign. The results would be the same. It was foolish in the extreme, because the paper system wanted regulation, to abolish it at once, without inquiry as to the probable effects of the abolition. It would be just as foolish to dash a watch in pieces because it wanted regulation. The paper currency was one of the great wheels of our system, and if it worked smoothly and without jerks, it was a most important one, for it was cheaper, and better, and more easily managed. I would say of a paper currency what was said in the *Inferno* of Dante to be inscribed over the gates of hell, 'Who enters here leaves all hope behind.' We have begun and gone on too far with the paper system to recede. The debt had been for the greater part contracted in paper, and must be paid in paper. It was impossible to think of taking any other course with effect."—*Parl. Deb.*, xix. pp. 999-1010. One of the most curious things in history is the clear manner in which the consequences of measures are seen by some people, and the entire blindness to them in others. This might pass for a description of the monetary crisis of 1848, deduced from its real cause. Still more curious perhaps is the way in which, after the truth has been clearly seen, it is lost sight of, in after times, even by the same individual.

argued by Lord John Russell, Lord Althorpe, Mr Smith of Norwich, and Mr Fergusson *: "However necessary and proper these restrictions may have been at the time they were originally imposed, to guard against an existing and overwhelming danger, that necessity no longer exists. There then did exist a party in the country which was set upon undermining our institutions, and whom it was perhaps necessary to exclude from situations of power, lest they should carry their designs into effect; but is it possible to assert that any such danger now remains? What pretext is there at this time for any sacramental or other test to protect the Church from danger? Has any complaint ever been made against the principles and practice of such of the Dissenters as had got into office by the tests being not exacted during the last half-century? Practically speaking, the Act has been for nearly a century in abeyance in Government appointments, and no danger has accrued to the Established Church. All that is now required is, to efface an obsolete but invidious and discreditable Act from our statute-book. When it has been ascertained by experience that no danger exists, is it either just or wise to keep up distinctions introduced and justified only by its reality? It is never expedient to presume disaffection against any class of society; such presumption is more likely than anything else to work out its own realisation. Better, far better, to leave the opinion to prevail, that all men are equally bound to obey the laws upon the same obligations of common compact, than to take for one class as against the rest a form of words as a security which elsewhere is deemed unnecessary.

105. "Look at Scotland: the Presbyterian religion is the established faith of that country. It is therefore a State religion as well as that of England; yet its members are affected

* Of Craighdarroch in Dumfriesshire, afterwards Judge-Advocate of England, and a barrister of great ability in Calcutta, who had lately returned with a splendid fortune from India, redeemed his ancient paternal inheritance in Scotland, and been returned member for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

by these laws, and prevented from serving their King, but at the risk of incurring these penalties, or renouncing their religion. Why proscribe a whole nation, upon the pretext that it is necessary to defend the Church and State as by law established? Why deny a community of privilege to those who encountered equal dangers, and bore equal burdens? On what occasion have the people of Scotland failed to contribute their full share to the support of Great Britain? Did the Church of England aspire, like the Mussulmans of Turkey, to be exclusively charged with the defence of the empire? If so, let the Presbyterians and Dissenters withdraw, and it will be seen what sort of defence it will have. Take the battle of Waterloo, which has crowned the renown of the most illustrious leader of these times. Take from the field the Scottish regiments; take away the aid, too, of the sons of Ireland; what would have been the chance of their arms, divested of the Scottish and Irish soldiers who filled their ranks, and served their navy in every quarter of the globe? If, then, they sought their aid in the hour of peril, ought they to deny them their confidence in times of tranquillity and peace?

106. "Equally futile is the argument that these laws are necessary as a security to the Church, which must always find its true protection, not in exclusion, but in its moderation, its fair temper, and decent worship, conformable to the sentiments and consciences of the majority of the people. The Dissenters can have no views against Church property; for they do not hold that great wealth is a recommendation to a Church, and therefore they do not seek to aggrandise themselves. So long as they are excluded from their civil rights on account of religious distinction, it is impossible that they can view the Church with feelings of goodwill; but when it lays down the character of a persecutor, it will cease to be an object of jealousy. The question as to the security of the Church has been practically decided in other parts of the kingdom. If the

security of the Church of England is founded on the Test and Corporation Acts, where is the security for the Church of Scotland, in favour of whom no such Acts exist? The Corporation Act never was extended to Ireland, and the Test Act there was abolished forty-eight years ago, and yet no danger has accrued to the Church of England from its want. In fine, these statutes are a relic of a former age, introduced when we were afraid of driving the Church into the arms of the Jacobites, wholly unsuitable to a period when the Church will look for promotion and favour through no other channel than the legitimate one of his Majesty's Treasury and Chancery. The obvious effect of the repeal of these laws will be, to render the Dissenters better affected to the Government, to dispose them to submit to the heavy burdens imposed on them with cheerfulness, and, above all, it will be more consonant to the spirit of the age than those angry yet inefficient and impracticable laws which are a disgrace to the statute-book."

107. On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr Peel and Mr Huskisson: "The question is certainly attended with considerable difficulty; and it cannot be said that it is interwoven with the interest of the Church of England, so that that establishment must fall if these Acts are repealed. We are not, however, in an ancient monarchy like this, to alter everything merely because it does not suit the idea of a subsequent age. If we were to do so, how much of our time-honoured institutions would survive the changes of time? Is there anything so absurd in these Acts as to render their repeal necessary? If they are repealed, will the Dissenters be in a better situation? It is said, on the other side, the Acts have been for nearly a century in abeyance, from the tests not having been exacted—if so, where is the practical grievance calling for their repeal? If, indeed, the large and respectable body of Dissenters really laboured under the grievances of which they complain, a very strong argument would arise from that circumstance for their removal;

but are the grievances now brought forward in Parliament really felt as such by the Dissenters out of doors? So far from it, there have been only six petitions presented on the subject from 1816 to 1827; and as to the petitions got up last year, they were obviously done so for a political purpose. During the discussions on the Catholic question, these Acts were never once referred to as a practical grievance. So far from it, in the Catholic Relief Bill, while all other grievances were proposed to be removed, those arising from these Acts were left untouched. Mr Canning, the warm supporter of the Catholic claims, said, in the debate on that subject in 1825, 'This bill does not tend to equalise *all* the religions in the State, but to equalise all the *dissenting* sects of England. I am, and this bill is, for a predominant Church; and I would not, even in appearance, meddle with the laws which secure that predominance to the Church of England. What is the state of the Protestant Dissenters? It is that they labour under no practical grievances on account of this difference with the Established Church; that they sit with us in this House, and share our councils; that they are admissible into the highest offices of State, and often hold them—such is the operation of the Test and Corporation Acts, as mitigated by the Annual Indemnity Act. This much, and *no more*, I contend the Catholics should enjoy.'

108. "We are told that in Scotland these Acts operate as a proscription of a whole nation! Where, then, are the complaints from that country? From the whole population of Scotland there is not one solitary petition; so slight and impalpable is the grievance which is now magnified in debate into a serious ill. The Scotch have shed, it is said, their blood in the Peninsula and Waterloo. They have done so; and is there any military or naval office or command from which they have been shut out? But your Test Acts exclude them from the higher offices of Government. Why, look at the present Cabinet; out of fourteen members who compose it, three—Lord Aberdeen,

Lord Melville, and Mr Grant—are Scotchmen, and good Presbyterians. Even in England the shutting-out is merely nominal. Last year the Lord Mayor of London was a Protestant Dissenter, and so in other corporations. The Acts have practically gone into desuetude. In truth, the existing law merely gives a nominal preponderance to the Established Church, which it is admitted on all sides it should possess."

109. The bill was carried by a majority of 44 in the Commons, the numbers being 237 to 193. In the Peers it experienced a more decided opposition. Lord Eldon, in particular, was vehement in resisting it; declaring that, if these Acts were repealed, there was nothing to hinder corporations being entirely filled up with adherents of the Church of Rome. The bill passed, however, with some trifling amendments, on 28th April, by a majority of 40, and soon received the royal assent. The only security taken was, that a solemn declaration, "on the true faith of a Christian," was substituted for the sacramental test of the former Act.

110. It was evident from this result, as well as from the tone adopted by Mr Peel and Mr Huskisson in the House of Commons, that Government were far from being in reality hostile to the change, and that they were by no means averse to being left in a minority on this occasion. The High Church party were in despair. Lord Eldon declared "that, if he stood alone, he would go below the bar, and vote against the bill; and were he called that night to render his account before Heaven, he would go with the consoling reflection that he had never advocated anything mischievous to his country." He added, "I have been fatigued and distressed by what has lately passed in the House of Lords. I have fought like a lion; but my talons have been cut off." It is evident now, however, that these apprehensions were groundless, and that the Church of England has been strengthened, instead of being weakened, by this just and wise removal of disabili-

ties from the Dissenters. Religious difference is never, taken by itself, a reason for political exclusion; it is when it is mixed up, as it unfortunately is in the case of the Roman Catholics, with political divisions, and subjection to a *foreign* authority, that such exclusion can alone be founded on it. It was obviously unjust to impose any test which had the effect of excluding any class of Protestant Dissenters along with the Catholics, because they acknowledged no foreign spiritual head, and their conduct had not afforded grounds for such disabilities. If, as was wisely alleged by Mr Peel, the exclusion had virtually become obsolete, from the test never being called for, and the penalties removed by the annual bill of indemnity, that only strengthened the argument for a repeal of the statutes imposing them; for why retain irritating and obnoxious Acts on the statute-book which might afford a plausible ground of complaint, and confessedly were of no real utility?

111. All these questions, however, were subordinate, and, in fact, but introductory, to the great one of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, which in the course of this year assumed such importance as to force itself upon the consideration even of the most reluctant Government. The Catholics, who had, ever since the commencement of the Catholic Association, been moulded by the priests into a state of entire subjection to their spiritual and political leaders, had been very quiet during the brief period of Mr Canning's administration, became more noisy and active under that of Lord Goderich, and, on the accession of the Duke of Wellington to the helm, suddenly started up into portentous activity. The Association, which had been struck at by Act of Parliament, had never been in reality put down; its activity was only in abeyance; and on the return of the Tories to power, it recommenced its operations with the utmost vigour. No prosecutions were or could be thought of; for such was the division of opinion in Ireland, that it was next to impossible to get twelve

men to agree on any political question ; and by the strange infatuation of the English lawyers for their own institutions, without any regard to the character or circumstances of the people to whom they were applied, unanimity in juries was required in a country where unanimity could never be expected. Thus impunity from punishment was certain, and the Catholic Association pursued its course with unrelenting vigour, under the direction of skilful leaders, who caused it to abstain carefully from any overt acts of treason, and were indifferent how much sedition was spoken in its assemblies.

112. But the Association had now acquired such power that its operations were no longer confined to empty declamation, but directed openly and avowedly to obtaining a majority in Parliament for its partisans. A peculiar circumstance—the result of the unhappy extension of English institutions to a country unfitted for their reception—afforded great facilities for the attainment of this object. The forty-shilling freeholder, the stout yeoman owning an heritage worth £40 a-year of our money, when he was enfranchised in England in the time of Henry VI., had sunk, by the change in the value of money, sufficiently low even in that country ; but in Ireland he had come to represent a class as different from the yeomen of England as darkness is from light. As every estate enjoyed for life constituted a freehold, the expedient was fallen upon of multiplying farms, or rather crofts, worth forty shillings each, and giving the tenants a right in them for life, in order to increase the political influence of the owner of the estates. The situation of Ireland—without commerce or manufactures over the greater part of its surface, and consequently without outlets for the younger sons of the landholders—rendered this multiplication of voters a great object to the proprietors, because it promised to increase their influence at the Castle of Dublin, from whence commissions in the army or political appointments might flow. The priests cordially supported the same system, because, by

multiplying the holders of land who had a bare subsistence and no more, it both increased their influence and enlarged the circle from which the heavy fees on marriages and births, the chief source of their income, were derived. Finally, the extension of the elective franchise to Catholics by Mr Pitt, in 1793, let in the whole cultivators of that persuasion to the suffrage—a portentous state of things in a country possessing at that period above a million of cultivators, of whom one half were holders of liferent farms worth less than £4 a-year. It is a curious but instructive circumstance, that the greatest misfortunes of Ireland in recent times have arisen from the extension to its inhabitants of the most highly - prized privileges of English subjects, and for which her own patriots had most warmly and resolutely contended.

113. Mr O'Connell, and the other able leaders of the Catholic Association, saw the advantage which this state of things would afford them, and prepared to turn it to the best advantage. He did not destroy the battery, but seized it, and turned its guns against the enemy. Hitherto the landowners had entirely directed the votes of their tenantry, and both would not have been more surprised if the mountains had fallen, or the earth opened beneath their feet, than if any separation had taken place between them. But now the fatal effects of the domination of a foreign power over the priesthood at once appeared. In obedience to orders received from Rome, and communicated through the Catholic hierarchy, the clergy of that persuasion everywhere set themselves with the utmost vigour to aid the efforts of the Association. In Mr Sheil's words, one of their ablest supporters, "every altar became a tribune." Those who were slow in the work, or leagued with the enemy, were denounced in all the churches as enemies to God and His Anointed. Immense was the effect of this new stimulant applied to the human mind in that excitable land. The inflammatory harangues of the itinerant orators who were sent down into

every part of the country by the Catholic Association, were aided by the still more powerful voice which issued from the altar, and proclaimed the rewards of heaven to those who engaged in the good fight, the pains of hell to such as were backward in the cause of the true faith. The effect of this, and of the admirable organisation which, by means of the hierarchy and local clergy, the Church of Rome had established over the whole island, and their unbounded influence over their flocks, was, that the entire peasantry of Ireland were prepared, at the next election, to vote for the candidate of the Association in opposition to their landlords; and all other influences were utterly swept away.

114. The first trial of the new system was made in the county of Clare, on occasion of the vacancy which took place on the acceptance by Mr Vesey Fitzgerald of the office of President of the Board of Trade under the Duke of Wellington's administration. It proved eminently successful. There was no impediment by the existing law to a Roman Catholic sitting in either House of Parliament, excepting the oaths to be taken by persons elected before they took their seat, which were purposely intended to exclude persons of that persuasion, and had hitherto effectually done so. Mr O'Connell, however, whose reputation as a lawyer deservedly stood very high in Ireland, pledged himself and his legal character that he would sit and vote in the English House without taking the oaths; and in this he was supported by the elaborate written opinion of Mr Butler, an eminent English Catholic conveyancer. Fortified by this authority, Mr O'Connell presented himself as a candidate for the county of Clare, and the whole Catholic influence of Ireland was immediately brought to bear on its electors. Mr Fitzgerald was the sitting member—a Whig, an advocate of Catholic emancipation, a Cabinet Minister, and supported warmly by the whole body of proprietors, by whom he was much beloved. All these influences, however, which in former times would have been all-powerful, were blown to

the winds by the first blast of the Catholic Association. Its emissaries and the priests traversed the county in every direction. Night and day the work of agitation went on—crowds assembled in every church, around every chapel: if an orator arrived at dead of night, he was surrounded by a multitude in five minutes. Nothing was thought of, nothing done, but the work of agitation. When the election began, Mr O'Connell was proposed by O'Gorman Mahon, the secretary of the Association. Bands of electors, escorted by excited crowds headed by their priests, came pouring in from all quarters—all old influences and connections were snapped asunder, all former obligations forgotten. The result was, that, after a few days' polling, Mr Fitzgerald retired from the contest, and Mr O'Connell was declared duly elected. An objection taken to his return, upon the ground of his being a Roman Catholic, was rightly overruled by the assessor, upon the ground that there was nothing to hinder a Roman Catholic sitting in Parliament except the taking of the test, and that it could not be anticipated *ab ante* that he would refuse to do so.

115. Vast was the sensation produced by this victory, not in Ireland merely, but over the whole empire. The Catholics were everywhere in raptures. Mr O'Connell was lauded to the skies as a saviour, a deliverer; and in the first moments of his triumph he boasted, apparently with reason, that at the next election he would displace eight-and-twenty county and borough members, and return such a majority of Catholics as would "make the Great Captain start," and compel a recognition of their rights even from a reluctant House of Peers. The Catholic Association had never been proceeded against under the Act of Parliament intended to put it down, from the certainty that the unhappy requisite of unanimity in the jury would cause any prosecution, how well founded soever, to fail; and now, after having gained such a victory, it became more audacious than ever, and was, in truth, the governing power

in the country. The Catholics became so threatening, they met so often, and in such enormous masses, that the Orangemen in the north, justly alarmed, organised themselves in a counter-defensive league, which was immediately denounced in the most violent terms by the Roman Catholics. It is a remarkable circumstance, that none are so alive to the dangers of any proceedings, or declaim against them so violently, as those who are engaged in, or prepared to set about, similar acts themselves.

116. So bold did the Catholic leaders become, and so fully did they rely on the number and organisation of their followers, that one of the most unscrupulous of their number, *Mr Lawless*, openly boasted that he would beard the lion in his den, and enter the strongholds of the Orange party in the north at the head of fifty thousand Catholics. In effect, he did enter several Protestant towns, at the head of thirty thousand, banded, and marching in military array. This so roused the Orangemen that they mustered in similar strength, and on the day on which he had announced his intention of entering Armagh, they were assembled in its vicinity in such numbers that he was obliged to turn aside and desist from his purpose. He proceeded to Ballybay, in Monaghan, which he entered, according to his own account, at the head of 250,000 followers, and who perhaps might amount to a fifth of the number. So sturdy, however, was the resistance of the Protestants, that it led to bloodshed in some quarters; and the Catholic Association, not deeming things sufficiently advanced, issued orders to stop these tumultuous assemblages, which order was immediately and universally obeyed: so complete was the discipline and organisation of the country under their orders. Meanwhile crime everywhere diminished and agrarian outrages disappeared, inasmuch that the judges upon all the circuits congratulated the grand juries upon the unprecedented lightness of the calendar!—A perilous and portentous state of things, when faction and

party spirit have gained such a command of a country that it has fettered even the tendency to crime itself, and turned outrage, from separate acts, into one united volume to overwhelm the State.

117. The condition of Ireland at this period was described with not less truth than eloquence, in a speech delivered by Mr Sheil, a leading orator of the Catholics in the Association in Dublin, in the end of September. "The Catholics," he said, "have attained the perfection of national organisation; they have almost reached the excellence of military array. But an immense population, thus united, thus affiliated, thus controlled, in such a state of complete subordination, affords matter of the most solemn meditation. A feeling of expectation has begun to manifest itself among the people; they put painful questions. But if the state of the Catholics be deserving of attention, that of the Protestants calls also for remark. It is in vain for us to hide it from ourselves. The Protestants are becoming every day more alienated by our display of power. The great proprietors, and all who have an influence in the State, are anxious for a settlement of the question; but still their pride is wounded, and they see with some disrelish the attitude of just equality which we have assumed. Our Protestant advocates, with some exceptions, declined to attend our late meetings. As individuals, I hold them in no sort of account; but their absence is a feature in the existing circumstances of the country. It is clear that the division between Catholic and Protestant is widening. They were before parted, but they are now rent asunder; and while the Catholic Association rises up from the indignant passions of one great section of the community, the 'Brunswick Club' is springing out of the irritated pride and sectarian rancour of the Protestants of Ireland. The Catholic Association owes its parentage to heavy wrong operating on deeply sensitive and strongly susceptible feelings. The Protestant Association

has its birth in the hereditary love of power and inveterate habits of domination. These two great rivals are brought into political existence, and enter the lists against each other. As yet they have not engaged in the great struggle—they have not closed in the combat; but as they advance upon each other, and collect their might, it is easy to discern the terrible passions by which they are influenced, and the full determination with which they rush to the encounter. Meanwhile the Government stand by, and the Minister folds his arms, as if he were a mere indifferent observer, and the terrific contest only afforded him a spectacle for the amusement of his official leisure. He sits as if two gladiators were crossing their swords for his recreation. *The Cabinet seems to be little better than a box in an amphitheatre, from whence his Majesty's Ministers may survey the business of blood.*"

118. At length appearances became so threatening, especially in Tipperary, where the people were on the verge of insurrection, that the able leaders of the Association, who were aware how soon they would be crushed in the field by the military strength of England, deemed it necessary to interfere to moderate the movement. Notwithstanding all their boasts, they were well aware that their millions would only be an encumbrance in the field, from the impossibility of arming and feeding such multitudes. "In a week," said Mr Sheil, "they would cut us down." It was wisely resolved, therefore, to postpone the insurrection which had been so often threatened, and trust only to agitation, and the display of vehement popular excitement. The Association accordingly passed resolutions condemning the meetings lately held in Tipperary, "*humbly imploring*" the Catholic clergy to co-operate with them in carrying this resolution into effect; and calling on Mr O'Connell to exert his deserved influence over the people of Tipperary, in deterring them from holding such meetings. He immediately obeyed the injunction, and issued an address to the people of

the county of Tipperary, conjuring them to discontinue these alarming assemblages.* Such was the influence which he possessed with the peasantry, and so perfect the system of organisation and discipline to which, under the direction of their priests, they had been brought, that a vast assemblage of not less than fifty thousand persons in Tipperary, arrayed in uniform equipments, with flags and drums, was arrested by single messengers of the Association, bearing copies of his address, who met the bodies which were pouring into the town. In one place only, at Castletown, where they were not so met, a collision took place with the police, the barracks were attacked, and the constables obliged to seek safety in flight.

119. Encouraged by this movement on the part of their opponents, the Cabinet at length gave symptoms of life. On 1st October a proclamation came forth from the Lord-Lieutenant, enjoining that to be done which the Association had already enjoined to be done for them. Meetings such as those which had taken place in Tipperary were denounced as illegal, and the magistrates were called on to suppress them. It was unnecessary. The meetings had already disappeared at a more powerful voice—that of Mr O'Connell. Mr Lawless was held to bail for his heading of the Monaghan meeting, but no ulterior proceedings were adopted. With such success were the efforts of the Association and Mr O'Connell to regulate the movement attended,

* "Obey the laws; follow the advice of the Catholic Association; listen to the counsels I will give you; discontinue those large meetings; avoid secret societies and illegal oaths; contribute according to your means to that sacred and national fund the Catholic Rent; cultivate your moral duties; attend seriously and solemnly to your holy and divine religion. You will then exalt yourselves as men and Christians. Bigotry and oppression will wither from amongst us. *A parental Government, now held out to us, will compensate for centuries of misrule.* I adjure you, however great may be your irritation, not to commit any breach of the peace, which is just the very thing by which your enemies would be delighted, and which would rive the hearts of your friends with unutterable agony."—*Mr O'Connell's Address*, Sept. 26, 1828; *Ann. Reg.* 1828, 142.

that early in October he said, at a meeting of the Association: "We had taken care to render Tipperary so tranquil that a single policeman was scarcely required to preserve the peace. There the proclamation of Government was issued, but we had quieted the country before it came forth, and the Government but heel-tapped the work which had already been done by the Catholic Association."

120. These proceedings in Ireland, and, above all, the decisive evidence which had been afforded of the entire and thorough control which the leaders of the Catholics had obtained over the whole body, excited the greatest alarm in England; and the friends of the Protestants condemned Government in no measured terms for permitting the agitation to go on, and not at once putting it down by the arrest and trial of its leaders. Meetings were held in various places to give expression to this feeling; and one on Penenden Heath, in Kent, on October 1, was so remarkable as to deserve especial notice. It was attended by twenty thousand persons, for the most part of a very superior class; and a motion condemnatory of the proceedings in Ireland, and expressing their "invincible attachment to those Protestant principles which have proved to be the best security for the civil and religious liberty of the kingdom," was carried on the motion of the Earl of Winchelsea, seconded by Sir E. Knatchbull, the county member, by a large majority. Similar meetings were held in Leeds, Leicester, and other places. These meetings immediately became the object of the most violent abuse by the whole Catholic party in England and Ireland, who unhesitatingly condemned that as treason and revolution which was only a slight imitation of their own example.

121. If Ireland, however, was thus falling into a state of pacific anarchy and smothered insurrection, to which there is perhaps no parallel to be found in any other age or country, it was not without the most vigorous opposition on the part of the chief magistrate of the State that the change was going

forward. The King strongly urged the adoption of decisive measures against the Roman Catholics. He disapproved of the Association Bill as too inefficient, and, in particular, impressed upon his Ministers his opinion of the necessity of acting decidedly on occasion of Mr Lawless's crusade into the north of Ireland in the autumn of 1828. So strongly was his Majesty's opinion expressed on this point, that he afterwards said to Lord Eldon, in a confidential interview, "that everything was revolutionary; that the condition of Ireland had not been taken into consideration; that the Association Bill had passed both Houses before he had seen it; that it was a very inefficient measure, compared to those which he had himself in vain recommended; that he had frequently suggested the necessity of putting down the Roman Catholic Association, and suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, especially at the time that Lawless made his march; that he was in the condition of a person with a pistol presented to his breast; that he had nothing to fall back upon; that he had been deserted by the aristocracy who had supported his father; and that everything was tending to revolution."

122. But although the King thus felt and spoke as became a king of England, and with the hereditary courage of his race, when he urged a more vigorous course upon his Ministers, yet they, being charged with the execution of the laws, had a very different task to perform, and were beset with difficulties which were not so obvious to one in his exalted station. They had to consider, not merely what was in itself wise, and, *if practicable*, would at once have remedied the existing disorders, but what was really practicable under existing circumstances. They experienced now the force of the eternal truth, that a constitutional monarchy, when united the strongest, is, when disunited, the weakest of all governments. So divided was not only Ireland, but Great Britain, upon this question, that it had become more than doubtful whether

any means of coercion really remained to the executive. The unhappy extension of English institutions to a people wholly unsuited for their reception, had rendered Government in Ireland almost powerless. If prosecutions were tried, the necessity of unanimity in juries, in a country where it was hopeless to expect it, rendered it almost certain they would fail. If a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was attempted, it was more than doubtful whether, in a House of Commons now equally divided on the Catholic question, it would be carried; and if it were so, it was quite certain that its execution would give rise to endless heats and animosities. O'Connell was already powerful enough; there was no need of augmenting his sway by stretching out to him the crown of martyrdom. If a dissolution was resorted to, an increase of anti-Catholic members might be expected in Great Britain; but would they not be more than neutralised by thirty or forty seats which would certainly be changed in Ireland, and, under the newborn influence of the priesthood, filled with the most violent Romish revolutionists? It was quite certain that the Liberals of every shade would unite together, both in and out of Parliament, to keep alive the agitation in both islands, and drive home a wedge in the Cabinet by which they hoped to split asunder the Administration, and terminate the ascendancy of Tory counsels in the Government. Even the army, if matters came to extremities, was not to be entirely relied on; for although the fidelity of the officers in every arm might confidently be trusted, and the cavalry, almost entirely composed of Englishmen, and the artillery of Scotchmen, were certainly adhere to their duty, yet defections might take place in the infantry, two-thirds of which was composed of Irishmen; and the history of the Continental states during the last half-century contained too many proofs of the fatal results to which the treachery of a single regiment might lead.

123. These difficulties strongly presented themselves to the Cabinet Min-

isters, and especially the Duke of Wellington, whose mind, eminently practical and sagacious, had been trained, amidst the ever-changing vicissitudes of military warfare, to abandon old positions, and take up new ones when the former had become untenable. He looked, too, rather to the real and lasting interests of the State than to the individual consistency or reputation of the public men intrusted with its defence. From the time, accordingly, that the Catholic Association had become so formidable, and the Clare election had proved how powerfully it might be brought to bear on the majority in Parliament, the necessity of "settling the question," as it was called—that is, conceding all the demands of the Catholics—had been secretly discussed in the Cabinet, and plans regarding it submitted to the King. His Majesty, however, was immovable, and not only manifested the utinost repugnance to any concession, but again and again strongly urged the adoption of vigorous coercive measures against the Romish agitators. Beset thus with difficulties on all sides, the Ministers determined on feeling their way with the country, and for this purpose putting forward a confidential agent, whose words, if imprudent or unsuccessful, might be disavowed by the Government. This expedient, so well known in the diplomacy of despotic states, and more easily vindicated on grounds of expedience or necessity than either integrity or honour, was early resorted to; and the person selected was Mr Dawson, one of the members for the county of Londonderry, brother-in-law to Sir R. Peel, and holding office under Government. The time and place chosen was a public dinner given at Londonderry, on the 12th August, to celebrate the defence of that city against the Catholic arms of James II.

124. Mr Dawson said on this occasion: "The state of Ireland is an anomaly in the history of civilised nations. It is true we have a government to which an outward show of obedience is given, which is responsible to Parliament, and answerable to God for the

manner of administering its functions; but it is equally true that an immense majority of the people look up, not to the legitimate Government, but to an irresponsible and self-constituted Association, for the administration of the affairs of the country. The peace of Ireland depends, not upon the Ministers of the King, but upon the dictation of the Catholic Association. It has defied the Government, and trampled upon the law of the land; and it is beyond contradiction, that the same power which banished a Cabinet minister from the representation of his county, because he was a minister of the King, can maintain or disturb the peace of the country, just as it suits the caprice or ambition of those who exert it. The same danger impends over every institution established by law. The Church enjoys its dignity, and the clergy their revenues, by the laws of the land; and we know not how soon the Catholic Association may issue its anathemas against the payment of tithes; and what man is hardy enough to say the Catholic people will disobey its mandates? It depends on the Catholic Association whether the clergy receive their incomes or not. The condition of the landlords is not more consoling. Already they have become ciphers on their estates; in many places they have become, worse still, the tools of their domineering masters, the Catholic priesthood: and it depends upon a single breath, a single resolution, of the Catholic Association, whether they are robbed of their rents or not. So perfect an organisation was never yet achieved by any body not possessing the legitimate power of government. It is powerful, it is arrogant, it derides, it has triumphed over the enactments of the Legislature, and it goes on filling its coffers from the voluntary contributions of the people. There is but one alternative—either to crush the Association, or to look at the question with an intention to settle it. *The latter is the course I prefer; the former is neither practicable nor desirable.*"

125. This speech, coming from the quarter it did, made an immense sensation. The Catholics shouted victory;

the Protestants, amazed and dejected, could only express their indignation in impotent declamation. Such was the consternation produced, that Mr Dawson was disavowed, and deprived of his situation. It soon appeared, however, from still higher authority, that some settlement of the question was in the contemplation of the Cabinet. Dr Curtis, titular Catholic Primate of Ireland, who, when in a situation at Salamanca, had been intimate with the Duke of Wellington during his Peninsular campaigns, addressed a letter to his Grace on the state of Ireland, to which he returned an answer, in terms cautious indeed, but indicating, not obscurely, an intention to concede emancipation.* This letter was carried by Dr Curtis to a meeting of the Catholic Association, where it was received with tumultuous applause, and universally considered as an indication on the part of the Government to yield. A still more unequivocal symptom of the same disposition appeared a few days afterwards, in a letter of the Marquess of Anglesea, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to Dr Curtis, on receiving a copy of the Duke's letter, in which emancipation was openly spoken of as the only means of pacifying Ireland.†

* "I have received your letter of 4th December; and I assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic question, which, by benefiting the State, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory result."—WELLINGTON to DR CURTIS, Dec. 11, 1828; *Ann. Reg.* 1828, p. 149.

† "I venture to offer my opinion upon the course which it behoves the Catholics to pursue. Perfectly convinced that the final and cordial settlement of this great question can alone give peace, harmony, and prosperity to all classes of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, I must acknowledge my disappointment on learning that there is no prospect of its being effected during the present session of Parliament. I, however, derive great satisfaction from observing that his Grace is

Whatever the views of the Cabinet were at this period, however, this letter went beyond them; and it was deemed necessary to mark the disapproval of it by a very decided measure. The next post brought the recall of Lord Anglesea from the government of Ireland, and the appointment of the Duke of Northumberland in his stead.

126. But whatever vacillation the Cabinet may have experienced at this juncture, there was none evinced by the leaders of the Catholics. On the contrary, the more that disunion appeared in the ranks of their adversaries, the more united did they become, and the more loudly did they proclaim their determination to abate in nothing from their claims, to accept of no compromise, to take everything that was offered, but agitate unceasingly for the remainder. "The detailed paltry question of political discount," said Mr O'Connell, "shall not be listened to. We despise, we abhor it. We degraded ourselves by such a

not wholly averse to the measure; for, if he can be induced to promote it, he of all men will have the greatest facility in carrying it into effect. . . . I differ from the opinion of the Duke, that an attempt should be made to 'bury in oblivion' the question for a short time. First, because the thing is utterly impossible; and, next, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming that, if the Government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the Catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years in Ireland will be to be reacted. What I do recommend is, that the measure should not be for a moment lost sight of; that anxiety should continue to be manifested; that all constitutional (in contradiction to merely legal) means should be resorted to, to forward the cause; but that, at the same time, the most patient forbearance, the most submissive obedience to the laws, should be inculcated; that no personal and offensive language should be held towards those who oppose the claims. Let the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause, and the growing liberality of mankind. It is the Legislature which must decide this question; and my greatest anxiety is, that it should be met by the Parliament under the most favourable circumstances, and that the opposers of Catholic emancipation should be disarmed by the patient forbearance, as well as the unwearied perseverance, of its advocates."—Marquess of ANGLESEA to Dr CURTIS, 23d Dec. 1828; *Ann. Reg.* 1828, p. 150, note.

traffic before, and it would be double delinquency to assent to it again. I therefore want that we should pledge ourselves to have unqualified emancipation, or nothing at all. I don't care if the Government bring in a bill for our relief unconnected with any existing privileges. *We will take anything they give us.* They owe us twenty-eight shillings in the pound. Let them give us fifteen shillings in the pound; *we will proceed against them for the remainder.* We'll take the instalment, and demand the residue with greater earnestness. I'll not object to any bill for our emancipation, if we were only to look at it; for since the abominable Union we have not gotten the least increase of our rights. I am not therefore opposed to partial relief; all I say is, that I shall oppose any bargain or absurd securities with all my force. I myself may be taunted with consenting to the measure called 'the Wings,' for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders in 1825. I know that I deserve that reproach; and I answer to those who assail me, that the only way in which I can atone for my error is, by a firm and determined opposition to any encroachments hereafter. *Sooner than give up the forty-shilling freeholders, I would go back to the penal code.* They form part of the constitution: their right is as sacred as that of the King to the throne, and it would be treason against the people to make any attempt to disfranchise them. I am loyal to the throne; but if an attempt were made to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders, I would conceive it just to *resist that attempt with force*, and in such resistance I would be ready to perish in the field or on the scaffold." In pursuance of this principle, the Association unanimously passed a resolution, "that they would deem any attempt to deprive the forty-shilling freeholders of their franchise a direct violation of the constitution." "The Duke of Wellington," said Mr Sheil, "could not adopt a plan more calculated to throw the country in a blaze than such an atrocious attempt at spoliating the rights of the Irish people. I trust he will not pursue this

course; but if he should, I tell him we would rather submit for ever to the pressure of the parricidal code, which crushed our fathers to the grave, than assent to this robbery of a generous peasantry's privileges."

127. While the nation was in a state of the most anxious suspense from these alternate indications of policy, and all eyes were turned towards the meeting of Parliament, when something definite might be expected on the subject, the Cabinet was not only at first divided in regard to it, but they experienced, when they became united, the most strenuous opposition on the part of the Sovereign to any concession. The Duke of Wellington was the first of the anti-Catholic party in the Cabinet who became convinced of the necessity of yielding, and when he first communicated his views to Mr Peel, the latter acquiesced in them, but declared his intention of resigning both his situation in the Cabinet and his seat for Oxford. It would have been well for his reputation if he had adhered entirely to his first impression; but he was induced to forego it,*

* "I know well that all personal feelings must be subordinate to the public good; but I cannot help feeling, at the same time, that my own position was materially different from that of any other Minister, and I would willingly have retired from that interference in the settlement of the question which now devolved upon me. In the course of the discussions, however, connected with the consideration of this subject, my noble friend (Wellington) said that my retirement would greatly embarrass him; and this being the case, and it having been proved to my satisfaction that the difficulties in the way of settling the question would be increased if I pressed my retirement, I said to my noble friend, that if such was likely to be the consequences, no consideration should induce me to urge my own personal wishes, but that I was ready to uphold, in my place, a measure which I was firmly convinced had now become necessary. My noble friend has done everything in his power to render the measure about to be proposed satisfactory to all parties; neither had he, in the consideration of this measure, been at all intimidated by the proceedings of the Catholic Association. My noble friend had felt it to be his duty to advise his Majesty to resort to the proposed measure, and would not allow any imputations which he felt to be unjust to influence his conduct. To myself, the adoption of this measure has been a most painful sacrifice. I have done all in my power to free myself from

upon the representation that it would be a dereliction of duty to desert his Sovereign and the Prime Minister on a crisis like the present, when that Sovereign was probably suffering more than any of his confidential servants. He contented himself, therefore, though with great reluctance, with resigning his seat for Oxford, and consented to bring in the bill into the House of Commons. The Cabinet was then united on the subject; but when they came to the King they experienced the utmost resistance. George IV., with all his faults, possessed much of his father's firmness of character and penetration of mind, and he inherited the whole of his convictions on the vital importance of Protestant principles towards the maintenance of his family on the throne. The Cabinet, however, were united and firm, and twice over tendered their resignation if not permitted to bring in a measure which they deemed essential to the public welfare, and, in fact, of absolute necessity. Thus pressed, and being aware of the impossibility of forming an anti-Catholic cabinet, or, if formed, of obtaining for it a majority in the House of Commons, the King, after much struggling, and with the greatest pain, gave a reluctant consent to the measure. He did so, however, still clinging to the hope that in the interim the country would be so much roused on the subject as to enable him to avert the dreaded blow, or possibly authorise him to put his constitutional veto upon the whole measure.*

any engagements which might prevent me from exercising the most unfettered judgment on this vital question. I considered the path which led to a satisfactory settlement of it to be, under all the circumstances of the country, the course most free from peril; and whatever part I may have taken on former occasions with respect to this question, I considered it perfectly reconcilable with my duty, as a member of that House and a servant of the Crown, to do all I could to fulfil the solemn injunction of his Majesty to consider this question, involving so deeply not only the best feelings of the people, but the tranquillity of the United Kingdom."—See Sir R. PEEL's Speech, Feb. 5, 1829; *Parl. Deb.* xx. 87.

* The King's own account of the matter to Lord Eldon was as follows: "That at the time the Administration was formed, no reason was given him to suppose that any

128. At length Parliament met, and the speech from the throne contained the following passage: "His Majesty laments that in that part of the United Kingdom an Association still exists which is dangerous to the public peace and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, which keeps alive discord and ill-will among his Majesty's subjects, and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland. His Majesty confidently relies on the wisdom and on the support of his Parliament, and he feels assured that you will commit to him such powers as may enable his Majesty to maintain his just authority. His Majesty recommends that, when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of these disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the

measure for the relief of the Roman Catholics was in contemplation; that he had frequently himself suggested the absolute necessity of putting down the Roman Catholic Association, of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, to destroy the power of the most seditious and rebellious of the members of it, particularly at the time when Lawless began his march; that instead of following what he so strongly recommended, after some time, not long before the commencement of the present session, he was applied to, to allow his Ministers to propose to him, as a united Cabinet, the opening of Parliament, by sending such a message as his speech contained; that after much struggling against it, and after the measure had been pressed upon him as an *absolute necessity*, he had consented that the Protestant members of his Cabinet, if they could so persuade themselves to act, might join in such a representation to him, but that he would not then, nor in his recommendation to Parliament, pledge himself to anything. He repeatedly mentioned that he represented to his Ministers the *infinite pain it gave him to consent even to that.*"—Lord Eldon's Life, iii. 83.

churches committed to their charge." A few days after, a bill was brought in for the suppression of the Catholic Association, and vested in the Lord-Lieutenant, to exercise that power whenever it should seem to him expedient to do so.

129. Innumerable was the sensation which this speech created in the country: nothing had been witnessed like it since the Revolution which dethroned James II. The Catholics were comparatively quiescent both in Great Britain and Ireland; they had gained the day in the mean time, and awaited the proper season for ulterior proceedings. The bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association passed both Houses without any opposition. Not so the Protestants. Deserted, and, as they deemed themselves, betrayed, by those to whom they had hitherto looked up as their natural guardians, they everywhere broke out into the fiercest demonstrations, the most gloomy prophecies of ruin, if the threatened measure were carried into effect. The staunchest of the Tory press commenced the most violent attacks on the Government, which they accused of treachery, cowardice, and desertion of their most sacred duties to their country. Sir Charles Wetherall, the Attorney-General, made, while *still holding office*, the most withering and impassioned harangue against the Ministry, and especially Mr Peel, the avowed leader of the anti-Catholic party. The country quickly and energetically answered the appeal. From all quarters petitions against the Roman Catholics poured into both Houses; and it was soon apparent that, if the matter were to be decided by a numerical majority of the whole inhabitants of the country, or if the House of Commons were a real representation of the feelings of the people, the bill would at once be thrown out by a large majority. Mr Peel honourably resigned his seat for Oxford, and was defeated, in his attempt to be re-elected, by Sir R. Inglis, after a keen and protracted contest, by a majority of 146 out of 1364 voters. "The strength of the anti-Catholic party," says Miss Mar-

tineau, "as shown in the petitions, was great; but in the House of Commons it was not so. The same reason which had caused the conversion of the Administration caused that of their adherents generally, and the power of argument was all on one side."

130. The bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association having passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, leave to bring in one for the concession of the Roman Catholic claims was moved for in the House of Commons by Mr Peel, in an uncommonly full house. The argument urged was to the following effect: "The subject is surrounded by many difficulties, but the time has now arrived when the amicable adjustment of the question would be attended with less danger than any other which I could suggest. On that opinion I am prepared to act, unchanged by any expression of an opposite opinion, however general or deep, unchanged by the forfeiture of political confidence, or by the heavy loss of private friendship. In 1825, when the bill passed the Commons, I intimated to Lord Liverpool my desire to resign in order to facilitate the adjustment of the question, and was prevailed on not to do so only by the assurance that it would dissolve the Ministry. In 1828, when the bill was again passed, I intimated a similar wish to the Duke of Wellington, with the addition that, seeing the current of public opinion, I was ready to sacrifice consistency and friendship, and support the measure, provided it was undertaken on principles consistent with the safety of the Protestant Establishment. I am aware that it is incumbent on me to make out a case for this change of policy, and that case is made out from the following considerations.

131. "Matters cannot continue as they are: the evils of divided councils are so great that something must be done, and a Government must be formed with a united opinion on the subject. Secondly, a united Government must do one of two things; it must either grant further political rights to the Catholics, or recall those which

they already possess. But, thirdly, to deprive the Catholics of what they already possess would be impossible, or, at least, would be infinitely more mischievous than to grant them more; and therefore no course really remains but that of concession. That something must be done to enable the King to form a united ministry, is proved by the mischievous influence which the diversity of opinion on the subject has for many years had on the general administration of the country, the state of Parliament, and the government of Ireland. For thirty-five years the state of government in this country, on the Catholic question, has been that of disunion. Lord Fitzwilliam had gone to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant in 1794, and his government came to a termination on account of a difference about the Catholic question. Mr Pitt's administration came to a close in 1801 on the same ground. After his death the Whigs came in, and their ministry, after enduring eighteen months, was terminated still on the same ground—a difference about the Catholic question. During Mr Percival's administration, resistance to the Catholics was the principle of Government; but this was out of deference to the feelings of his late Majesty; for Mr Canning and Lord Castlereagh, who both supported emancipation, were members of this Cabinet. Since 1812, the Catholic question has been what is called neutral; that is, every member of the Cabinet adopts the view on it which accords with his own opinion. The Cabinet have been always nearly, sometimes exactly, balanced; and this was also the case with the Lord-Lieutenant and Secretary, the Attorney and Solicitor General of Ireland, these being always on opposite sides. It need not be said to what consequence such a divided system of government must lead; it has defeated the best intentions of the Cabinet, paralysed the whole action of the executive, and brought Ireland to the very verge of ruin.

132. "The proceedings of the Legislature are still more indicative of the paralyzing influence of this divided state

of opinion upon every part of the government. From the year 1807 to the present time there have been five successive parliaments, consequently five appeals to the great body of the people on this momentous question. The House elected for four of these parliaments has, on some occasion or other, generally more than once decided against the Catholics. The divisions have been generally very narrow, the majorities often not more than four or five. In 1813 the Catholic Relief Bill was carried by a majority of forty-two in the Commons; in 1821, by one of nineteen; in 1828, by one of six. On the other hand, in 1816 the majority against the Catholics was thirty-one; in 1819, two; in 1827, four. At all these times the majority was fixed, generally thirty or forty, in the House of Peers. What has been the result of these repeated vacillations of the Legislature on this vital question? Nothing but this, that each party has been able to paralyse the other in every measure connected with Ireland, that what has been gained one year has been lost the next, and that that unhappy country has been the seat of never-ending party conflicts, which have effectually blasted every attempt at social improvement, or the removal even of the most frightful and acknowledged evils. '*Sedemus sedes domi, inter nos altercantes, presenti pace læti, nec cernentes ex otio illo brevi multiplex bellum rediturum.*'*

133. "The House of Commons, trembling in the nice balance of opinion, has at length inclined to the side of concession. Why should its decision not be considered as a fair representation of public opinion upon this great question? Nearly all the popular places, towns, and counties are equally divided upon it—one member is for emancipation, and one against it. Again, if we look to this House, nearly all the rising talent which has appeared during the last fifteen years has been on the side of the Catholics. Session after session we have had defections from our

side, but not a single convert. Are these indications to be neglected? Are they not just elements of consideration, to be weighed by those who must calculate, if they are wise legislators, and, above all, if they are responsible ministers, to what extent resistance can be safely and wisely carried? Are the few who have borne the brunt of the battle for ten years to be taunted as responsible for failure?—are they not to consider what support they have had in the division, what assistance in the debate? It is within these walls that the question is really to be decided, and the victories of Penenden Heath are no compensation for defeat here.

134. "If these are the evils with which the continual discussion of the subject is fraught in the Government and the Legislature, what has been the state of Ireland during these unfortunate dissensions? The dissensions of our councils, and the distractions of Ireland, if not standing in the relation of cause and effect, have at least been nearly concurrent; and there is no present prospect of the restoration of peace or tranquillity to that country, unless our own differences can in some way or other be reconciled. I will not prophesy what will be the ultimate effect of the measures which I propose, but the true recommendation of them I apprehend to be, that it is scarcely possible we can change for the worse. It is a melancholy fact that, since the year 1801, when the retirement of Mr Pitt brought this question prominently before the country, Ireland has been scarce ever governed by the ordinary law. The Insurrection Act, or some equally stringent coercive measure, has been in operation, with the exception scarcely of a single year, ever since the Union. Shall this state of things continue without some decisive effort at a remedy? Can anything be clearer than that the present state of things cannot remain, that the system of open governments and neutral questions must be abandoned, and that there is no safety except in the united councils and joint responsibility of the King's Government?

135. "If this be conceded, the only choice that remains is between perma-

* "We sit slothful at home, quarrelling among ourselves, too happy at a present lull, and not seeing that out of that rest a future war will soon arise."

nent unqualified resistance to concession on the one side, and the settlement of the Catholic question on the other. There is no intermediate line to be discovered. Can, then, a government be formed on the principle of permanent unqualified resistance to the Catholics? Supposing it formed, how is it to govern Ireland? What is to be done with the Catholic Association? Suppress it, is the ready answer. Be it so. By what means? The existing state of the law provides no means for doing so; at least such is the unanimous opinion of the law officers both of England and Ireland. They have deprecated prosecution, either under the common law or the Act of 1793. The evil of such an Association is not of recent occurrence. In one form or another it has existed ever since 1793, and no administration has been able to devise a measure for its effectual suppression. Why, then, it is said, not pass a new law? Can that be done without the concurrence of the House of Commons?—and is there any prospect, in the present state of the House of Commons, of such a law being agreed to? If it was, is there the least chance, in the divided state of Ireland, of verdicts being obtained under it? Lord Eldon has declared ‘that the Act recently passed will do nothing. That it has been said of the Act of 1825, that a coach-and-six might be driven through it; but he would engage to drive the meanest conveyance, even a donkey-cart, through the Act of 1829.’

136. “But supposing all these difficulties overcome, another still greater remains behind. What is to be done with the elective franchise in Ireland? The new member for Oxford (Sir R. Inglis) has declared that, in the event of a general election, twenty-three counties in Ireland are prepared to follow the example of Clare. Be it so. What will be the result of such a change of seats upon the present nicely-balanced state of parties in the House of Commons? What will you do with that power, that tremendous power, which the elective franchise, exercised under the control of religion, at this moment confers upon the Roman Ca-

tholics? Take away the franchise, it is said. But is this possible in a House in which two hundred and seventy-two members voted in a majority for a still greater extension of privileges to the Roman Catholics? There is no recourse against their decision but in an immediate appeal to the electors of Great Britain; and it is probable that, in such an event, an increased majority against the Roman Catholics will be obtained. But will Ireland be passive in the mean time? What will you do with the thirty or forty seats that will be changed in Ireland by the persevering efforts of the Irish agitators, directed by the Catholic Association, and carried out by the agency of every priest and bishop in Ireland?

137. “Even if the Irish majority for the Catholics were to be overcome by the majority in Great Britain against them, can this compensate the dreadful evil of severing every remaining tie between the landlords and the Roman Catholic tenantry in Ireland; of confirming the spiritual ascendancy, in matters of faith, of the Roman Catholic clergy; of binding together, in a dangerous but not illegal exercise of a great constitutional right, the combined and desperate efforts of Roman Catholic wealth, intelligence, numbers, and religion? The infusion of such a body of representatives as Ireland would send to this House, under such circumstances, would be a real evil; but what is that in comparison of the impossibility of governing Ireland in opposition to such a united body as would then be banded together under the most complete priestly direction, and supported in the Legislature by at least half the representatives of the United Kingdom?

138. “We cannot replace the Roman Catholics in the position in which we found them. We have given them opportunities of acquiring education, wealth, and power; we have removed with our own hands the seal from the vessel in which a mighty spirit was enclosed; but it will not, like the genius in the fable, return within its narrow confines after having gratified our curiosity, and enable us to cast it

back into the obscurity from which we evoked it. If we begin to recede, no limit can be assigned to our retrocession. We shall produce a violent reaction—violent in proportion to the hopes which have been excited. Fresh rigours will become necessary. The re-enactment of the penal code would be insufficient; we must abolish trial by jury, or at least incapacitate Catholics from sitting on juries. What can result from this but a more marked separation of the people of Ireland into distinct and hostile classes; a more entire monopoly of offices and power by the Protestants; a more unmixed and unqualified degradation of the Roman Catholics? How is this state of matters to go on in a country in which there are in all 5,000,000 of Catholics, and 2,000,000 of Protestants all congregated in the north-eastern parts of the island, and in the remaining three-fourths of which the Catholics are four to one, often twenty to one, compared to the Protestants?

139. "These are real and practical evils, which could not fail to be felt the moment that the system of resistance to the Catholics is resumed. But are there no contingent evils likely to arise, and still more to be dreaded? Is there no danger of rebellion and civil war? To go no further back than 1798, the character of the rebellion in that year is written in the statute-book. The preamble of the statute which contributed to its suppression declared it to be 'a wicked rebellion, that desolates and lays waste the country by the most savage and wanton violence, excess, and outrage, which has utterly set at defiance the civil power, and has stopped the ordinary course of justice and of the common law.' The rebellion thus characterised was defeated by force; Government completely triumphed; but was there an end, in consequence, of the Catholic question? So far from it, Mr Pitt, before the dying embers of the Union were cold—before the ink of the contract of union was dry—resigned office because he could not carry this very question of Catholic relief. Will the issue, even the successful issue, of civil war leave

us in a better condition now than it left us in the year 1800? Shall we not, on the contrary, at its close have to discuss this same question of emancipation with bitter animosities, with a more imperious necessity for the adjustment of the question, and with a diminished chance of effecting it on safe and satisfactory principles? No doubt there are real difficulties in the way of a solution of the question by concession,—no man is more disposed to admit that than I am; but what great measure, which has stamped its name upon the era of its adoption, has been ever carried through without objections insuperable, if they had been abstractly considered? Our difficulties may be great, but they are as nothing compared with those which obstructed the great measure which united in one whole the two separate and hostile kingdoms into which this island was divided. We must contemplate the measure now proposed in the same spirit in which our ancestors acted under similar circumstances—we must look to the end to be achieved, and the danger to be avoided; we must be content to make mutual sacrifices, if they are essential to the attainment of a paramount object, and withdraw objections to separate parts of a comprehensive scheme, if, by insisting on these objections, we shall endanger its final accomplishment."

140. On the other hand, it was maintained by Sir Robert Inglis, Mr Banks, and Mr Sadler: "Not one of the grounds stated in justification of the proposed measure will bear examination. The state of Ireland, the difficulty of governing the country with a divided Cabinet, the impossibility of managing a House of Commons which left the Ministers in a minority, the mischief consequent upon a division between the two branches of the Legislature, are not imaginary evils; but the question is, Are they likely to be remedied by the measure now proposed? Is it not rather calculated to aggravate and enhance them? The distracted state of Ireland is unhappily too well known, and has been of too long continuance, to admit of any dubiety con-

cerning it; but from what does it date? From the concession of political privileges to the Catholics in 1793, which has rendered the country ever since the arena of party contention, and a scene of turmoil, confusion, and bloodshed. The penal code was relaxed, the elective franchise extended to the Catholics, a university endowed for their education, the army and navy thrown open to their ambition. What has been the result? The rebellion of 1798, and thirty years of subsequent agitation and discord. Everything conceded, instead of lessening, has only added fuel to the flame. Every acquisition made has been converted into a platform from whence fresh attacks on the constitution have been directed. Guided by this experience, what are we to expect from throwing open the portals of the Legislature to the entire Catholic body? What but this, that the advanced work now gained will become the salient angle from which the fire will be directed on the body of the fortress; and that the work of agitation, headed by the Romish leaders in either House of Parliament, will be renewed with increased vigour to effect the overthrow of the Protestant Establishment, the severance of the Union, the dismemberment of the British Empire?

141. "According to the confession of Ministers themselves, the Catholic Association, and the organised agitation it kept up by means of the priests in the country, is one main ground for this concession. It has produced the disease for which they now profess themselves unable to find a remedy. Confessedly, also, not an attempt has been made to crush that aspiring convention. Acts have been passed by large majorities in Parliament to put down the Association, but Ministers allowed them to remain a dead letter. If the Acts were defective, and incapable of execution, with whom did the responsibility of that lie but with their own Crown officers who drew up the bill? As to the argument founded on the divided state of the Cabinet, why did Arthur Duke of Wellington and Mr Peel, who declared that their opinion on the subject was unchanged, not

try to convert their colleagues to their views, instead of themselves becoming the converted party; or, if they could not do this, look out for other colleagues? Surely they could not be fearful of being able to form a Cabinet on the principle of exclusion, and therefore should never have struck their colours, under which there were no difficulties too great to surmount.

142. "As to the dangers of a civil war, Ministers must have strangely mistaken the moral determination and force of public opinion in England, if they fear want of adequate support in conducting the contest. Besides, it is not a choice between civil war and concession, as far as the people of Ireland are concerned, but a far greater chance of civil war in Great Britain, if the Catholics are admitted, with their ambitious views, to the entire privileges of the constitution. At best it is only postponing the evil day; and it is for the House to consider under what different circumstances the attack could be resisted now, from those under which it would be possible to meet it when the Catholics possessed all the political immunities of the constitution. Unfortunately, the manner of concession is only a provocation to further attack. It is not the triumph of those who have long espoused the cause, gradually working their way by the power of opinion; it is the victory of force driving former enemies into desertion by intimidation. It openly tells the Catholic agitators that they are too strong for the Government of Great Britain; that whatever they ask will be conceded, even to the giving up the constitution, provided only it is sought with sufficient clamour and violence. Ministers themselves do not venture to represent this measure as an act of grace, but as one which has been forced upon them by imperious necessity, many of them still retaining their former opinions, and having their eyes open to all the evils likely to result from the course they are pursuing. No rational man can expect that the Catholics and Catholic priesthood will remain contented even with what is now given. The entire

re-establishment of their Church will be the next object; it is not only their interest to contend for that object, but if they are good Catholics, they must regard it as a sacred duty, to the attainment of which the civil privileges now proposed to be conferred are chiefly valuable in their eyes as a means. Even Mr Peel seems to anticipate, at no distant period, an ulterior struggle; and is it wisdom to prepare for a contest by clothing your enemy in new armour, and putting in his hands fresh weapons of offence?

143. "The securities for the Church, of which so much is said, amount to nothing. What do they amount to? Nothing but the exclusion of the Catholics from two offices, all the power connected with which is in reality vested in other offices which Catholics may fill. The Lord Chancellor may not be a Roman Catholic, but what avails that when the Prime Minister and all the rest of the Cabinet may be of that persuasion? The Prime Minister, who recommends all persons for bishoprics, may be a Catholic, and the influence of that faith might be exercised in the choice of persons who were to be forced on the Lord Chancellor by the rest of the Cabinet. The securities taken are just enough to fix a badge or mark on the Catholics, as belonging to an inferior sect, but for all practical purposes they are perfectly useless. Small as they are, they admit the existence of ulterior dangers; for if there are no dangers, why make any distinctions, or insist on any securities?"

144. "Why is this change in the constitution, subversive of the principles alike of the Reformation and the Revolution, to be forced upon the country in defiance of the opinions of the great majority of the people? No man can doubt that the preponderance of the anti-Catholics in Great Britain is immense; the petitions bearing twenty and thirty thousand signatures, daily laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament, are a sufficient proof of this. If Ministers have any doubt of it, why not dissolve the House of Commons, and then it will at once be seen with whom the preponderance lies?"

Why is everything to be sacrificed to the Roman Catholics? And are the claims of the Protestants, at least four times their number in the United Kingdom, to be entirely overlooked? Mr Peel admits that, in the event of a dissolution, Great Britain would return an enlarged majority against the Catholics. What is this but admitting that the measure is forced through now, against the will of the inhabitants of this country? The election of 1826 was not a test of public opinion on this question, because the people then saw a Minister in power who, supported by the very men who now propose concession, would, it was known, resist it to the uttermost. Can anything be so inconsistent as to say in the same breath, 'We must grant emancipation, because a majority of four, in the present House so elected, have so determined; and we won't dissolve Parliament to ascertain what the feeling of the country, when fairly awakened to the subject, really is?' Let them say at once they are determined to surrender the constitution, be the opinion of the country what it may; but let them not seek, in the divided state of parliamentary opinion regarding this measure, a false and flimsy excuse for capitulating, while they decline to adopt the only expedient by which a parliamentary opinion really in harmony with that of the people can be obtained.

145. "The singular character of this measure is this: Its promoters themselves foresee the difficulties which will ultimately attend even their own policy. They themselves are aware that futurity is big with dangers as to its final consequences, but still, with a political cowardice which has seldom been equalled in the annals of the country (and which has always met its first recompense of punishment and shame wherever it has), it is proposed to transmit the momentary difficulties, which might be dissipated by dealing with them with a firm but kind hand, to another day—to postpone the conflict to our children, whom we are at this moment disarming of their constitutional rights, and sending to the

struggle which awaits them, with a foe whose powers we are now thus increasing. We are surrendering the vantage-ground, dispossessing them of the position in which our ancestors placed us, in anticipation of this perpetual struggle with the enemy of our existing institutions.

146. "What, then, is the apology for this strange course, in which cowardice and apostasy are the avowed guides? It is *expediency*. This is the Alpha and Omega of the modern school—expediency as to the future character of our religious institutions! Expediency, based on religion and fortified by experience, is indeed the safest of all guides; but what is it when it purposely divests itself of both? It is the ready apology of the practised intriguer; the excuse of the ambitious slave; the justification of the inexorable tyrant; the life defence of the most unprincipled policy, the most heinous crimes that ever desolated the earth? And is this principle to supplant, in this hitherto Christian country, that safe, that necessary, that universal guide of human beings, in the most exalted as in the humblest walks of existence, a rule of right as inflexible as its Author, and which, like all His ordinations, however shrouded for a moment by doubts and difficulties, will ultimately resolve itself into benevolence, justice, and truth? History affords examples in every page, inscribed in the most appalling characters, of the just punishment which has ever awaited individuals, or bodies of men, or nations, following so selfish and tortuous a path. What did expediency do for France? Boundless felicity was promised by 'large and triumphant majorities.' How well that assurance was justified by the result, all know—how far the grave of the murdered minister was apart from the grave of the murdered monarch. The *denouement* of this tragedy, of which expediency was the prompter throughout, was exhibited in the front of that edifice which you are now repairing. Expediency destroyed the Church, expediency murdered the King." *

* The two last eloquent paragraphs are taken

147. On a division, leave was given to bring in the bill by a majority of 188; the numbers being 348 for the motion, and 160 against it. The country was surprised, but not intimidated, by this sudden and extraordinary conversion on a question on which the opinions of the Legislature had been so divided that a majority of six against it had been succeeded by one of four in its favour. The Protestants, however, were not awaiting to themselves in this crisis. From the moment that the determination of the Cabinet was announced, and still more from the time that the majority in the Lower House was known, petitions against the measure flowed in from all quarters with such vehemence as to astonish Ministers themselves, and leave no doubt as to the opinion of the country on the subject. Between the first division on the bill and the first reading, a period of only five days, 957 petitions were presented against the bill, and only 357 in its favour. In vain were the latter represented as the only index to enlightened opinion, and the former as the expression merely of antiquated bigotry and prejudice. The fact remained, that the people of England had loudly and decidedly spoken out on the occasion, and that it was evident to all the world that, if carried at all, it would not be in conformity with the wish of the majority of the nation, but by Government influence, in opposition to their strongly expressed and decided opinion. Great was the sensation excited by this state of things. The public indignation was violently expressed against what was deemed the treachery of some, the slavishness of others, the tergiversation of all, and a great and irremediable shake given to the confidence of the people in the integrity of public men, which, as it had been in time past the palladium of the nation's fortune, so its loss presaged in time to come boundless calamities.

148. The bill was read a third time on March 30 with a majority of 178, the numbers being 320 to 142; and

verbatim from Mr Sadler's splendid speech.—*Parl. Deb.* xxi. 1618, 1620.

the same day it was carried by Mr Secretary Peel, accompanied by an unusually large attendance of members of the Commons, to the bar of the House of Lords. The debate which ensued in that House, though displaying all the ability by which its discussions have long been distinguished, presented little in addition to what had been urged for and against the measure in the House of Commons. But there were words fell from the Duke of Wellington, in the course of the debate, which deserve to be recorded, both as coming with peculiar grace from so illustrious a warrior, and as illustrating on a momentous occasion the love of peace, which formed so remarkable a feature in his character. "It has been my fortune," said he, "to have seen much of war—more than most men. I have been constantly engaged in the active duties of the military profession from boyhood until I have grown grey. My life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and human suffering. Circumstances have placed me in countries where the war was internal, between opposite parties in the same nation; and rather than a country I loved should be visited with the calamities which I have seen, with the unutterable horrors of civil war, I would run any risk, I would make any sacrifice, I would freely lay down my life. There is nothing which destroys property and prosperity, and demoralises character to the extent which civil war does. By it the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays his master, the master ruins his servant. Yet this is the resource to which we must have looked, these are the means which we must have applied, in order to have put an end to this state of things, if we had not embraced the option of bringing forward the measure, for which I hold myself responsible."

149. The bill was carried on the third reading in the House of Peers by a majority of 104; the numbers being 213 for it, and 109 against it. This was a much greater and more astound-

ing change than the majority in the Commons, for the House of Lords had hitherto always thrown out the bills for Catholic emancipation by a majority of from 40 to 50; and as their lordships were fixed legislators, the alteration was much more remarkable than what had occurred in the changing representatives of the people. As such, it tended still farther to unsettle men's minds, and shake that trust in the integrity of statesmen which had hitherto been always felt, even in the worst times, in Great Britain, and been the main source of the national strength in all its difficulties. The people knew not where to turn, or whom to look to, when they were deserted in one House by the representatives whom they had sent to Parliament pledged to defend what they regarded as a sacred cause; and in the other by the hereditary legislators, whose fathers had stood by them in the good fight, and come off victorious.

150. But although the bill had thus passed both Houses by overwhelming majorities, and therefore might be regarded as, practically speaking, already the law of the land, yet no small difficulty remained behind; for the Sovereign was resolute against it, and he was supported by a decided majority of the inhabitants of the whole empire: so that the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited, unprecedented in English history, of the King and people being resolute on one side, and *both* Houses of Parliament on the other. From the outset of the Irish agitation the monarch had become extremely uneasy on the affairs of that island, and most earnestly impressed upon his Ministers the necessity of the most vigorous measures to repress it.* It was only by

* "I cannot express to you adequately the extent of the difficulties which these and other occurrences in Ireland create in all discussions with his Majesty. He feels that in Ireland the public peace is every day violated with impunity by those whose duty it is to preserve it; that a formidable conspiracy exists; and that the supposed conspirators—those whose language and conduct point them out as the avowed principal agitators of the country—are admitted to the presence of his Majesty's representative in Ireland, and equally well received with the King's most loyal sub-

unremitting exertions, and representing the measure, on repeated occasions, to his Majesty, as one of absolute necessity, that the King's consent to bring in the bill had been obtained; and even when it was given he repeatedly declared that "he only allowed them to go on, and pledged himself to nothing." He indulged to the very last in the hope that the bill would be rejected by the House of Peers, which would enable him, as his father had done with the India Bill in 1784, to dissolve the House of Commons, and appeal to the people on the subject. The passing of the bill by the Peers by so large a majority struck him with consternation, and revealed at once the helplessness to which the monarch of these mighty realms might be reduced when deprived of the support of his Parliament. In his agony he sent for Lord Eldon, to whom he declared "that the measures proposed gave him the greatest possible pain; that he was in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast; that he had nothing to fall back upon; that his Ministers had twice threatened to resign if he did not allow the measure to be introduced; that he had been deserted by an aristocracy that had supported his father; that, instead of a majority of forty-five peers, as he had expected, against the measure, there were twice that number for it; that everything was revolutionary; that the Peers and aristocracy were giving way to it; that, if he did give his consent, he would go to Hanover, and return no more to England,—they may get a Catholic king in Sussex." Such was his despair that the unhappy monarch threw his arms round Lord Eldon's neck and wept like a child, entreating him not to desert him, for he had no other to advise with. Lord Eldon, however, was too sensible a man not to see that when the King had, by his own admission, consented to a measure which had been fully explained to him, a Ministry could not be found which would support him in rejecting it, and

jects."—Duke of WELLINGTON to Lord ANGLESEA, 11th Nov. 1828; *Ann. Reg.* 1829, pp. 96, 97.

VOL. III.

that, after the bill had passed both Houses by such large majorities in consequence of that consent, the King had no longer any choice in the matter. He advised his Majesty, therefore, to yield, which the latter agreed to with infinite reluctance, and the bill received the royal assent on April 13 *by commission*: the established mode of indicating it was the measure of the Ministry rather than the Sovereign.*

151. The passing of the Catholic Relief Bill was immediately followed by another which was understood by all parties to form part of the measure, and this was a bill for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, and raising the county suffrage to ten pounds. As it was mainly by their exertions that the Relief Bill had been carried, a more flagrant instance of ingratitude never was exhibited, even in that wide field of selfishness and thanklessness which political affairs exhibit. It passed, however, with scarcely any opposition, through both Houses, and with *none* on the part of the Catholic Association or the leaders of the agitation in Ireland. The Tories, in consistency with their principles, supported it as tending to lessen the strength of the priesthood, which had shown itself so for-

* The circumstances attending the King's original consent to bringing in the bill were thus stated by George IV. to Lord Eldon on this occasion: "In the former interview it had been represented by his Majesty that, after much conversation, twice with his Ministers, or such as had come down, he had said, 'Go on;' and upon the latter of those two occasions, after many hours' fatigue, and exhausted by the fatigue of conversation, he had said, 'Go on.' He now produced two papers, which he represented as copies of what he had written to them, in which *he assents to their proceeding and going on with the bill*, adding certainly in each, as he read them, very strong expressions of the pain and misery the proceeding cost him. It struck me at the time that, if I had been in office, I should have felt considerable difficulty about going on after reading these expressions; but whatever might be fair observation, as to giving or not effect to these expressions, I told his Majesty *it was impossible to maintain that his assent had not been expressed*, or to cure the evils which were consequential."—Twiss's *Life of Eldon*, vol. iii. p. 85.

midable on the late crisis ; the Whigs supported it, albeit an infringement on popular rights, as an essential part of a whole, the better part of which they were unwilling to lose. Mr Brougham said, " he consented to it as the price, the almost extravagant price, of the inestimable good which would result from the other measure." Sir James Mackintosh described it " as one of those tough morsels which he had scarcely been able to swallow." The bill passed both Houses almost unanimously—in the Commons only seventeen voted against it ; in the Lords, after some divisions on matters of detail in the committee, it was agreed to without a division. Scarcely a voice was raised in Ireland against the disfranchising of the very men by whose energy and perseverance the victory had been gained. As is too often the case with wounded veterans, they were allowed

"To beg their bread through realms their valour won."

Mr O'Connell even, who had declared himself ready to perish on the field or the scaffold in defence of the freeholders, whom he denominated his "faithful Forties," raised not a voice in their defence, and they were quietly consigned to the vault of all the Capulets.

152. The passing of the Catholic Relief Bill was soon followed by a dramatic scene in the House of Commons, which savoured rather of the impetuosity of French feeling than the sober character of the British Legislature. Mr O'Connell, who had pledged his reputation, which was very considerable, as a lawyer, that he could take his seat in the House of Commons without taking the oaths, proceeded now to redeem his pledge. Without, therefore, waiting for the period when he could be returned under the new Act, he presented himself, on the 15th of May, at the bar of the House of Commons, and offered to take, not the oaths required when he was elected, but the *new oaths* prescribed for Roman Catholics by the Relief Act recently passed. That Act, however, contained a clause expressly declaring that it

should apply only to members returned subsequently to the date of its being passed. This clause, evidently levelled at Mr O'Connell himself, and an unworthy blot on so liberal and indulgent a statute, was obviously a bar to his taking his seat under the new Act ; and on the construction of the old Act, it was justly held by the House, by a majority of seventy-four, that he could not take his seat without taking the oaths required by the statutes in force when he was elected. This incident was chiefly remarkable for the temperance and moderation of the able legal argument he delivered on the occasion, which presented the strongest possible contrast to the vehement harangues he had been in the habit of addressing to his impassioned auditories in Ireland.

153. This incident, in itself trivial, became of importance from what followed, and the light which its consequences threw on the character of the great agitator, who for the next fifteen years occupied so prominent a place in the internal history of Ireland. Mr O'Connell's claim to a seat having been set aside, a new writ was issued for a fresh election for the county of Clare. He was chosen without opposition, for the strength of the agitators in the last election left no chance of success in any subsequent contest. But in his address to the freeholders, and his various speeches to the electors, he poured forth a flood of ribaldry and abuse, especially upon the Duke of Wellington and Mr Peel, by whom the Relief Bill had been passed, which demonstrated that he was as capable of appealing to the worst passions of the people as to the reason and justice of the British Legislature. "The last election for Clare," he said, "is admitted to have been the immediate and irresistible cause of producing the Catholic Relief Bill. You have achieved the religious liberty of Ireland. Another such victory in Clare, and we shall attain the political freedom of our beloved country. That victory is still necessary to prevent Catholic rights and liberties from being sapped and undermined by the insidious policy of those men who, *false to their own party, can never be*

true to us, and who have yielded, not to reason, but to necessity, in granting us freedom of conscience. A sober, moral, and religious people cannot continue slaves—they become too powerful for their oppressors—their moral strength exceeds their physical powers—and their progress towards prosperity is in vain *opposed by the Peels and Wellingtons of society*. These poor strugglers for ancient abuses yield to a necessity which violates no law and commits no crime; and having once already succeeded by these means, our next success is equally certain if we adopt the same virtuous and irresistible means."

154. Unbounded were the promises which he made to the electors if they returned him again to Parliament. He was to obtain a repeal of the Union, of the Act disfranchising the forty-shilling electors, of the Vestry Bill, the Grand Jury Assessment Act; procure for every Catholic rector a parochial house and glebe, strain every nerve for parliamentary reform, and secure a poor-law for Ireland, which should embrace everything that was good, and exclude everything that was detrimental, in the English system. So violent was his language, so unmeasured his professions, that they lost him the support even of the Liberals in England, who heretofore had been most strenuous in his support. "The atrocity," says Miss Martineau, "of his language, in regard to all English statesmen, is scarcely credible now, even when the speeches themselves are before our eyes; and this incendiarism of course appears worse after his having shown how mild and temperate he could appear away from home, and among persons too enlightened to be animated by violent language. From this time the cry for the repeal of the Union was Mr O'Connell's tool for cultivating the agitation, by which, in regard to mind, fame, and fortune, he lived. From this time he was dishonoured in the eyes of all upright men. From this time his glory was extinguished. He made men fear him, court him, groan under him, admire him, and, as far as regards the lower

orders of the Irish, adore him; but from this moment no man respected him." *

155. DANIEL O'CONNELL, who mainly achieved this signal triumph for his religion and his country, and for the first time shook the power of the Protestant aristocracy of Great Britain which had brought about the Revolution that precipitated James II. from the throne, was a very remarkable man, and his character is the more worthy of study because it might appear to belong properly to an earlier period of European history; and yet the success which he achieved proves that the qualities he possessed are calculated in every age to influence a large portion of mankind. He was one of the age of Ignatius Loyola or St Francis rather than that of the French Revolution. Pope Hildebrand was not more devoted to the interests of the Holy See: Peter the Hermit did not possess in a higher degree the art of rousing and violently moving the great body of the people. His abilities were of a very high order—no man does such things without great powers—but they were not of a cast superior

* Among other elegant effusions of the same description, Mr O'Connell said, on his entry into Ennis: "I promised you religious freedom, and I kept my word. The Catholics are now free, and the Brunswickers are no longer their masters; and a paltry set they were to be our masters. They would turn up the white of their eyes to heaven, and at the same time slyly put their hands into your pockets. They would discount God Almighty for the ready money. The Brunswick clubs of Dublin have sent down one, a miniature in flesh, poor Bumbo and his land calf-brother, to disfranchise the brave freeholders, and crooked-eye Fitzgerald swore to it; but I call on the gentry of Clare to separate themselves from the bloodhounds, and join what is intended for the good of the people. The question is no longer between Catholic and Protestant—that is at an end; it is now who is a good or a bad man. If you thus decide, which will you choose, Bumbo or me? I hope you will rub off the foul stain of any connection with these bloodhounds, and ratify the former election. What good did any member ever before in Parliament do for the county of Clare, except to get places for their nephews, cousins, &c.? What did I do? I procured for you emancipation. Does the Subletting Act oppress? I shall not be six months in Parliament until all your oppression shall be done away." There are many more in the same style.—See *Ann. Reg.* 1829, pp. 126, 129.

to his achievements. "Par negotiis non supra" was his true characteristic. He was born an agitator, and there he was supreme; but he was neither more nor less. He had remarkable talents, but no genius, and still less taste or refinement. To great powers of oratory he united a marvellous faculty for moving the multitude; but he was alike destitute of the chivalrous sentiments which win the hearts of the generous, or the ascendant of reason necessary to mould the opinions of the enlightened. He had none of the delicacy of feeling which renders it *impossible* for an elevated mind to say or do an unworthy thing. He was all things to all men. With equal facility he addressed the House of Commons in a powerful legal argument, and harangued the electors of Clare in strains of disgraceful ribaldry; with equal truth he, in the same breath, called the Irish the "finest peasantry upon earth," and heaped opprobrium upon the "stunted corporal" who had delivered Europe, and the "bigot Peel," who had endangered his own fame to strike off the fetters of religious intolerance in Ireland.

156. The secret of these strange contradictions is to be found in the ascendant of the faith to which he was through life sincerely and devotedly attached. His standard of rectitude was different from that to which men, apart from priestly influence, are accustomed. It was neither the honour which inspires the noble-hearted, nor the honesty which directs the simple and innocent. It was simply and exclusively the interests of the See of Rome. Everything was right, everything allowable, provided that was not forgotten. He transferred into the business of life and the contests of men the abominable maxim, which the selfishness of libertines has invented, that lovers' oaths are made only to be broken, and that to them everything is permitted. To the value of truth, or the obligations to regard it, he was as insensible as Napoleon himself. He had all the duplicity and disregard of consistency which, with great vigour and frequent genius, distinguishes the Celtic char-

acter. Destitute of the self-respect which in general characterises the Saxon, he had all the insensibility to personal abasement which is so common among the humbler classes of his countrymen: so as he gained his object of acquiring a princely income, he cared not that his wealth was wrung from the scanty earnings of a destitute population. He was indifferent though what he said one day was in direct opposition to what he had previously asserted; he had no compunction in letting loose the vials of his wrath and the volubility of his abuse on the very men who had conferred upon himself and his faith the most inestimable benefits. He carried to perfection the art, so well understood in after times, of invariably and on every occasion inflaming the existing passions of his hearers. Everything was done for present impression; and that impression was all directed to one end, the advancing the interests of the Church of Rome. To that he was at any time ready to sacrifice truth, consistency, and reputation; and in doing so, he not only was conscious of no wrong, but he was sustained by the belief of the highest merit, for he was giving to the Church not his body, but his soul. He was the most perfect embodiment that has appeared in recent times of the maxim, that "the end will justify the means;" and in his ultimate fate, and that of his measures, is to be found the most striking exemplification of what, even in this world, that maxim leads to.

157. In justice to Mr O'Connell, it must be added that these great talents and dangerous qualities were united with others of a very different character. He was neither cruel nor avaricious: his great influence was always exerted as much to restrain the violence of his followers as to intimidate the resolution of his opponents. He had an instinctive horror at the shedding of blood, and aimed at achieving all his objects by pacific agitation alone. The art of doing so, without incurring the penalties of high treason or occasioning open rebellion, he carried to perfection. If he descended to

unworthy means to sustain his fortunes, and sent the begging-box round to every beggar in Ireland to swell the "rent," he spent it as liberally in supporting the cause in which he was embarked, and maintaining his many needy or destitute followers: if he was "*alieni appetens*," he was "*sui profusus*." Immense sums passed through his hands, but he died poor. His ambition, and it was great, was not for himself: it was for the Roman Catholic Church and his distressed countrymen that he exerted his talents, and with their prosperity that he felt himself identified;—noble objects, if pursued by worthy means, but only the delusive light which leads to perdition if pursued by unworthy, and involving in a tortuous and dishonest policy. His faults were rather those of his faith and his position than himself. In appearance he was striking; he would have been remarked among a thousand. His countenance was neither handsome nor commanding, but it had something in it which irresistibly attracted the attention. Strong and square built, his figure conveyed the idea of great personal strength; quick, but evasive, his eye gave the impression of Jesuitical cunning. He scarce ever looked you in the face; a rare peculiarity, but which, when it exists, is eminently descriptive of character. In manners he was, when he chose, extremely pleasing; none could exhibit, when he desired it, more courtesy, or was a more agreeable companion; and none, when otherwise inclined, could let fly a more fearful volley of vulgar abuse.*

158. Catholic emancipation, the first change on the Protestant constitution of the State, and the first great triumph of the democratic over the aristocratic powers in the empire, was brought about, so far as Great Britain is concerned, in a very peculiar way. It was a victory gained by a large portion of

the aristocratic, and the greater part of the highly educated classes, over the sincere conviction and honest resistance of the vast majority of the people. No one doubts that, if the Reform Bill had been the first measure carried, the Catholic Relief Bill would never have been the second. The present House of Commons (1862), even with the addition of the fifty Catholic members for Ireland, is greatly more hostile to the Catholics than that of 1829 was. The opposition to them is to be found now rather in the Lower than the Upper House. This is a very remarkable circumstance in a country so much influenced by public opinion as England, especially during the last half-century, has been. It was carried by the liberal opinions of the holders of a majority of the close boroughs, which brought the Government into such straits as compelled it to force through the measure. Catholic emancipation was the greatest, as it was THE LAST, triumph of the nomination system.

159. It could not have been carried, however, if the divisions in the English aristocracy at that period had not been powerfully aided by two circumstances, which told with decisive effect at the same time on the social and political condition of Ireland. The first of these was the contraction of the currency, commenced in 1819, and rendered so fearfully stringent by the suppression of small notes by the bill of 1826. As these decisive measures lowered the price of agricultural produce nearly a half, and nearly the whole population of Ireland was either engaged in agriculture or directly dependent on it, the entire labouring classes of that country had been for the last ten years involved in difficulties and suffering. The only breathing-time they had known was during the extension of the currency in 1823, and the two next years, when, with the rise of prices, distress and disaffection had in a great measure disappeared, to be followed only by redoubled suffering after the bill of 1826 had again contracted it. These measures, by producing universal discontent, prepared the soil for the reception of the seed

* The Author was once examined for eight hours before a Committee of the House of Commons (that on Combinations, April 1838) by Mr O'Connell, who conducted the examination with equal acuteness and courtesy. Many of the features in the foregoing portrait were then drawn from nature.

which the Catholic agitators were ready so plentifully to cast upon it. The second was, that the Romish clergy possessed such unbounded influence over their flocks that they were able to organise the whole Catholic population into a vast and disciplined array, alike docile to the voice of their chiefs, and inspired with the most violent hatred towards those whom they had been taught, and not without reason, to regard as their oppressors. It was owing to this combination of circumstances that England was so divided, and Ireland, so far as the Catholics went, so united, that emancipation had become, in a manner, a matter of state necessity before it was actually conceded by the Government.

160. Never, perhaps, was there a great public measure which was attended with results so entirely opposite to what was both prophesied and expected in both islands, as Catholic emancipation. The Liberals predicted an entire cessation of agitation and violence, the extinction of all causes of discord between the two islands, and the knitting together of the Saxon and Celtic population in the bonds of peace, tranquillity, and loyalty. The opponents of emancipation anticipated from it a vast impulse to the Romish persuasion in Great Britain, the destruction of all the safeguards of Protestantism, and possibly the eventual restoration of the Catholic as the ruling faith of the whole empire. It is hard to say which set of predictions has been most completely falsified by the event. Ireland, so far from having been pacified, has been more agitated than ever since the great healing measure; the cry for the repeal of the Union succeeded that for the removal of the disabilities; monster meetings followed, and shook the island to its centre; the Whigs themselves were constrained, within five years of the passing of the Relief Bill, to pass a Coercion Act of surpassing severity; and at length matters came to such a pass that "a famine of the thirteenth century," and relief was obtained only by the annual emigration, for a series

of years, of 250,000 persons, which for the first time at once thinned the redundant numbers, and removed the political dangers of the Emerald Isle. Catholicism, so far from receiving an impulse, has, from the same cause, met with the greatest check it has received in Great Britain since the Reformation. It has become rampant, and revealed its inherent ambition; and the consequence has been a vast revulsion of opinion in the middle and ruling classes of the empire against the tenets of the Vatican, and a determination to resist its encroachments, unexampled since the Revolution. The Catholic faith has been embraced by several ladies of rank who sighed for an ecclesiastical opera, and many of fashion who desired the sway, and required perhaps the comfort, of confession, and by some inexperienced men of genius, who dreamt of the amiable illusion of unity of belief. But it has been sturdily resisted by the great body of the people. The grant to Maynooth, small as it is, with difficulty passes the House of Commons;* and no one doubts that a reformed House of Commons would never have passed the Relief Bill.

161. Yet though the results have thus falsified the predictions, and been at variance with the expectations of all parties, an impartial consideration of the circumstances of the case leads to the conviction that emancipation was a wise and just measure, and such as, under the administration of a beneficent Providence, might be expected to be attended, even in this world, with its deserved reward. It was not for the reasons of policy and state necessity, which were so powerfully put forward by Mr Peel, strong and unanswerable as they undoubtedly were; it was advisable for a greater and more lasting reason — that it was in itself just and equitable. Opinion is not the fit ground either of exclusion, penalty, or punishment; it is acts only which are so. Differences of religious belief are imprinted on the mind so generally by the influence of parentage, habit, country, and circumstances,

* Written in 1854. It passed, in February 1856, only by a majority of eight votes.

that they are for the most part as unavoidable as the colour of the hair or the stature of the body. The legislator is entitled to take cognisance of them only when they lead to external acts; and when they do so, let those acts, if illegal or dangerous, be coerced or punished with vigour and justice. So great have been the evils which have arisen from persecution for differences of religious opinion, that they have gone far to neutralise the whole blessings of Christianity, and led some sceptical observers to hesitate whether it has brought most happiness or misery to mankind. It is the disgrace of Catholicism that it first began this atrocious system, and forced retaliation upon its opponents as a matter, at the time, of necessity. It is the glory of Protestantism that it first inscribed toleration on its banners, and practised it, like the Duke of York in answer to the decree of the Convention forbidding quarter, upon the most inveterate and unrelenting of its opponents.

162. Unity of belief is the dream of the inexperienced, the goal of the ambitious; dissent is the history of man. If, as is the case in many countries, one creed is embraced by a whole nation, it is a proof, not that all think alike on these points, but that none think at all. So naturally and universally does difference of opinion arise on every subject, and especially on that the most interesting which can occupy the human mind, that a more correct measure of the intellectual activity and general intelligence which pervades a people cannot be found than in the amount of religious division which prevails among them. The great object of a wise legislator should be to prevent the difference of thought from leading to conflicting *actions*; and the only way to do this, is to abolish all political differences founded on varieties of religious persuasion. No prophecy of our Saviour was ever more completely accomplished than the memorable one, that He came to bring, not peace on earth, but a sword. The reason is to be found in the varieties of the human mind; the opposite lights in which the same truths present them-

selves to different intellects; the difference in the moving powers by which different nations or individuals are influenced. Could one creed ever be embraced by the impassioned Italian, who seeks in religion a gratification of his passion for art, and his susceptibility of emotion; the obsequious Russian, who accepts, as the commands of Heaven, the words of the Czar; and the sturdy Scot, to whom polemical disputes are the very salt and zest of life? Therefore it is that the Gospel is so silent on the matters of church government and form, and directs the whole weight of its authority to combat the selfish principles, the root of all evil in the whole of mankind. The difference lies not in the truths delivered, but the people taught. Truth, indeed, is ever the same, but so also is the light of the sun; yet in what different aspects do his rays present themselves to the various situations of man—on the sunny hill and in the level plain, on the watery waste and in the burning desert, when piercing the murky clouds of the city, and when illuminating the mountain turf, when striking on the summits of the Alps, and feebly struggling through the mists of the valley!

163. But although emancipation was thus decisively recommended by the highest considerations of justice and expedience, yet there can be no doubt that the granting of it was a very great effort of political virtue on the part of England, and that the concession was against the wishes and adverse to the sincere and disinterested, and therefore respectable, opinions of the great majority of the inhabitants of the empire. As such, it should have been received in a grateful and worthy spirit by the Catholics of Ireland, who beheld a great act of justice done against the inclinations of a majority of their fellow-subjects, and at a time when no corresponding steps towards liberality had been taken by the governments still adhering to the See of Rome. It was just the reverse: the act of justice was received in the most ungrateful, and even revengeful spirit. So far from being pacified, Ireland was only the more distracted by the great heal-

ing measure. The admission of the Catholics to Parliament became the platform on which additional attacks were directed against Protestantism, and even the political institutions of the empire. "The Orangemen," says Miss Martineau, "became more furious and bigoted through fear and jealousy of their triumphant neighbours, and those triumphant neighbours were urged on by their leaders to insufferable insolence towards the Government and sister nations which had granted them relief no longer possible to be withheld. The list of Irish outrages, the pictures of Irish crime which follow in the registers of the time, the record of Catholic emancipation, are very painful; but they show, not that there was anything wrong in the procedure of relief, but that it had been too long delayed."

164. But although nothing can excuse or even palliate the ingratitude and oblivion of promises which, from the moment when Catholic emancipation was passed, characterised the conduct of the Irish agitators, yet it was neither wholly nor chiefly owing to that cause, and still less to its being so long delayed, that the measure so totally failed in producing the expected results. It failed because it did not alleviate in the slightest degree, but, on the contrary, fearfully aggravated, the real causes of evil in the country. These were the indolent, improvident, and yet reckless character of the peasantry, the extravagance and embarrassment of the landholders, the division of the land among a million of starving cultivators, the habit of incessant and overwhelming increase encouraged by the priests, the absence of manufactories to absorb the redundant numbers, and the total unfitness of the people for self-government or direction. These evils could not in any degree be alleviated by the admission of forty or fifty zealous Catholics into Parliament, some of them gifted with considerable natural talents, but for the most part destitute of property, without a cultivated education or business habits, and entirely devoted, one and all, to the interests of the See of

Rome. On the contrary, they were most seriously aggravated by the introduction of a body of men of this description into the Legislature; because agitation, the bane of the country, was increased by the knowledge that so powerful a phalanx was always ready to support it in Parliament; and the phalanx itself, being entirely directed by foreign ecclesiastical influence, pursued on every occasion measures calculated to embarrass the English Government and weaken the English aristocracy, without any regard to their effect in augmenting the difficulties and increasing the sufferings of their own constituents.

165. If, however, Catholic emancipation has failed in realising any of the benefits predicted from it in the sister isle, it has removed one great stumbling-block in the way of good government in Great Britain. The difficulty which Mr Peel so strongly felt and so feelingly deplored, arising from the divided state of the Cabinet on this vital question, has disappeared. Subsequent times have seen weak governments and embarrassed cabinets in abundance, but never to such an extent on Irish affairs. On them unanimity has almost constantly pervaded both the Government and the Legislature. The ingratitude with which the gift was received, the increased agitation which followed it, the turmoil in which the country was constantly kept by the efforts of the agitators, and the ready acquiescence of the people in their measures, have united all classes in Great Britain against them. The cry for the repeal of the Union was met in a very different spirit from that for Catholic emancipation. Such is the effect and the reward of just measures; they detach the generous and noble-hearted from the side by whom they have been abused, and unite them in support of that by which the injustice has been removed.

166. It is commonly said by the Liberals in England, that emancipation has failed because it was conceded too late; by the Catholics in Ireland, because it was incomplete, and did not give that entire ascendancy to their

Church to which, in their island at least, it was entitled. Both opinions appear to be erroneous. Keeping in view what were the real causes of Irish suffering, and which had prepared the soil everywhere so plentifully for the seed of the agitators, it is impossible to maintain that they would have been removed, or in the slightest degree mitigated, by either or both of those much-vaunted measures. Suppose emancipation had been conceded in 1801, when Mr Pitt left office on the subject, and fifty Irish Catholics had ever since sat in Parliament; suppose that the Church property had been wholly transferred to the Romish Church, and high mass celebrated in every cathedral of Ireland ever since that time, would these changes have either alleviated the suffering or eradicated the seeds of evil in that unhappy country? Unquestionably they would not. Still would a million of squalid cultivators have vegetated in listless indolence on the soil, and overspread the land with their descendants; still would self-government have proved the bane of a people incapable of self-direction; still would the concession of English privileges to a nation unfitted for their reception have left the door perpetually open to withering and ruinous agitation. The vantage-ground gained in Ireland would have proved the greatest of all incitements to the See of Rome to press upon its adversaries, until they had regained the inestimable jewel of Great Britain for the tiara of the Roman Pontiff; and what could have been expected from that but increased exasperation, and still more ulcerated feelings, between the two countries? Emancipation has not failed because it came either too late or was incomplete, but because the real evils of Ireland arose from an entirely different set of causes, which that measure had no tendency to diminish, but rather to increase.

167. But still emancipation was a wise measure, because it was a just one. "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum,*" was the noblest maxim of antiquity; "*Fais ce que tu dois, advienne ce que pourra,*" the expression of the chival-

rous feelings of modern Europe. England at the eleventh hour did the just act, but she did it, not from the influence of equitable or tolerant feelings, but in obedience to the fierce demands of the agitators, and to avert the dreaded evils of civil war. She has been punished, and justly punished, for doing a right thing from wrong motives, and the consequences of the fault have already been amply experienced. The great precedent of yielding, not to justice, but to coercion, has not been lost upon the agitators within her own bosom. The Reform movement was the child of the Catholic agitation; the Anti-Corn-Law League of the triumph of Reform. The helm has passed out of the hands that used to hold it; the vessel, when a storm arises, has ceased to obey the helm, and drifts before the wind. It has been discovered, that if a question can be brought forward, touching the interests and inflaming the passions of a numerical majority of the people, the Government can be constrained, and measures forced upon it at variance with its best interests, most settled convictions, and fixed determination. This penalty has England incurred for yielding, not to justice, but intimidation. But this punishment is as nothing to what Ireland has experienced, or the Romish agitators have incurred; nor is there to be found in the whole history of human affairs a more memorable instance of righteous retribution than has overtaken them, in the unforeseen but now apparent and natural consequence of their transgressions.

168. That Catholic emancipation was the parent of the Reform Bill is now universally acknowledged, and will be abundantly proved in the very next chapter. It added fifty votes to the movement party in Ireland, and took as many, by the heartburning which it excited in this island, from the Conservative majority in Great Britain. This change, one hundred in all, and two hundred on a division, entirely altered the balance of parties in the Imperial Parliament. For the first time since Mr Pitt's defeat of the Coalition in 1784, it gave a majority

in the House of Commons to the Liberal and movement party, and with the impulse given to their opinions by the French Revolution, first overturned the Duke of Wellington's administration, and then carried through the Reform Bill. Immense was the triumph of the united Catholics and Liberals at this great victory, which in its immediate results gave them a majority of five to one in the House of Commons, and seemed to have prostrated the House of Lords beneath their feet. Yet in the consequences of this very triumph, and the measures pursued amidst shouts of victory by the conquerors, were preparing the greatest of all rewards to the vanquished, and a natural but deserved retribution for their ingratitude to the victors. The Catholic religion has not, since the Reformation, experienced such a blow as it has done in both hemispheres from the consequences of Catholic emancipation and the measures of its supporters. To be convinced of this, we have only to consider what is the social situation of Ireland, what measures its material interests require, and what those were which the majority of its representatives concurred in introducing.

169. As Ireland is almost entirely an agricultural country, and nineteen-twentieths of its inhabitants are maintained by, and its wealth derived from, the cultivation of the soil, it is evident that what *its* interests required was such a protective policy as might secure for its cultivators the monopoly in some degree of the English market. There was much to be said in favour of free trade in grain so far as the manufacturers of Manchester, Glasgow, and Birmingham were concerned, whose interest was to buy grain cheap; but nothing at all in so far as the agriculturists of Ireland were concerned, whose interest was to sell it dear. If, therefore, the members, whether for counties or boroughs of Ireland, had been directed by the interests of their constituents, they would have done everything in their power to secure the English market for them, by supporting the protective system of Great Bri-

tain. But being under a foreign influence, and directed by the Court of Rome, whose policy was to embarrass and weaken the English aristocracy, which it regarded as its most formidable enemy, they did just the reverse. They coalesced with the Liberal and movement party in England, and supported all the measures tending, by its unrestrained admission from foreign countries, to lessen the cost of agricultural produce in the United Kingdom. At the same time they put themselves at the head of the repeal agitation in Ireland, and shook the country to its centre by the monster meetings, which occupied every thought and engaged every arm in the Catholic population of Ireland. The result is well known. Agriculture, neglected for political agitation, fell into decay; a famine of the thirteenth fell upon the population of the nineteenth century; free trade in grain was introduced as a remedy for insupportable evils; and Ireland, which hitherto had enjoyed the monopoly, was exposed to the competition of the world in the supply of the English market.

170. Immense beyond all precedent have been the consequences of these changes, but upon none have they fallen with such force and severity as upon the agitators and Catholics of Ireland. From a statistical paper recently published by the Census Commissioners of Dublin, it appears that the population of the island, which in 1846—the year of the famine, and when Free Trade was introduced—had been 8,386,940, had sunk in 1851 to 6,551,970; and in 1861 was only 5,764,543! At least two millions and three-quarters of persons have disappeared from Ireland during fifteen years, and of these *above two millions are Roman Catholics*. The consequence is, that the disproportion between the Protestants and Catholics has been materially changed; already it has become 4,490,583 Catholics to 1,273,968 Protestants—or as 44 to 127 nearly.* The priests in the country have sunk to one-half their former

* *Census* 1861; or as 3½ to 1, instead of 4½ to 1, which was the former proportion.

number—they have declined from nearly 5000 to 2600.* At the same time the embarrassments of the landed proprietors, arising from the depression of agriculture, consequent upon Free Trade and the fall in the value of rural produce, have come to such a climax that a rigorous measure became indispensable. The land was in a great measure wrested from the old insolvent proprietors, and the sales of the Encumbered Estates Commission have transferred it to new, and for the most part Irish, capitalists.

171. These changes which have come on so suddenly that we are scarcely able even now to appreciate their full effects, have already produced a visible and most salutary attention on the condition of the whole empire. Ireland has ceased to be, what for about a century past it had been, a thorn in the side of England, a source of weakness instead of strength to the United Kingdom. It is no longer necessary to retain thirty thousand soldiers in the country to keep down its inhabitants. The barracks are in many places empty, or tenanted only by the police—monster meet-

* A return has been issued from the Census Office in Dublin, showing the population of Ireland from the year 1805 to 1851, both inclusive, as far as the same could be ascertained from various sources. The result is thus set forth:—

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1805, . .	5,395,456	1831, . .	7,767,401
1806, . .	5,460,447	1832, . .	7,807,241
1807, . .	5,526,224	1833, . .	7,847,285
1808, . .	5,592,792	1834, . .	7,887,534
1809, . .	5,660,162	1835, . .	7,927,989
1810, . .	5,728,343	1836, . .	7,968,655
1811, . .	5,797,347	1837, . .	8,009,527
1812, . .	5,867,181	1838, . .	8,050,609
1813, . .	5,937,856	1839, . .	8,091,902
1814, . .	6,039,544	1840, . .	8,133,408
1815, . .	6,142,972	1841, . .	8,175,124
1816, . .	6,248,174	1842, . .	8,217,055
1817, . .	6,355,177	1843, . .	8,259,200
1818, . .	6,464,013	1844, . .	8,301,563
1819, . .	6,574,712	1845, . .	8,344,142
1820, . .	6,687,306	1846, . .	8,386,940
1821, . .	6,801,827	1847, . .	—
1822, . .	6,892,719	1848, . .	—
1823, . .	6,984,826	1849, . .	—
1824, . .	7,078,164	1850, . .	—
1825, . .	7,172,748	1851, . .	6,551,970
1826, . .	7,268,598	—Census Rep., Aug. 6,	
1827, . .	7,365,729	1854—Dublin.	
1828, . .	7,464,156	1861, . .	5,764,543
1829, . .	7,563,898	—Census Rep., 1861—	
1830, . .	7,664,974	Dublin.	

ings are unknown—the undiminished strength of the empire can be sent to the Baltic or the Euxine. Agitation has disappeared—the repeal of the Union is no longer heard of—all thoughts and desires are turned to the promised land on the other side of the Atlantic. England was punished, and justly punished, for her religious intolerance and political selfishness by a century of vexation and weakness, consequent on the connection with Ireland—she is now reaping the reward of a more generous policy, and a great act of justice, in the comparative comfort of that connection, and the bright dawn of prosperity visible in the sister isle. But it is not to the gratitude or loyalty of those to whom this act of justice was done that she is indebted for this blessed consummation; she owes it to their ingratitude and blind submission to a foreign potentate, which, by inducing a policy which deprived the rural Catholics of the remuneration for their industry, has driven them headlong across the Atlantic. That which all the wisdom of man had failed to effect has resulted from the unforeseen and not intended consequences of his passions. Thus does the wisdom of the Almighty cause even the wrath of man to praise Him.

172. Nor have the consequences of emancipation been less decisive against the spread of the Catholic faith in Great Britain. It was natural that the Romish hierarchy, seeing this great victory gained by the effects of agitation in Ireland, and many persons of distinction of both sexes in England embracing their faith, should have thought that the time had come when the work of the Reformation was to be undone, and the British Isles were to be wholly regained by the Holy See. They openly announced the project accordingly. Great Britain was divided into ecclesiastical districts; bishops were appointed, and the cardinal-legate assumed the long-forgotten title of Catholic times. The effect was decisive. A burst of Protestant enthusiasm ensued unparalleled since the Reformation, and the Prime Minister of the Crown, a leading supporter

of emancipation, took the initiative in calling it forth. The aggressive and ambitious spirit of the Church of Rome—which is recorded in every page of modern history, but had come to be forgotten during the tolerant slumber of the close of the nineteenth century—was again brought to light, and the contest of the Protestants with the Catholics was renewed, but without the withering alliance with political distinction which had so long detached the generous from the side of the former. Men saw that the Church of Rome was unchanged and unchangeable, and must be combated with vigour as in the first fervour of the Reformation; but the contest came to be carried on, not by pains, penalties, and disabilities, but by reason, argument, and, intelligence, and above all, by raising the intellectual character of women, among whom its principal votaries are always to be found. The whole vantage-ground gained by the Catholics during the struggle for emancipation was lost by its acquisition.

173. Nor have the consequences of that concession been less injurious to the cause of Catholicism on the other side of the Atlantic. The pastors in vain followed their flocks to the New World; their ascendant was at an end when the indigent multitude left the shores of the Emerald Isle. Vast was the difference between the dark night of Celtic ignorance, lighted only by the feeble rays of superstition, and the bright aurora of Transatlantic energy, illuminated by the effulgence of knowledge, intelligence, and intellect. The

priest was swallowed up in the gulf of democracy. The ascendant which the Romish clergy had acquired amidst the ignorance and solitude of the Irish wilds, was speedily lost when surrounded by the turmoil of American interests, the conflict of American sects. So signally has the influence of the Church of Rome declined in the United States, that, notwithstanding the immense influx of Irish Catholics in the last ten years, there are only now 1,200,000 members of Romish churches in the Union, out of 13,000,000 embraced in the whole divisions of the Christian communion. It is a common complaint, accordingly, of the Catholic clergy in America, that they have lost all influence over their flocks; that their followers live altogether without God in the world; and that, without embracing any new faith, they have simply renounced the old. This, it is to be feared, is too often the case. From superstition to infidelity is but a step. It is by the torch of knowledge, and it alone, that the flame of a pure and lasting piety is, in an enlightened age, to be kindled. But that torch is not wanting in America; and, without anticipating the march of events that yet lie buried in the womb of time, it may with confidence be predicted that, however strongly the Catholic tenets may be rooted amidst the traditions and corruptions of the Old World, it will never make head against the energy and intelligence of the New; and that still less will infidelity permanently retain any hold of a people open to the influences and blessed by the choicest gifts of Nature.

CHAPTER XXII.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE PASSING OF THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL IN 1829 TO THE FALL OF THE WELLINGTON ADMINISTRATION IN 1830.

1. THE English nation can never have more than one object of interest or ambition at one time ; and thence it is that internal discord has so often been appeased by the advent of foreign war. Accordingly, the three years which elapsed between the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, and the Reform Bill in 1832, presented but one feature—the preparation for or approach of reform. As the Hundred Days were nothing but the eve before the battle of Waterloo, so these three years were nothing but the eve before the Reform Revolution. All interests were wound up in it, all desires centred in it, all heads occupied with it. The indifference which had so long prevailed on this subject had passed away, and been succeeded by an intense passion, which gradually went on accumulating in violence, until at length it became altogether irresistible. Various causes conspired at that time to feed and strengthen this passion which had never before come into operation, and by their combined action brought about the great and all-important, though happily bloodless, revolution of 1832.

2. (1.) The first of these was the immense increase of manufacturing and commercial wealth and industry which had taken place during and since the war, and the great number of considerable places, abounding in riches and teeming with energy, which were wholly unrepresented in Parliament. If it is true that knowledge is power, still more is it true that wealth is power ; and in the great commercial cities of Britain both these were combined, without the constitution giving

their inhabitants any channel by which they might make their influence felt by the Government. This was a serious defect, and was felt as a very great grievance. In early times it had been obviated by the practice which prevailed of sending writs to each borough or village which had become considerable, commanding them to send burgesses to Parliament. But this practice, which was entirely in harmony with the spirit of the constitution, had long fallen into desuetude, since it had been discovered that a majority in the House of Commons gave the party possessing it the command of the State ; and now the great towns, many of which had quadrupled in population and wealth during the preceding quarter of a century, remained without representation ; while vast numbers of little boroughs, which had declined with the changes of time to a mere fraction of their former inhabitants, still sent members to Parliament, many of them at the dictation, or in pursuance of the sale, of a neighbouring magnate. So far had this gone, that it was the constant asseveration of the movement party that a majority of the House of Commons was returned by two hundred and fifty individuals, most of them members of the Upper House, who had thus come to engross in their own persons the whole power of the State, by having got the command of both Houses of Parliament.

3. (2.) This system, which had come to be styled the *indirect representation*, had worked well, and given rise to no serious complaints, as long as the interests of those who got into the boroughs, either by purchase or the

favour of the proprietors, were identical with those in the unrepresented great towns. As long as men see their interests attended to, and their wishes consulted by those intrusted with the administration of affairs, they are contented, even though they have had no hand in their selection. It is when a divergence between the two begins that discontent commences, and the cry for a change of institutions is heard. This divergence was first felt after the termination of the war. During its continuance, as prices of the produce of all kinds of industry were continually rising, the interests of the landlords, the capitalists, and the commercial men were the same—all were *making money*; and therefore all alike were interested in the support of the protective system, by which the prices of all the productions of industry were kept up, and the process of accumulation favoured. But when the war ceased, and prices rapidly fell, the interests of the different classes of society, so far from being identical, came into collision. To sell dear was the interest of the producers and those who rested on their industry; to buy cheap was the interest of those engaged in buying and selling, or holding realised wealth, and the whole class of urban consumers. Thence a clear and decided breach between them, and the commencement of discontent and complaint against the proprietors of the close boroughs, and the members whom they sent to Parliament; for the measures which they pursued, suggested by their opulent constituents, were often not only noways conducive to those of the unrepresented towns, but directly at variance with them.

4. (3.) This divergence appeared in the most striking manner, and became irreparable, upon the passing of the monetary bill of 1819, and the commencement of the system of free trade and a restricted currency. As this great change rendered the fall of prices permanent, and ere long caused it to amount to 50 per cent on every species of produce, it placed the interests of the consumers and of the holders of realised

wealth irrevocably at variance with those of the producers. The former were interested in measures tending to lower prices, because it augmented the value, and in effect increased the amount of their fixed incomes; the latter were dependent on the rise of prices, because it diminished the weight of their debts and obligations, and increased the remuneration for their industry. It was impossible to reconcile these opposite interests: the amiable dream of the interests of all classes being the same vanished before the stern reality of their being at variance. The inhabitants of the great unrepresented boroughs were not aware to what their distresses were owing: they ascribed it, at the dictation of their political leaders, to the weight of taxation, the extravagance of Government, or the like; but they all felt the pressure, and discontent was general, because suffering among the industrial classes had become universal. The demand for reform, which was regularly hushed over the whole empire when suffering, from an extension of the currency, had disappeared, was revived with increased intensity when, by any of the measures which have been mentioned, the supply of money was rendered scanty. So invariable is this sequence, that it obviously stands in the relation of cause and effect.* “In times of distress or disaster,” says Mr Roebuck, “reform excited much attention; but when prosperity and success returned, it seemed to have passed almost out of remembrance. The matter, however, was never entirely forgotten; for although pressing public exigencies might induce the

* PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT IN FAVOUR OF REFORM.

		Currency.
1820,	0	£34,875,585
1821,	19	28,551,480
1822,	12	25,881,620
1823,	29	29,151,314
1824,	0	32,963,452
1825,	0	34,329,008
1826,	0	30,219,661
1827,	0	22,632,900
1828,	0	31,478,986
1829,	0	27,677,897
1830,	14	29,306,096

—*Quarterly Review*, No. xc., July 1831; *Tooke On Prices*, ii. 381, 383; and *MARSHAL'S Parliamentary Tables*, 55.

people occasionally to postpone their desires, although great prosperity led to a temporary forgetfulness, the cry for reform always returned with the reappearance of distress; and to the faulty constitution of the House of Commons Liberal politicians were ever prone to ascribe nearly all the national misfortunes."

5. (4.) In this state of affairs the Catholic agitation began, and the great and dangerous example was presented to the world of a vast political change being forced on the Government against its will, by the efforts of a well-drilled and numerous party in the state. Ministers had, with more sincerity than wisdom, admitted that they had yielded to external pressure; the Duke of Wellington had declared, amidst the cheers of the House of Peers, in words more graceful in a veteran conqueror than judicious in a young statesman, that the point was yielded to avoid the terrible alternative of civil war. This important acknowledgment was not lost upon the friends of parliamentary reform. If agitation, kept within legal bounds, and steering clear of the penalties of high treason, had succeeded so well in Ireland, why might it not be attended with similar results in Great Britain, the more especially as the voice of the great numerical majority, particularly in the large towns, which was likely to be loudest and most attended to in the matter, was sure to be raised in its support? It was resolved accordingly by the Liberal leaders to make this the next *cheval de bataille* with the Government; and although it was well known that most of the Whig aristocracy who influenced so many of the close boroughs would be reluctant to part with what they regarded as their birthright, yet it was anticipated, not without reason, that they would be overpowered by the loud voice of the people, and be constrained, in the last resort, to listen to their demands rather than lose their support.

6. (5.) In this expectation they were not disappointed, and very much owing to a defection in the ranks of their adversaries, which had never before been experienced, but was the natural

result of the measures which had recently been adopted. Not only was the Tory party divided in consequence of the forcing of the Relief Bill on the nation, but a considerable part among them, estimable alike for their courage, their sincerity, and their character, had been driven for the time into the ranks of their opponents. The incomes of such of them as depended on land had been halved by the contraction of the currency and the adoption, even as yet only to a limited extent, of free trade, while their debts and obligations remained the same. Their petitions for inquiry and relief, again and again presented, and supported by a fearful array of facts, had been disregarded or derided; and almost every successive session had been marked by legislative measures which went to diminish their own fortunes and augment those of the urban capitalists, who had become their opponents. Capital, intrenched in the close boroughs which it acquired by purchase or influence, disregarded the complaints of rural industry, as an enemy in possession of an array of strong fortresses despises the partial insurrection or general suffering of the inhabitants of the fields. Accordingly, discontent at existing institutions and the desire for change had become of late years more general among the farmers and landholders than even the inhabitants of towns; and the question was often put in the form of the algebraic problem: "Given the Toryism of a landed proprietor; required to find the period of want of rents which will reduce him to a Radical reformer."

7. (6.) When the minds of the industrious classes, especially in the country, were in this state of discontent, owing to the constant difficulties in which they were kept by the fall in the price of every species of produce, and the vexatious contrast which their situation presented to that of the moneyed classes, who were every day growing richer from the same cause, Catholic emancipation blew it into a perfect flame, and created that schism among the upholders of the constitution which gave it every prospect of success. In-

jured in their fortunes and circumstances by the measures which had been pursued, they now found themselves wounded in their affections. The strongest convictions of their understandings, the deepest feelings of their hearts, had been set at nought or lacerated by a great measure forced upon the nation, in opposition alike to the known wishes of the Sovereign, and the loudly expressed sentiments of a decided majority of the people, by ministerial influence and the votes of the representatives of the close boroughs. Immense was the impression which the perception of this occasioned. It was admitted by the advocates of emancipation, that, if the popular voice had determined the question, it would never have been carried; and yet it had become the law of the land. Before this stern reality the illusion of the people's voice being all-powerful in England had melted away. The wrath of the leaders of the old Tories and the High Church party exhaled in Parliament on many different occasions: it found vent in the channels worked out by the Radical reformers. So vehement did the excitement become that the Duke of Wellington challenged Lord Winchelsea for expressions used in a letter published in the newspapers, and a duel ensued, happily without any serious results on either side.* A motion was made for parliamentary reform soon after the Relief Bill passed, which was nega-

* This duel deserves to be noticed as one of the last between any men of mark in Great Britain before this barbarous practice went into desuetude. The cause of offence was, that, in a letter published in the newspapers to the secretary of the Association for establishing King's College, London, Lord Winchelsea said:—"Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction (regarding the College) was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party, that the noble Duke, who had for some time previous to that determined upon breaking in upon the constitution of 1688, might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State." The Duke, upon seeing this, wrote to Lord Winchelsea:—"No man has a right, whether in public or private, by speech, or in writing, or in print, to insult another, by attributing

tived by a majority of 74 in a House of 184; but the names in the minority revealed the great transposition of parties which had taken place. In the course of it, Mr William Smith, the member for Norwich, said, "One effect, he was happy to find, had been produced by the Catholic Relief Bill, which its best friends had not anticipated: it had transformed a number of the highest Tories in the land into something very nearly resembling Radical reformers."

8. A circumstance occurred at this time which most materially tended to swell the cry for reform in Parliament, by increasing the difficulties under which, from the effect of legislative measures, the industrious classes laboured. By the Act passed in February 1826, regarding small notes, it had been provided that, though no new stamps were to be issued for small notes after its date, the notes already in circulation were to continue to circulate, and be received as a legal tender for three years longer. These three years expired in March 1829; and all notes in England below £5 immediately disappeared from the circulation. Great was the effect of this decisive change upon the fortunes and wellbeing of the industrious classes, both in town and country, over the whole nation. Coinciding, by a singular chance in point of time, with the sudden conversion of so many statesmen and legislators, in both Houses, on the subject to him motives for his conduct, public or private, which disgrace or criminate him. If a gentleman commits such an act indiscreetly, in the heat of debate, or in a moment of party violence, he is always ready to make reparation to the party whom he may have thus injured. I am convinced that your Lordship will, upon reflection, be anxious to reclaim yourself from the pain of having thus insulted a man who never injured or offended you." Lord Winchelsea refused to make what was deemed by the Duke a satisfactory explanation: the parties met, and Lord Winchelsea fired in the air, after receiving the Duke's fire, which carried off a curl of his hair. The Earl, having done so, made a very handsome apology for words which were certainly unwarrantable in the circumstances, because they imputed motives not apparent on the face of the transaction. The Duke rode to the place of meeting at Chalk Farm, attended only by Sir Henry Hardinge as his second, and a single servant.—See *Ann. Reg.* 1829, pp. 53, 62.

of the Catholic claims, and the passing of the Relief Bill in consequence, it powerfully tended to inflame the desire for radical change, by superadding personal and private distress generally in the industrious classes to indignation at public measures, distrust in public men. The diminution in the circulation in consequence was immediate and decisive: but this effect, great as it was, was the least part of the calamity.* It was the *contraction of credit* consequent on the diminution which was the real evil, and that in a commercial country soon induced universal distress. It is one thing for bankers to issue small notes to their customers of their own striking off, which, from being the general medium of circulation, they are sure will not come back upon them for a very long period, if at all: it is another and a very different thing to issue sovereigns or large notes, whether of their own, which return to them immediately, or the Bank of England, which can only be purchased for full value.

9. The silk-weavers were the first who brought their sufferings before the Legislature, under the new state of monetary matters. It appeared from the statements made by the petitioners, that, since the change in the law regarding the importation of foreign silks, there had been a progressive and most alarming diminution in the importation of the raw material, and increase in the importation of the foreign manufactured, insomuch that "there had already been lost to the industry of this country no less than £1,000,000 yearly.† Hence our silk-mills and looms

were standing still, the weavers were starving, and it was quite certain that many even of the masters were giving up the trade, and becoming mere importers." The allegations of the petitioners were so notoriously well-founded, and so entirely supported by the parliamentary returns on the subject, that Ministers did not attempt to deny the facts asserted, but only alleged that the distress was owing, not to Free Trade, but to over-production; that it was as great in France as in England; and that matters would be still worse if the system of protection were restored. They took, however, the only proper course which could be adopted under the circumstances, and in conformity with the principles of Free Trade; and that was, to make a considerable reduction in the duties on the importation of the raw material. The duties, accordingly, were lowered on fine silk from 5s. to 3s. 6d., and on inferior from 5s. to 1s. 6d. This change only augmented the general clamour as it threw numbers of persons engaged in working up raw silk out of employment, and serious riots took place in Bethnal Green and Spitalfields, during which property to a large amount was destroyed.

10. The gradual recovery of the country from the monetary crisis of 1825, and the non-arrival as yet of the lowering effects of the suppression of small notes in March 1829, enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to exhibit a more cheering picture of the state of the finances than had been presented in the preceding year. The revenue of 1828 had been £55,187,000, and the expenditure £49,336,000, leaving a surplus applicable to the reduction of debt of £5,850,000. These figures deserve to be particularly noted, as affording a proof of the elasticity of the British finances, and the large sums which, notwithstanding the copious bleedings to which the Sinking Fund had been subjected, were still appli-

in Spitalfields; in 1829 there were 9000. The rate of wages in the former period was 17s. a-week, in the latter 9s. Weavers in the former period got 8s., in the latter 5s.—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. xxi. pp. 751, 754; *Ann. Reg.* 1829, 116, 117.

Years.	Currency.
* 1827,	£32,632,900
1828,	31,478,986
1829,	27,677,697
1830,	29,306,096

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 381, 383; MARSHAL'S *Tables*, 55.

† IMPORTS OF WROUGHT SILK.

Years.	Value.
1826,	£445,000
1827,	555,087
1828,	676,973

IMPORTS OF RAW AND THROWN SILK.

Years.	Average—lbs.
1818-19-20,	2,104,000
1821-22-23,	2,691,000
1826-27,	1,642,000

In 1824-25 there were 17,000 looms employed

cable to the reduction of the national debt, before the extinction of small notes, and consequent lasting contraction of the currency, took full effect. It will appear in the sequel how woefully matters changed after this decisive contraction; and as Catholic emancipation was the last triumph of the nomination borough-holders, so this was the last year when any material reduction of the debt was effected. In three years after this, the surplus entirely disappeared, and was succeeded by a course of years, during which, in a period of profound peace, considerable additions were annually made to the public debt.*

11. The debate on this budget, however, elicited some facts regarding the state of the country, which threw an important light on the causes which had brought about the recent great change in Ireland, and were preparing a still greater in Great Britain. The former were thus stated by Mr Attwood: "In 1814, the last year of the war, the exportations from Ireland to Great Britain amounted to £5,100,000, official value—official value is the measure of quantity: this account exhibits the gross amount of corn, cattle, linen, salted provisions, and other commodities sent from Ireland to Great Britain

in that year. But the prices of these articles were set down according to the old valuations in 1697; the real money value, which is the declared value, was £10,500,000. In 1816, the official value—that is, the quantity—was the same, but the money or declared value had sunk to £7,100,000; in other words, £3,400,000 was lost to Ireland on the exports alone, being 34 per cent, although the rents, taxes, and engagements of every kind remained the same. In 1817, the distress became such that Government was compelled to postpone for two years longer the Bank Restriction Act; and the consequence was, that in 1818 the exports of Ireland to Great Britain rose to £10,300,000—within a trifle of what they had been in the last year of the war. But in 1819 the Bank Restriction Act passed; and the consequence was, that though the productions exported rose in 1822, as measured by official value, to £6,100,000, the money value sank to £7,000,000! For more work they got less than two-thirds of the return in money! Whoever considers these figures will have no difficulty in perceiving to what cause the whole subsequent difficulties and disturbances both of Great Britain and Ireland have been owing."

Years.	Amount of Debt.	Interest.
* 1688—National Debt at the Revolution,	£664,263	£39,855
Increase during William III.'s reign,	12,102,962	1,175,469
1702—Debt at the Accession of Anne,	12,767,225	1,215,324
Increase during her reign,	23,408,235	1,847,811
1714—Accession of George I.,	36,175,460	3,063,135
Increase of principal and decrease of interest } during his reign, }	16,348,463	†702,201
1727—Accession of George II.,	52,523,923	2,360,934
Increase during his reign,	49,490,095	1,215,341
1760—Accession of George III.,	102,014,018	3,576,275
Increase during his reign,	732,886,942	27,778,474
1820—Accession of George IV.,	834,900,960	31,354,749
Decrease during his reign,	50,096,963	3,023,813
1830—Accession of William IV.,	784,803,997	28,325,936
Increase during his reign,	2,725,117	1,211,397
1837—Accession of Victoria,	787,529,114	29,537,333
Increase of principal and decrease of interest } during 22 years, }	17,549,440	†1,333,034
1859—Last date in Lord Goderich's Return, No. 443,	805,078,554	28,204,299

† The interest is diminished in these cases.

12. How this state of things affected the general interests of industry throughout the country was demonstrated in a very clear way from the parliamentary returns by Mr Alderman Waithman. He pointed out the effect of the monetary system, introduced in 1819, on the manufacturing industry of Great Britain, in diminishing the money price of commodities, inasmuch that while in seven years, from 1814 to 1820, though years of much distress, the excess of real or money value in exports above the official was £41,000,000; in eight years, from 1821 to 1828, the excess of the official value over the real was £80,000,000! Including colonial produce, which had suffered extremely by the fall, the annual depreciation on goods exported between 1814 and 1828, a period of fourteen years, was £28,000,000 on £48,000,000, or 60 per cent.* Whoever considers this immense depreciation, and the effect it necessarily had on industry of every description, while taxes, bonds, bills, and money debts of all sorts remained

the same, must see how material an effect it must have had in uprooting the attachment to old institutions which is so remarkable a feature in the English character, and inducing the agricultural distress in Ireland which paved the way for Catholic emancipation, and the general suffering in Great Britain which brought on the Reform Bill.

13. The only topic, during the remainder of the session of 1829, deserving of attention, was the state of our relations with Portugal, which are chiefly remarkable from the clear line which was drawn by the Duke of Wellington in regard to the duty of Great Britain as a neutral power, when that country was distracted by opposite factions contending for the crown. To understand how this came about, it is necessary to premise, what will be more fully detailed in the account of the transactions of Portugal, that a counter-revolution had taken place in Lisbon, in conformity with that which had resulted in Spain from the French

* EXPORT OF MANUFACTURES AND PRODUCE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM 1814 TO 1828, BOTH INCLUSIVE, WITH OFFICIAL AND REAL VALUE.

Year.	Official Value.	Real Value.	Difference.
1814, . . .	£36,092,167	£47,851,153	£11,759,286
1815, . . .	44,053,455	53,217,445	9,163,960
1816, . . .	36,714,555	42,942,951	6,228,398
1817, . . .	36,697,610	42,955,256	6,257,646
1818, . . .	41,558,585	43,696,253	2,097,668
1819, . . .	44,564,044	48,903,760	4,139,716
1820, . . .	35,634,415	37,839,506	1,705,091

Excess of real over official value in seven years, . . . £41,521,795

1821, . . .	£40,240,277	£38,619,897	£1,620,380
1822, . . .	40,831,744	36,659,631	4,172,113
1823, . . .	44,236,533	36,698,954	7,269,569
1824, . . .	43,804,872	35,458,048	8,346,324
1825, . . .	48,735,551	38,396,900	10,339,251
1826, . . .	40,965,735	31,536,723	9,429,012
1827, . . .	52,219,280	37,182,857	15,036,423
1828, . . .	52,797,455	36,814,176	15,983,279

Excess of official over real value in eight years, . . . £80,532,795

Exports of Colonial produce, real value—average, 1814 to 1820, £14,517,378
Do. from 1821 to 1828 inclusive, . . . 9,992,683

Difference, . . . £4,524,690

—*Parl. Deb.* xxi. 1202.

As the above return was founded on during this debate in Parliament, it is given in full. But more recent statistical returns show that the change in the relative value of the real and official values took place in the year 1820. The excess of the real over the official value in the six years 1814-19 being £33,181,879; and that of the official over the real value in the eight years 1820-27 being £64,851,820. See the official and real values of the Manufactures and Produce of the United Kingdom for these years, given in PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 356.

invasion, and that DON MIGUEL, the uncle of the little Queen, and the heir-male of the family, had been placed on the throne by the absolute party. The infant sovereign, Donna Maria, had been supported by the English interest, and she herself received with royal honours at Windsor. In consequence, an application was made to the British Government to re-establish the constitutional throne in Portugal by force of arms; but to this application a negative was returned by the Administration. "It is assumed," said Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, "that the usurpation of the throne of Portugal by the Infant Don Miguel, has given to her most Faithful Majesty the right of demanding from this country effectual succours to recover her throne and kingdom. But in the whole series of the treaties there is no express stipulation which can warrant this pretension; neither is it warranted by their general tenor or spirit. It is either for the purpose of exciting successful rebellion, or of deciding by force a doubtful question of succession, that Great Britain is now called upon to act. But it is impossible to suppose that any independent state could ever intend thus to commit the control and direction of its internal affairs to the hands of another power. The whole spirit of the treaties, as well as their history, shows that the principle of the guarantee given by England is the protection of Portugal from *foreign* interference only."

14. An opportunity soon occurred of putting these principles in practice, and of proving to the world that, however determined to protect her allies from foreign aggression, Great Britain would not interfere with their internal dissensions; and that she would concede to other countries the same right of choosing their sovereign and form of government which she had assumed to herself. A number of Portuguese refugees, most of them military men, had arrived in Great Britain, upon the occurrence of the revolution in Portugal, and, following the example of those who had so efficiently aided the South American revolution, they im-

mediately began organising an expedition to restore the constitutional regime, and the throne of Donna Maria. Upon receiving intelligence of these preparations, the British Government informed the Brazilian minister that they could not permit such a breach of neutrality, and that the refugees, as a measure of precaution, would be directed to remove further from the coast. The envoy then stated that these troops were about to be conveyed to Brazil; and, accordingly, four vessels, having on board six hundred and fifty officers and men, sailed from Plymouth, with Count Saldanha, the minister-at-war under the Constitutional Government.

15. They were informed, before they set out, that, if they attempted a descent on any part of the Portuguese territories, they would be resisted by the British cruisers. They made straight, however, for Terceira, the largest of the Azores, which had declared for Don Miguel, and were met by Captain Walpole in the *Ranger*, who, after firing two shots in the air to bring them to, which failed of effect, discharged one at Saldanha's vessel, which killed one man and wounded another. This had the desired effect, and the squadron, after a strenuous effort to effect its object, returned to Brest. This proceeding made a great noise at the time, and was everywhere represented by the Liberal party in Europe as an intervention of the British Government in favour of Don Miguel. It is evident, however, that it was no such thing, but simply a *prevention of intervention by the Liberals*, which could not be permitted, according to the laws of neutrality, from the British shores. As such, it is important, as drawing the line between real neutrality and the covert intervention which often bears its name, and affords a striking contrast to the insidious conduct of preceding governments, which, while professing neutrality, allowed expeditions of ten and twelve thousand men to be fitted out in the Thames and at Portsmouth, which succeeded in revolutionising South America, and thereby brought unnum-

bered calamities upon both hemispheres.

16. But it was easier to pursue an honest straightforward course in regard to foreign states, which had become the subject of internal contests, than to preserve that contentment and tranquillity at home, which might avert them from the British Islands. The general fall of prices, which took effect in March of this year, after the suppression of small notes came into operation, began ere long to tell with decisive and appalling effect upon all branches of industry. Interest of money was low, and wages still lower—a sure proof, when coexisting, of want of employment for capital, and of failure in the demand for labour. “The interest of money,” says Miss Martineau, a decided advocate for the cheapening system, “was never known to be lower, and the manufacturers’ stocks, with which their shelves were too well loaded, *had suffered a depreciation of 40 per cent.*” This prodigious fall, which pervaded alike all branches of industry, both agricultural and manufacturing,* occasioned of course a vast diminution of imported articles,† and a correspond-

ing and most distressing fall in wages, and in many places entire cessation in the demand for labour. At Huddersfield it appeared, from a report drawn up by a committee of masters, “that in the several townships occupied in fancy business there are 13,000 individuals who have not more than 2½d. a-day to live upon, and find wear and tear for looms.” The same deplorable prostration of industry and reduction of wages took place in every branch of manufacturing industry, and in none more than the silk trade; and in consequence the sums expended for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, which in 1824 and 1825 had been on an average £5,750,000, rose in 1828, 1829, and 1830, to nearly £7,000,000 sterling.‡

17. This lamentable fall in the wages of labour was soon attended by its usual consequence—a variety of outbreaks and disturbances in the districts which were more immediately affected. Constrained by the general reduction in the price of their produce to lessen the cost of production, the masters everywhere lowered the wages of their workmen, and this immediately gave rise

* PRICE OF WHEAT, COTTON, IRON, &c., FROM 1827 TO 1829.

Year.	Wheat per Winchester Quarter.		Cotton per lb.	Iron per ton.	Silk per lb.	Sugar per cwt.	Wool per lb.
	Oct.	Dec.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.	Jan.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£ s.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1827	51 1	50 2	0 10½	8 0	23 8	45 0	3 6
1828	69 7	71 8	0 8½	7 10	23 6	49 0	3 6
1829	56 0	55 4	0 8½	6 10	21 8	49 0	3 0

The average price of wheat per imperial quarter for these years is given in Chap. xxi., Sec. 19, Note.

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 390, 401, 406, 410, 414, 420.

† ARTICLES IMPORTED FROM 1827 TO 1829.

Years.	Cotton.	Coffee.	Wool.	Raw Silk.	Silk Thread.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
1827	272,448,909	47,938,947	29,115,341	3,146,926	463,801
1828	227,760,642	41,069,731	30,236,059	4,256,423	503,818
1829	222,767,411	39,071,215	21,516,640	3,594,754	211,179

—TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 391.

‡ POOR-RATE IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Years.	£	Years.	£
1823,	5,772,958	1827,	6,441,083
1824,	5,736,898	1828,	6,298,000
1825,	5,786,989	1829,	6,332,410
1826,	5,928,501	1830,	6,829,042

—PORTER, 3d edition, 90.

to strikes and disturbances. A general strike took place at Macclesfield, and the delegates from Spitalfields openly recommended the destruction of looms by cutting out the silk. Ignorant of the real cause of their suffering, the whole vengeance of the workmen was directed against the engine-looms, the visible rival of their labour and the supposed source of their distress. The delegates assured them "the destroying angel was the best ally they had!" nor were they long of acting upon the advice. At Coventry, Nuneaton, and Bedworth, serious riots took place; and such was the terror produced by the violence of the workmen, that the masters generally gave in for a time to their demands. They soon found it impossible, however, at existing prices, to go on with such wages, and a reduction again took place. Upon this riots once more ensued; and they were particularly violent at Barnsley in Yorkshire, where the combined workmen attacked the dwelling-houses of the obnoxious manufacturers, and deliberately piled their furniture in great heaps, to which they set fire. The workmen who had taken in work at the reduced prices were next assailed; and such was the alarm produced by this "reign of terror," as it was called, that they were compelled to return the materials they had received from their masters, and join the strike. Nor were the disorders terminated but by the introduction of a large body of military.

18. Ireland, being a purely agricultural country, in which it was impossible by the introduction of machinery to counterbalance the reduction in the price of produce—and the people being already at the starving point—shared to a still greater degree in these causes of suffering, and the agitators were not slow in turning it to the best account. It soon appeared that emancipation had done nothing to conciliate the Catholics or heal the divisions of the country; it had only given the leaders a vantage-ground from whence to make fresh attacks on the constitution, and the people an example of the success which might be attained by well-or-

ganised agitation. Mr O'Connell had often declared, before the Relief Bill passed, that "Catholic emancipation would convert the great agitator into a mere *nisi prius* lawyer;" but when it was obtained, instead of keeping his word he immediately commenced, with augmented influence, a fresh agitation for the repeal of the Union. In this crusade he constantly referred to the carrying of the Relief Bill, not as a reason for pacification or a motive to gratitude, but as an incentive to renewed efforts and still more vital changes. "We have now," said he, at Youghal, "a brighter era opened to us, and I trust that all classes of my countrymen will unite together, and, by forming one firm general phalanx, achieve what is still wanting to make Ireland what it ought to be. Ireland had her 1782—she shall have another 1782. Let no man tell me it is useless to look for a repeal of the odious Union, that blot upon our national character. It is for the repeal of that measure that we must now use all the constitutional means in our power. That Union engenders absenteeism and all the thousand evils which naturally flow in its train. I want no disseveration; but I want, and must have, a repeal of that cursed measure which deprived Ireland of her senate, and thereby rendered her a dependant upon British aristocracy, British intrigue, and British interests. I pity the man who pronounces the attainment of such a consummation to be Utopian. Look at the Catholic question; do I not remember when it was difficult to obtain a meeting of five Catholics to look for a restoration of our then withheld rights? I recollect when we agitators were almost as much execrated by our fellow-slaves as we were by our oppressors. The contentions of religion are over, freedom has been obtained, but the people shall no longer be misrepresented; what has been done in one country shall be done in another; and all the Orangemen of the north, the Methodists of the south, shall join in one common cause, the restoration of Ireland's parliament. The new 'Society 1782' shall be formed, nor cease to spread its influence

over Ireland till her parliament be restored, her sons be of one creed, all joined in the common cause of seeing old Ireland great and glorious among the nations of Europe."

19. The Catholics were not slow in acting upon these recommendations, nor were the Protestants less eager in meeting the shouts of triumph by the notes of defiance. Then was seen how deadly was the animosity of the two creeds, and how vain the hope that a measure of equal justice could reconcile two great parties, each of which was vehemently contending for the mastery. Conflicts more serious, exasperation more violent, bloodshed more deplorable ensued than had been known, save in the rebellion of 1798, in the whole recent annals of Ireland. The 12th July, the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, and well-known season of Orange glorification, was the signal for general disturbance. "The country," says the annalist, "was armed for civil war; its condition was much more alarming than it had been when it was to be cured by the Relief Bill. Emancipation might be Ireland's ark, but it was sent abroad to float over noisy and troubled waters." In the county of Clare the two parties met, one side armed with muskets and bayonets, the other with scythes and pitchforks; one man was killed, and seven or eight wounded on each side. In Armagh a contest ensued in which ten men were slain; the county of Fermanagh assumed the aspect of open war. Eight hundred Catholics, armed with the usual rustic weapons, attacked the Protestants, four of whom were killed and seven wounded. Catholics to the number of some thousands formed an encampment on Benauglen mountain, to which reinforcements speedily poured in from the adjoining counties of Leitrim, Cavan, and Monaghan, in which the presence of a large body of military alone prevented civil war from openly breaking out. At Tipperary the disturbances came to such a pass, that at a numerous meeting of the magistracy, held in the middle of September, it was unanimously resolved to memorialise the Government to renew the Insurrec-

tion Act, to pass an Arms Act, rendering the possession of them a transportable offence, and to multiply the number of military posts through the country, as the only means of averting open rebellion.

20. It was amidst these scenes of distress and disorder that Parliament met in the beginning of February, and the speech from the throne bore testimony to the general suffering which prevailed. His Majesty stated "that the exports in the last year of British produce and manufactures had exceeded that of any former year. He laments that, notwithstanding this indication of an active commerce, distress should prevail among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom. It would be most gratifying to the paternal feelings of his Majesty to be enabled to propose for your consideration measures calculated to remove the difficulties of any portion of his subjects, and at the same time compatible with the general interests of his people. Though the national income in the last year has not attained the full amount at which it had been estimated, the diminution is not such as to cause any doubt as to the future prosperity of the revenue. The estimates have been framed with the utmost regard to economy, and his Majesty hopes to be able to make a considerable reduction in the amount of the public expenditure, without impairing the efficiency of our naval and military establishments." These words are very remarkable, for they at once indicate the cause of past suffering, and the necessities which were to prescribe future policy. An augmentation beyond all former precedent of exports was attended with financial embarrassment and general distress, which compelled the most rigid economy! Inconsistent as these things may appear, they are not so in reality, and subsequent experience has proved that they are often cause and effect. Pecuniary embarrassment, arising from a general fall of prices, often leads *for a time* to an increase of production, in the hope of compensating by quantity what has become wanting in price; and a great

augmentation of the amount of produce arises from the very difficulties of those engaged in the work of production.

21. The debate which ensued on the Address was still more characteristic of the state of the country, and the lamentable consequences of the contraction of the currency, and consequent prostration of industry, which was destined ere long to produce such great and lasting effects on its future destinies. No one attempted to deny the existence of great and severe distress; the only question was, whether it was partial or universal. Earl Stanhope, who moved the amendment in the House of Lords, maintained the latter. "The speech from the throne," said he, "spoke of distress in some parts of the country; but what part of the country was it in which Ministers had not found distress prevailing, and that, too, general, not partial? The kingdom is in a state of universal distress—one likely to be unequalled in its duration, as it is intolerable in its pressure, unless Parliament thinks fit to inquire for a remedy. It is not confined to agriculture, it has extended to manufactures, to trade, and to commerce. All these great interests had never before, at one time, been at so low an ebb, nor in a condition which demanded more loudly the prompt and energetic interference of Parliament. The speech ascribed the distress which was so universal to a bad harvest; but did a bad harvest make corn cheap? and yet it is the excessive reduction of prices which is now felt as so great an evil, especially by the agricultural classes. The evil is so notorious that nobody but the King's Ministers doubts its existence; and how can even they feebly pretend to deny its existence? And how could even they pretend to deny it, if they cast their eyes around, and saw the counties spontaneously pouring on them every kind of solicitation for relief, while in towns Mr Alderman Waitlman has attested that stocks of every kind have sunk in value 40 per cent?"

22. "There can be no doubt to what this universal distress is owing; it is to be ascribed to the erroneous basis on which our currency has been placed

since 1819. Prices have not fallen in agricultural produce only; the depression has been *continuous and universal ever since the Bank Restriction Act passed, and especially since the suppression of small notes took effect in the beginning of last year.* We are gravely told that the depression of butter and cheese is owing to the wetness of the last season and the superabundance of grass. Did anybody ever hear of an unfavourable season lowering the price at once of wheat and cattle, of oats and wool? Yet all these things have sunk in value together; and in manufactures and traders' stocks the fall has been so great, that in the last ten years it has amounted to 68 per cent. Such a universal and continued depression can be ascribed only to some cause pressing alike upon *all* branches of industry, and that cause is to be found in the enormous contraction of the currency which has taken place. When we recollect that the Bank of England notes in circulation have been reduced from £30,000,000 to £20,000,000, and the country bankers' in a still greater proportion, it is easy to see whence the evil has arisen, and where a remedy is to be found."

23. "Bad seasons," said the Duke of Wellington in reply, "are not set down as the only cause of distress; but as there has been undoubtedly one bad harvest, and another got in at an unusual expense, they are circumstances to be taken into consideration. Competition at home and abroad is the cause of distress among the manufacturers, and can Parliament prevent that? Can it prohibit the use of machinery and the use of steam, which, by throwing labourers out of employment, produce distress? The suffering is not universal; there are parts of the country which are entirely free from it. The exports of last year were greater than any former one, and there is not a canal or railway in the country which does not present an increase of traffic. Profits are small; but they must exist, otherwise business would not be carried on. Is there any distress among the retail dealers in towns, who form a large class? Were those

distressed persons who could pay the rents of the shops, which were everywhere enlarged or improved, or of the elegant streets and villas which were springing up around the metropolis and all our great towns? Pressure upon the country there undoubtedly is, but not so great as to prevent it from rising, though slowly. It is not falling, it is improving.

24. "There is no foundation for the assertion so confidently made, that the currency has been contracted, and that that is the cause of the suffering which exists. So far from it, the circulation now is larger than it was when the bank restriction existed.* The truth is, it is not extended circulation, but unlimited circulation, which is desired; in other words, it is wished to give certain individuals, not the Crown, the power of coining in the shape of paper, and of producing a fictitious capital. Recollect how narrowly the country escaped the effects of this ruinous system in 1825 and 1826. Capital is always forthcoming when it is wanted. Any scheme, if only a little plausible, is sure to find capital for the purpose of carrying it on. There was no government, however bankrupt, that could not borrow money here; and there was no man in the country, who had anything like security to offer, but could get money whenever he wanted it."

25. The division which took place on this debate in the Commons was very significant, and ominous of future and impending change both in the

* The Duke's statement on this point was as follows:—

Highest during the War.—England.

Bank of England Notes, . . .	£30,000,000
Country Banks, . . .	23,000,000
Gold, . . .	4,000,000
Silver, . . .	7,000,000
Total, . . .	£64,000,000

Circulation in 1830.

Bank of England Notes, . . .	£19,900,000
Country Bank-notes, . . .	9,200,000
Gold, . . .	28,000,000
Silver, . . .	8,000,000
Total, . . .	£65,100,000

—*Parl. Deb.*, vol. xxli. p. 39.

Government and the constitution. The majority for Ministers was only 53; the numbers being 158 to 105. But close as this division was, it became doubly important from the manner in which the leading members of the House now arranged themselves. The ultra-Tories—Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr Bankes, General Gascoigne, Mr Sadler—were to be found in the minority, alongside of Sir Francis Burdett, Lord John Russell, Mr Brougham, Mr Hume, and Lord Althorpe, the chiefs of the Whigs and Radicals; and Lord Palmerston, Mr Charles Grant, Sir Stratford Canning, Mr Huskisson, and Sir George Warrender, the remnants of the Canning party. No such strange and disjointed amalgamation of parties had been witnessed since the famous coalition in 1784, which preceded the fall of the Whigs and long ascendancy of the Tories. It was evident that the old Tory party, so long firm and united, had been completely broken up by the heartburnings and irritation consequent on Catholic emancipation, and that the general distress had given the various classes of malcontents a common ground on which they could unite, without abandoning or compromising any of their peculiar and declared principles. The habit of supporting Government and ministerial influence might give the Cabinet a majority over such a coalition for a time, but it could be for a time only; and on the first serious reverse or occurrence of any external cause of excitement, it would infallibly be shipwrecked.

26. In truth, the Duke of Wellington's position as Prime Minister, so far from being an enviable one, was among the most critical and painful that could be imagined. He had climbed to the pinnacle of power, but he had there found its loneliness, and experienced its ingratitude. Like Mr Burke, after his secession from the Whigs in 1793, he might have said, "There is a severance which cannot be healed; I have lost my old friends, and am too old to make new ones." He had no party in the House of Commons, no real col-

leagues in the Cabinet. He was a commander-in-chief there, surrounded by his generals of division, but not a Premier aided by the counsels of his followers. He felt the solitude of his situation, and was aware of the necessity of conciliating some of the Whig magnates. Accordingly, on the death of the Chief Baron of Scotland, he appointed Mr Abercromby, an English lawyer and commissioner for the Duke of Devonshire, to that office, instead of the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Sir W. Rae, whose position entitled him to expect, and whose long and able services in that situation gave him a right to claim it. Encouraged by this step, which seemed to indicate an intention on the part of the Premier to follow the example of Mr Canning, and form a coalition Cabinet, the Whigs in the early part of the session abstained from any direct attacks upon Ministers, and even on some occasions gave them their support. They were loud in praise of both the Duke and Mr Peel for their conduct on the Catholic question, describing it as "a more glorious triumph than any which had been won on the fields of Spain." But their expectations were not realised; the Cabinet doors were not opened; and their leaders, smarting under the bitterness of disappointed hopes, gave vent to their feelings in the most acrimonious expressions, and prepared for a course of the most uncompromising hostility.*

* "When I find," said Sir F. Burdett, "the Prime Minister of England so shamefully insensible to suffering and distress, which are painfully apparent throughout the land; when, instead of meeting such an overwhelming pressure of necessity with some measure of relief, or some attempt at relief, he seeks to stifle every important inquiry; when he calls that a partial and temporary evil which is both long-lived and universal, I cannot look on such a mournful crisis, in which public misfortune is insulted by ministerial apathy, without hailing any prospect of change in the system which has produced it. What shall we say to the ignorance which can attribute our distresses to the introduction of machinery and the application of steam, that noble improvement in the inventions of man, to which men of science and intelligence mainly ascribe our prosperity? I feel a high and unfeigned respect for that illustrious person's abilities in the field; but

27. The Duke of Wellington's speech on the distresses of the country met the question boldly and openly, in his usual straightforward way; but nothing can be more evident than that it involved a glaring fallacy. He said that the currency, including gold and silver, was as large as it had been at the highest period during the war; and that was undoubtedly true, if it could all have been kept at home, and the country had remained stationary. But he forgot that, since its termination, the nation had advanced a fourth in numbers, and a half in industry and commerce, and that, to render the currency commensurate to its necessities, it should not have remained the same, but advanced in a similar proportion.* Probably the Duke would have given a sharp answer to his Commissary-General, in 1813, if he had proposed the same amount of rations for his army, then 75,000 strong, which had sufficed for it in the preceding year, when it was 45,000 only. He forgot that, though the currency, upon the whole, might be the same as during the war, yet the proportion of it which consisted in paper had sunk from £53,000,000 to £28,000,000; and that it is a very different thing, as every person engaged in industry knows, to obtain advances from bankers when made in their own notes, which

I cannot help thinking that he did himself no less than justice when he said, a few months before he accepted office, that he should be a fit inmate for an asylum of a peculiar nature, if he ever were induced to take such a burden on his shoulders. In fact, both myself and very many honourable members about me, have long treated this illustrious individual with much tenderness, because we felt he has conferred the greatest benefits upon his country. He is the only man who could have accomplished what he has done, and be his praise in proportion. But let it at the same time be remembered, that, if his service was great, his recompense has been commensurate. We have repaid him abundantly in returns of confidence and approbation. The time, however, is come when it will be necessary to do much more."—*Mirror of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 67.

Years.	Exports. Official Value.	Population. United Kingdom.
* 1814, .	£34,207,253 .	18,564,000
1829, .	56,213,041 .	23,784,919

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, pp. 8, 11, 3d edition.

may be with safety four times their solid capital, and when made in sovereigns or Bank of England notes, when they can only be measured by that solid capital itself. He referred to the striking increase of houses and evident marks of riches in great cities, which was undoubtedly true, seemingly not aware that that was a proof of the existence and universality of the very evil complained of, which was that, from the change in the value of money, the realised wealth in the towns had increased 50 per cent, and the remuneration of industry in the country decreased in a similar proportion; and that it only confirmed the common adage, that the rich were every day becoming richer, and the poor poorer. Above all, he took it for granted, in the statement which he made as to the amount of gold currency in circulation (£28,000,000), that the whole gold which had been coined since 1819 was *still at home*, and not liable to be drawn away by a demand for specie abroad—forgetting how large a proportion of it *had been* withdrawn in the immense loans to foreign countries contracted since that period, and remitted to South America for mining speculations, undertaken by English capitalists in that quarter—and overlooking the certainty of the continuance and increase of the drain upon the metallic resources of this country, owing to the supply of the precious metals for the general use of the globe having, from the effects of the revolution in South America, sunk to a fourth of its former amount.

28. Aware of the universal cry for relief from distress which pervaded the country, the Opposition, when they felt themselves at liberty to resume active operations upon the disappointment of their hopes of being admitted into the Cabinet, bent all their energies to force the most extensive reductions of expenditure upon the Government. They did not venture in a body openly to face the question of the contraction of the currency, fearful of exciting the jealousy of the capitalists by whom that great change had been introduced, and whose fortunes had

been so largely augmented by it, or perhaps ignorant of its vital importance on the matter of general distress which occupied universal attention. But all sections of the Opposition united on the common ground of demanding a reduction of the national expenditure, which was, in truth, a necessary consequence of the great diminution in the nation's resources. Sir James Graham, on the 12th February, moved for a reduction of the salaries of all persons holding offices under Government, in proportion to the enhanced value of money produced by the Bank Restriction Act. "The operation of that Act," he said, "had been twofold: it added to the weight of all fixed payments, while it lowered wages and the price of provisions. Hence the miserable state to which the people of this country were now reduced, and the necessity of rigid, unsparing economy—inviolable, inflexible justice; and in that system of economy, one great source of retrenchment must be the reduction of the salaries of those who had their hands in the public purse. Justice requires, necessity demands it. High prices, and nothing else, produced by a depreciated currency, had brought them high salaries; low prices, by curing that depreciation, must bring them low salaries." So strong was the feeling of the House on this question that the Ministers did not venture to oppose it openly, but evaded it by an amendment, which was unanimously agreed to, for a petition to his Majesty to cause "an inquiry to be made into all the departments of the civil government, with a view of reducing the number of persons employed in the various services, and the amount of the salaries paid."*

* On this occasion Sir James Graham made the following remarks, which, however true at the time, were perhaps more to be admired for their oratorical power than their statesmanlike wisdom: "Sir, I have heard something of the luxury of the present times. I do not know whether the example was drawn from the gorgeous palaces of kings, or the rival palaces of ministers, splendidly provided for them by the public, or from the banquets of some East India Director, gorged with the monopoly of the China trade, or from

29. Following in the same path thus successfully entered upon, Mr Hume, a few days after, proposed a great and sweeping reduction of the army and navy, the former of which he recommended to be lessened by 20,000 men, and the latter by a sum of £1,500,000, and other savings, by which he estimated that a diminution in expenditure to the extent of no less than £8,000,000 might be effected. This great change was based upon the estimates of 1792, and on the alleged pacification of Ireland, now that the Catholics had obtained emancipation; forgetting that the empire had nearly doubled in numbers, and more than doubled in colonial dependencies and necessity for defence since that period, and that, so far from Ireland having been pacified by the Relief Bill, it was now in a more disturbed state, and more required the presence of a large military force, than ever. In this instance, accordingly, the Opposition were unsuccessful. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the forthcoming estimates had been prepared with the greatest attention to economy, and would be found to make as great reductions as were consistent with the public safety. The

some Jew contractor, who supplies hostile armies with gold drawn from the coffers of the Bank of England, and lends money to France arising out of profits or loans contracted here in depreciated paper, but which must be paid in gold;—but I must take leave to remark that we ought not to draw our notions of the state of the country from scenes such as these.

*'Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
The rich man's joys increase, the poor decay,
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land.'*

"Where, I ask, are all the boasted advantages of this once happy country? where are all the blessings which once distinguished her? where are all the comforts which her children enjoyed for ages? Alas! with deep regret I witness that all, all are gone. Pinching hunger and gloomy despair now usurp their station. The weavers throughout the country are only earning 4s. 2d. a-week, and their food is oatmeal, water, and potatoes. They work fourteen or sixteen hours a-day, and yet they can only earn this scanty pittance to support their wives and families. It is an extraordinary fact, that by dint of labour the power-looms (which were supposed to have caused their distress) are absolutely underwrought by these almost starving people."

—*Mirror of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 171.

Whig leaders stood aloof, fearful of tying up their own hands when they succeeded to office, as there was every prospect of their soon doing; and Lord Palmerston and the Canning party objected to any considerable reduction in the forces in the colonies, with the necessities of which they were well acquainted. The Radical party, therefore, were on this occasion reduced to their real strength, and the motion was lost by a majority of 110; the numbers being 167 to 57.

30. Still the Opposition were not discouraged; the clamour for a reduction of expenditure in proportion to the diminution in the income of all the working classes in the nation was so violent, that, prudent or imprudent, willing or unwilling, they were obliged, in some particulars, to yield obedience to it. On 25th March, Mr Poulett Thomson brought forward a motion for the appointment of a committee for a general revision of the system of taxation, resting the demand on the great reduction which might be effected in the cost of collecting the revenue by a change of system, and the absolute necessity of having recourse to it immediately, from the general distress which prevailed, and the consequent diminution in the national income which was going forward. Mr Peel resisted the motion, not on general grounds, as to which he was quite in accordance with the mover, but on the special plea that the appointment of a committee charged with so momentous a duty as that of reporting on the whole system of taxation, was a virtual delegation of the most important duties of Government and the House to a fraction of its members. These views prevailed, and the motion was lost by a majority of 167 to 78.

31. It soon appeared, however, that the coalition against Ministers had lost nothing of its power, and that nothing was wanting to render it victorious but an opportunity on which the various parties which composed it might unite without compromising their prospects when they succeeded to office. Such an opportunity soon occurred. On the very next day, in a

committee of supply on the navy estimates, Ministers were thrown into a minority on a purely party question, regarding Mr R. Dundas and Mr W. L. Bathurst, two junior commissioners of the navy, whose united salary was only £900 a-year, who were struck off by a majority of 139 to 121. Encouraged by this success, Sir James Graham moved, a few days after, that the salary of the Treasurer of the Navy should be abolished, and the duties of the office transferred to the President of the Board of Trade, with which it had at one time been united. This motion, however, was rejected by 188 to 90, and the same fate attended several other motions for the reduction of particular offices made by the same indefatigable member. These repeated divisions on particular offices were indicative of the state of feeling of the leaders of the Whig party, who, chagrined at not being admitted to a participation in the Government by the Duke of Wellington, took this mode of at once showing their displeasure and swelling the cry for economical reduction, by evincing the reluctance of Ministers to yield obedience to it.

32. These were mere party moves, intended to displace a Ministry without embarrassing their successors, and convert the suffering of the moment into the means of political advancement. But there were not wanting those who took a nobler as well as a juster view of the general distress, and boldly pointed out its cause in the policy regarding monetary matters—so profitable to realised capital, so ruinous to laborious industry—which had for ten years been pursued by the Government. The subject was brought before the House of Commons by the two men in the kingdom most competent to master it, Mr Attwood and Mr Baring, who moved that a gold and silver standard should be substituted for the gold one, and that the Act for prohibiting the issue of bank-notes below £5 in England and Ireland should be repealed. Nothing could be more convincing than the arguments and facts by which these very eminent men supported the mo-

tion, or more sophistical than those by which it was resisted; but it was all in vain. The House was resolved not to be convinced: the interests of realised wealth had become so powerful in the Legislature that those of industry were overpowered; and the debate—the last which took place on the subject before the irrevocable change the existing system had brought about was introduced—remains a memorable and instructive monument for all future times of the manner in which the plainest truths can be disregarded when they run adverse to the interests of a powerful section of society, and a course of policy can be persisted in fraught with consequences which those who originated it are to be the first to regret.*

* On the one hand, it was maintained by Mr Attwood and Mr Baring: "It was in the power of the Legislature to inflict upon the country such a metallic currency, and in such circumstances as they chose, but it was not in their power to control the effects of such a change. Introduced in 1819, rendered more stringent in 1826 and 1829, it has altered the nature of all contracts, and, for the great profit of capitalists and fundholders, spread ruin through the industrious classes in the country. During former periods there had been, it is true, many instances of some local or temporary distress, but they had been passing only, and the general career of national prosperity had been upon the whole uninterrupted. But when the Act of the Legislature forced us back to a metallic currency, distress, universal in its extent, and deplorable in its effects, followed upon the change; and such distress had regularly occurred whenever we approached even the ruinous measure of setting up an exclusive gold currency. In 1816 the first effort was made to return to the gold currency; but the difficulty was to find the gold, for it had been taken to the Continent during the war, where it had at one time been purchased for £5, 12s. an ounce. In 1819 an Act of Parliament was passed, by which the Bank of England was obliged to retire its notes in gold, valued at £3, 17s. 10½d. an ounce. We could not, however, get back the gold without altering and raising the value of the paper money which we gave in exchange for it, which was done by a great and rapid contraction of the currency. The consequence was, that general ruin and unheard-of suffering were experienced by the productive and manufacturing classes throughout the empire, while the capitalists were proportionally enriched.

"We then, in some degree, retraced our steps. We expanded the currency, and postponed the threatened resumption of cash payments, and the prosperity of 1818 was the consequence. It did not, however, long con-

33. But although Ministers persisted in shutting their eyes to the real cause of the distress, which was producing such a ferment throughout the country, they were fully aware of its existence and vehemence, and were determined to meet it in the only way which was possible, while upholding the monetary system, which was by the most rigid and unsparing economy. Never before had the pruning-hook been applied with so fearlessly and unsparing a hand to every branch of the public expenditure; and, in truth, so many and powerful were the interests bent upon upholding it, that nothing but the personal weight and determination of the Duke of Wellington could have carried through the reductions. The income realised in the preceding year had fallen £560,000 short of what had been anticipated by the Chancellor of the

Exchequer in bringing forward the budget of the year before; but, nothing deterred by that circumstance, the Duke set about a series of reductions in every department of the public service, which enabled him not only to face it, but to present to the House a surplus of no less than £3,400,000 available to the reduction of taxation, still leaving an excess of income over expenditure of £2,667,000 applicable to the reduction of debt.

34. The taxes remitted in consequence of these great reductions were very considerable, insomuch that even the Whig Opposition admitted that this year of general distress and diminished national income was distinguished by a greater reduction of taxation than had taken place in any year since the peace. The taxes selected for remission were the beer-duty, estimated at

tinne; for the measures adopted in 1819 for changing the standard again brought distress and ruin on the country. Why was the prosperity of the year 1818 less durable than that which preceded it? Simply because the Act of 1819 fell upon it and dispersed it.

"The intense suffering of 1820, 1821, and 1822 at length forced a measure of relief upon the Government, which was effected by the prolongation, in the last of these years, for ten years longer, of the right to issue notes below £5, then on the point of expiring in terms of the Act of 1819. What was the consequence? Prosperity again returned, like the sun emerging from behind the clouds, and shedding the light of his radiance and the warmth of his beams on a grateful earth. The prosperity of 1823, 1824, and 1825 was without precedent in this country; but it was as short-lived as it was brilliant. Why was this? Simply because the Act of 1819 was long-lived, and curtailed its existence. That the Act of 1819 had produced these effects, must become evident to any person who looks closely at the history of the country since its date. Four months before that Act passed, the Prince Regent, in a speech from the throne, declared the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country to be in a most flourishing condition; and, in fact, in the course of that year the revenue of the country increased £4,700,000. Within six months after the passing of the Act of 1819 he was obliged to call Parliament unexpectedly together in consequence of the disaffection generated by distress in the manufacturing districts. It was relieved, but how? Solely by departing from the principle of a metallic currency, and issuing £4,000,000 by the Bank in the shape of loans to the distressed manufacturers. When the banks, by the Act of 1822, were allowed to continue small notes in their issues, prosperity returned, insomuch that, on

opening the session of 1825, the King told the Parliament the country had never been so prosperous. At the close of that year, the country was in a woeful state of distress, occasioned by the contraction of the currency by £3,500,000 between March and December, in consequence of the drain of gold which had set in from South America, and the crisis was only surmounted by the sudden issue of £6,000,000 additional notes in the last of these months. In a word, whenever the currency is plentiful, we are in a state of prosperity and contentment; the moment it is restricted, we fall into a state of misery, and are on the verge of revolution."

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr Harris and Mr Huskisson: "That the project of having a double standard would land the country in utter confusion. The plan proposed was to have the relative value of gold and silver fixed as it was in 1798, whereas it was well known that the relative value was different from what it had been at that period. That difference was now 5 per cent. Every debtor therefore, if the double standard were adopted, would hasten to pay it in the silver standard, and so the creditor would lose 5 per cent on his debt. Would not the whole country present a scene of confusion and ruin if the House of Commons were to enact that every man who did not instantly recover payment of his debt would lose 5 per cent upon it? Silver never was, in practice, the standard of the country. In practice, independent of the law, silver had never been in a state to be used as a legal tender. Latterly the law had enacted that it should not be a legal standard beyond £25. By weight, indeed, it was a legal tender to any amount, but practically it had become so depreciated that there was no such thing as a standard by weight." Mr Attwood's resolutions were negatived without a division.

£3,000,000; that on leather, £350,000; and that on cider, £25,000: in all, £3,400,000—to commence on the 10th of next October. To meet these great reductions, the duty on English spirits was raised from 7s. to 8s. a gallon, and on Scotch and Irish from 2s. 10d. to 3s., which would yield an increase of £330,000 a-year; and a more efficient resource was provided in the reduction of the interest of the 4 per cents to 3½, which it was calculated would afford a relief to the extent of £750,000. Looking to the probable increase of the revenue in other departments, by the effect of the reductions proposed in this year, it was calculated that the probable amount of the real surplus applicable to the reduction of debt would be £2,400,000 a-year.

35. This budget, as is always the case *in the outset* with one which proposes a great reduction of taxation, was extremely popular, and won for Ministers, for a brief season, golden opinions from all classes of men. Even the most decided of the Liberals gave the Duke credit for unsparing economy, and confessed “that this session had given the most important financial relief to the nation of any since the peace; and the acknowledgment of this by the Liberal members was full and gracious.” Yet did the reductions, from which so much was expected, entirely fail to give any sensible relief to the nation, or alleviate, in any degree, the general distress which prevailed in consequence of the ruinous fall of prices. On the contrary, in the face of the reduction in expenditure and taxation, which had elicited such unbounded applause from the Liberal leaders and press, the distress went on accumulating, until in this very year it induced a change in the Ministry, and in less than two years an entire revolution in the constitution!—a striking proof of the fallacy of the remedial measures, on which alone the Opposition at that period were so strongly set. It is not surprising it was so, for the proposed reductions only relieved the nation to the extent of three or four millions; whereas the monetary laws, by cutting at least 50 per cent from the remuneration of all

branches of industry, commercial and agricultural, had reduced the incomes of the industrious classes to the extent of a hundred and fifty millions yearly.

36. These reductions, however, such as they were, revealed the perilous nature of the descent on which the nation had embarked, and the evident approaching ABANDONMENT OF THE SINKING FUND, so long and justly regarded as the palladium of the nation, its sheet-anchor alike in prosperous and adverse fortune. This melancholy topic did not escape the notice of Mr Baring, who, amidst the chorus of Liberal flattery and approbation at the proposed reductions, had the courage to express the following just and manly sentiments: “Mr Pitt, at the time when he proposed the Sinking Fund in 1786, said, ‘To you do the public turn their eye, justly expecting that, from the trust you hold, you will make the most strenuous efforts in order to afford them the long-wished-for prospect of being relieved from an endless accumulation of taxes, under the burden of which they are ready to sink. Upon the debate of this day do they place all their hopes of a full return of prosperity and security, which will give confidence and vigour to those exertions in trade and commerce upon which the flourishing state of this country so much depends. To behold the country emerging from a most unfortunate war, which added such an accumulation to sums before immense, that it was the belief of the surrounding nations, and of many among ourselves, that our powers must fail us, and that we should sink under our difficulties; to behold this nation, instead of despairing at its alarming condition, looking its situation boldly in the face, and establishing, upon a permanent plan, the means of relieving itself from all its encumbrances, must give such an idea of our resources, and of our spirit of exertion, as will astonish the nations around us, and enable us to regain that pre-eminence to which, on many accounts, we were so justly entitled.’ These were the words of Mr Pitt, which were re-echoed by Mr Fox, who, struck with the necessity of giv-

ing increased stability to the principle of security on which the public creditor relied, stifled, on this occasion, the eager spirit of party which at that time animated the House of Commons, and so exhibited a contrast, he regretted to say, to the degeneracy in the present time, when, within and without that House, no repugnance is shown to a total departure from those just principles upon which Mr Pitt mainly relied to conquer our impending difficulties.

37. "The proposed reduction of taxation is £3,400,000. It is provided for by £2,667,000, being the existing surplus of income over expenditure, by £330,000 a-year from the increased duty on spirits, and £110,000 from stamps. The whole would amount to £3,070,000, leaving £330,000 a-year to be still provided for, *after applying to the reduction every farthing of the Sinking Fund*. We have lived to see the time when a minister appeared in the House, and, after frittering away, on one pretence or another, all the benefits which were hoped to be drawn from the Sinking Fund, finally proposed to sweep away altogether the income laid by for its maintenance! Means might and should have been found to support this fund; but if we are to adopt the doctrines expounded in the market-place—if we are not to look at the consequence of being compelled to go to war, but, on the contrary, to obey the recommendations, and chime in with the prejudices, and act according to the political wisdom to be heard at Penenden Heath, or in the market-place at Chelmsford, then the credit, the honour, the interest, and the power of this country must ultimately sink with the weakness which permitted the House to listen to such suggestions. Mr Pitt, when he established the Sinking Fund, had declared 'that no minister would ever have the confidence to come down to the House and propose the repeal of a measure the tendency of which was to relieve the people of their burdens; and that to suffer that fund, *at any time, or on any pretence*, to be diverted from its proper object, would be to

ruin, defeat, and overturn the whole plan. He hoped, therefore, that the House would hold itself solemnly pledged never to listen to any proposal for its repeal on any pretence whatever.' Yet after, during a long course of years, the Sinking Fund had been frittered away on various pretences, it is now proposed to abolish it entirely, and leave the debt for ever a crushing burden upon the nation, by appropriating the whole surplus, and more than the surplus, to the remission of taxation. Even if the modified Sinking Fund of £5,000,000 yearly, which Parliament so solemnly pledged itself, in 1819, to keep up inviolate, had been maintained, the House would now have had a surplus of above £7,000,000 to apply to the reduction of debt, and instead of entertaining a proposal for the reduction of interest on the Four per Cents, the whole of the debt at this moment might have been converted into terminable annuities, and its entire extinction insured at no distant period." These remarks made no sort of impression, and the ministerial budget, repealing taxes to such an extent as to extinguish the last remnant of the Sinking Fund, passed without a division, amidst a chorus of approbation from both sides of the House, and in particular the warmest applause from the Liberal Opposition.

38. We have now reached a turning-point in English history—that when the Sinking Fund was practically abandoned, and the nation voluntarily took the whole public debt as a permanent and irremovable burden on itself. That this has been the case is evident from this decisive fact, that the unredeemed debt was considerably less in this year than it was in 1852, before the Russian war broke out! * Two- and - twenty years of unbroken Continental peace has been attended with no other effect than adding eight

* Unredeemed debt in 1830,	£757,486,997
Ditto in 1852,	765,126,582

Added to funded debt in
twenty-two years, £7,639,595
—PORTER'S *Parliamentary Tables*, i. 6; and
Finance Tables, 1853.

millions to the national debt — although, during the fifteen preceding years, mutilated as the Sinking Fund had been by successive administrations, a very sensible reduction in this debt had been effected, for it had been diminished by seventy-five millions.* It is a melancholy reflection that twenty-three years of subsequent peace has brought only an increase of the debt, and that its redemption is now, by common consent, regarded as hopeless. It is the more so, when it is recollected that the Sinking Fund, at the close of the war, amounted to £15,000,000 annually; and that, if it had not been subsequently broken upon by successive administrations, it would have entirely extinguished the debt by the year 1845.

39. It is easy to see to what this great change, fraught with such vast and irreparable effects upon the future destinies and ultimate fate of the British empire, has been, in the first instance, owing. It arose from the repeal of so large a portion of the indirect taxes, which, according to Mr Pitt's policy, were to have been kept as a sacred resource, never to be trenched upon, so far as they were necessary to provide for the Sinking Fund. The direct taxes, universally felt as so oppressive, were never intended by him to be prolonged beyond the termination of the war. To such an extent has this system of abandoning the indirect taxes, the sole support of the Sinking Fund, been carried by suc-

* Unredeemed debt in 1815, £816,311,940
Ditto in 1830, . . . 757,486,997

Paid off in fifteen years—
funded debt, . . . £58,724,943

—PORTER'S *Parliamentary Tables*, i. 6.

Unfunded debt in 1815, . . £48,725,859
Ditto in 1830, . . . 32,079,483

Paid off in fifteen years—
unfunded debt, . . . £16,642,876

—*Ann. Reg.* 1816, 485, and 1830, 273. *App. to Chron.*

PAID OFF, IN FIFTEEN YEARS.

Funded debt, . . . £53,724,943
Unfunded, . . . 16,642,876

Total, . . . 75,367,819

cessive administrations, all bidding against each other in the race for popularity, that these repeals amounted, between 1815 and 1830, to £17,560,244,* clear indirect and assessed taxes remitted, after taking into view what had been imposed during the same period. It was impossible that so vast a reduction, coinciding with the additional remission of £15,000,000 direct property-tax during the same period, could take place without altogether extinguishing the Sinking Fund, which was based entirely upon those indirect taxes, and thereby inflicting a fatal and irrecoverable wound upon the whole financial system of the nation.

40. It is the more surprising that this great reduction of indirect taxes should have been carried through by every successive administration which succeeded to the helm of affairs, when it is recollected that the Government shared to the very full in the embarrassment so strongly felt in the country. There was no farmer, manufacturer, or weaver more embarrassed for money, in proportion to their resources, than the Treasury was during the greater part of this period. There must obviously have been some great cause constantly in operation from 1815

* INDIRECT AND ASSESSED TAXES REPEALED AND LAID ON, FROM 1816 TO 1830, BOTH INCLUSIVE, VIZ. :—

Years.	Taken off.	Laid on.
1816,	£2,915,888	£375,058
1817,	36,495	7,991
1818,	9,504	1,356
1819,	269,484	3,102,302
1820,	4,000	119,602
1821,	471,309	44,842
1822,	2,139,101	..
1823,	4,185,735	18,596
1824,	1,801,338	49,605
1825,	3,676,239	48,100
1826,	1,697,215	183,725
1827,	84,038	21,402
1828,	51,993	1,966
1829,	126,406	..
1830,	4,070,742	..
	£21,539,487	£3,979,243
	3,979,243	

Balance of indirect
and assessed taxes
remitted from 1815
to 1830, . . . £17,560,244

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 485-486, 3d edition.

to 1830, which prompted a course so much at variance with the present interests of Government, and fraught with such danger to the ultimate financial prospects of the country. Nor is it difficult to see what this cause was. The threatened resumption of cash payments by the Bank in 1816, the completed resumption in 1819, the suppression of small notes by the bill of 1826, did the whole. They created an overbearing necessity which nothing could withstand. Prices having been lowered above 50 per cent by these measures, and at least £150,000,000 annually cut off—save in 1818, 1824, and 1825, when the currency was expanded—from the remuneration of industry throughout the country, while debts and money obligations remained the same, it was impossible to maintain the former indirect taxes any more than the direct ones. Diminution of burdens became a state necessity to which everything, even the ultimate existence of the nation, required to yield. The taxes remitted, indeed, were little compared to the remuneration of industry cut off, but still they were something, and their remission at least removed the bitterest ingredient in the cup of misery—that of having its sufferings disregarded.

41. It soon appeared, however, that the destruction of the Sinking Fund was not to be the only effect produced by the contraction of the currency, and its being based entirely on gold, which by no possibility could be always retained. The sufferings of the industrial classes also made themselves known in a still more audible manner; and with the disappearance of small notes from the circulation in England, commenced the CRY FOR REFORM, which soon came to supersede all other cries, and produced such a ferment in the country as changed, first the administration, and then the constitution. The people, engaged in industrial pursuits, had come to be so universally involved in distress that they would bear it no longer. They had petitioned the Legislature for inquiry and relief, over and over again, during the last fifteen years, and these

petitions had uniformly been rejected. Cities equally with counties, manufacturers alike with farmers, shopkeepers with squires, had earnestly implored relief, and offered to substantiate their distresses by evidence; but their prayers had been disregarded. They were told that they were altogether mistaken, that they were eminently prosperous, and that the cutting off of £150,000,000 annually from the remuneration of productive industry in the state had occasioned no diminution in its ability to bear the existing and undiminished burdens. Capital, intrenched in the close boroughs, which it had acquired by purchase, was more than a match for the industrial classes, still, under the existing constitution of the House of Commons, in a minority; and, finding itself increased by a half by the existing system, derided the impotent efforts of labouring industry. Like the farmers-general of the revenue in France, who made colossal fortunes out of the labour of the people anterior to the Revolution, they said, "*Pourquoi tant de bruit? nous sommes si bien.*" Worse even than that, the influence of the capitalists had become such that they had succeeded not only in stifling the cry of distress, but in concealing from men its real cause, and, by their influence over the press, had withdrawn the public attention from the only change by which the general suffering could be alleviated.

42. These causes produced that general and blind cry for change, which ere long acquired such force as to be irresistible. The Whig leaders, who were the proprietors of a large part of the close boroughs, and by means of them had governed the country for eighty years after the Revolution, were in no hurry to forward their extinction; and although they were obliged, in order to keep up their credit with the people, to join, on some occasions, in the outcry against the corruptions of Parliament, yet in secret they were not less inclined than their opponents to uphold them. "In this," says the historian of their party, "there is nothing to be wondered at. All the great

families had almost entirely receded from the ranks of the reformers; and they looked with jealousy upon all who based their pretensions to popular favour upon views of parliamentary reform. In 1819, they made the most bitter invectives against the reformers; and when the Whigs, under Mr Canning, became themselves part of the Government, their wishes for reform appear to have entirely disappeared."* The Canning party, both before and after the death of its leader, was still more strongly, and on principle, opposed to any general reform.† But although these two great sections of the Liberal party, the Whigs and Canningites, were thus strongly opposed to the very last to any sweeping plan of

* "Mr Tierney declared that he never rose with more of the spirit of moderation, or with more a disposition to harmony, than he felt at that moment; and, in the first place, he must thank his noble friend (Lord John Russell) for the opportunity which he had afforded the House of *unanimously and decidedly* discountenancing the *wild and visionary doctrines of reform* which had lately agitated the country." Lord John Russell said, on July 1, 1819, "I agree in the propriety of disfranchising such boroughs as are notoriously corrupt, and I will give my consent to any measure that will limit the duration of Parliament to three years. I cannot, however, pledge myself to support a measure that goes the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry is calculated to *throw a slur upon the representation of the country*, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarm."—*Parl. Deb.* xli. p. 1106, and xli. p. 1440.

† "Now, what remains behind?" said Mr Huskisson in 1829—"parliamentary reform. I trust it will long remain behind. I hope we shall *always resist it firmly and strenuously*. I am sure, if we adopt the proposition of my honourable friend the member for Blitchingly [for giving the members for East Retford to Birmingham], the chance of our making a successful resistance to parliamentary reform will be increased; but if we adopt the proposition of the honourable member for Hertford [for giving the franchise to the Hundred], we shall see parliamentary reform, backed by a powerful auxiliary out of the House (I mean public opinion), made an annual and formidable subject of discussion."—*Mirror of Parliament*, 1829, p. 1450. "I feel no difficulty," said Lord Howick, in 1830, "in understanding the right honourable gentleman. He has made an admission for which I thank him. Individuals who think as the right honourable gentleman does, are willing to give up some of the outworks of corruption, in order that they may be better able to defend the stronghold."—*Ibid.*, 1830, p. 127.

parliamentary reform, yet the general and long-continued distress consequent on the contraction of the currency, from 1819 to 1830, obliged them at length to alter their tone, and, in order to preserve their lead with the people, give in to the general demand for an entire change in the representation.

43. The first symptoms of this feverish and unconquerable anxiety for change, appeared in a variety of motions on the subject of parliamentary reform, introduced during the session of 1830 by several detached members, without any apparent concert with each other, but which showed in an unmistakable manner how earnestly the subject was forced upon them by their constituents. Lord Howick, who, like his father Earl Grey, had, almost alone of the aristocratic members of the Whig party, been throughout a decided and consistent reformer, first brought forward a motion "for some general and comprehensive measure, the only means of checking the scandalous abuses which prevail," which was lost by a majority of only 27; the numbers being 126 to 99. On 18th February, the Marquess of Blandford, a leader of the High-Church party, which was so profoundly irritated at Mr Peel and the Duke of Wellington for their conduct on Catholic emancipation, made a motion for a vague and very sweeping measure of reform, conceived rather in anger than wisdom, which was negatived by a much larger majority—the numbers being 160 to 57. A much more formidable, because better conceived and reasonable, onslaught on the existing state of things, was made by Lord John Russell, who, on 29th February, brought forward a motion for leave to bring in a bill "to enable the towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to return representatives to Parliament." Nothing more reasonable could be conceived; for this proposal, laying aside all projects of sweeping reform, went only to provide a remedy in the most moderate way for a great and acknowledged defect, and lessened the danger of future innovation by detaching from

it the formidable alliance of present grievance. The motion, accordingly, was supported by the whole strength of the united Whig and Canning parties in addition to the Radical reformers; and the division showed only a majority of 48, the numbers being 188 to 140. The strength of the Reform party, evinced by this division, induced Mr O'Connell, on 28th May, to bring in a bill, limiting the duration of Parliament to three years, to make suffrage universal, and protect the voters by the ballot. Lord John Russell upon this moved an amendment to the effect, "that it is expedient to extend the basis of the representation of the people in this House, by giving members to large unrepresented towns, and to counties of greatest wealth and population." Mr O'Connell's motion was rejected by a majority of 309, the numbers being 319 to 13; and Lord John Russell's amendment by 96, the numbers being 213 to 117.

44. These different decisions sufficiently proved the progress which, in spite of the disinclination of the leaders of the Whigs and Canningites, the Reform question was, from the pressure from without, making in the House of Commons. But meanwhile a still more efficient ally to the cause was arising, and had already acquired considerable strength in the country. This was the **POLITICAL UNIONS**, which, in imitation of the Catholic Association, were formed in the principal unrepresented great towns in the empire, and which ere long acquired an influence that came to overbalance for the time that of both Houses of Parliament. They began in Birmingham, the city in the kingdom which had suffered most from the measures pursued by the Legislature, in consequence of the immense reduction in the price of hardware goods from the contraction of the currency. Their object was to collect funds, appoint committees, and organise corresponding societies, in order to raise a universal cry for parliamentary reform through the country; and to carry the question in spite of all the opposition which could be made by the holders of the close boroughs, by exag-

gerating the difficulties and distresses of the country, and representing reform in Parliament as the one and only panacea which would at once terminate all its sufferings. By steadily pursuing this object, and turning the whole ill-humour of the country arising out of the general distress into this one channel, they hoped to carry their point in spite of all the lukewarmness of the Whig, and the opposition of the whole Tory borough proprietors.

45. Such, however, was the strength of the great capitalists interested in the continuance of the existing order of things, monetary as well as political, that it is doubtful whether these hopes would have been realised, at least without the aid of open violence, or for a long period, had it not been for two events which occurred in rapid succession at this period, and totally disturbed the balance of parties and equilibrium of the national mind in Great Britain. The first of these was the death of the King, which took place on the 26th June, and rendered a dissolution of Parliament in the course of the autumn unavoidable; the second the French Revolution, and fall of Charles X. on July 28th, which caused the new elections to take place during a period when the public mind was excited to the very highest degree by the sight of the overturn of a throne by urban revolt in the neighbouring kingdom. The health of George IV., which had been long precarious, and much impaired by the anxieties and regrets consequent on Catholic emancipation, failed so rapidly in the spring of this year, that on 15th April a bulletin was issued, stating that his Majesty was labouring under a bilious disorder, which was soon ascertained to be in reality an ossification of the heart. So rapid was the progress of this frightful disease, that within six weeks afterwards it became necessary to bring a bill into Parliament, authorising the royal sign-manual to be adhibited by stamp. The malady ran its usual course, exhibiting alternately symptoms of alleviation and aggravation, and at length terminated fatally

on 26th June, in the sixty-eighth year of the Sovereign's age.

46. George IV., who thus paid the debt of nature at one of the most critical periods of English history, is a Sovereign who has been so variously represented by political men and writers of opposite parties, that it is scarcely possible to recognise the features of the same individual in the two sets of portraits. The personal friend and cordial ally of the Whig leaders early in life, and then surrounded by their flattery, he became the object of their envenomed and impassioned hatred, when, in maturer years, after he had succeeded to power, he failed to realise the promises made to, and expectations formed by them, at a former period. By the Tories he was regarded with distrust and suspicion, while he was the companion of Fox, Sheridan, Tierney, the Duchess of Devonshire, and all the constellation of Whig talent; by the Whigs he became the object of the bitterest of all feelings, disappointed hope, when, after he became Regent, he called Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Eldon to his councils. It is easy to see that both parties, at these different periods, regarded him with exaggerated feelings; and it is not impossible at this distance of time, when a new generation has succeeded, and different interests have arisen, to see where the truth lies between their conflicting statements.

47. His reign as Regent and as King will always be memorable in English history, for it commenced with the greatest military triumphs recorded in its annals, and it ended with the most important social and political changes which have occurred since the Great Rebellion. Neither the one nor the other, however, can in justice be ascribed to the Sovereign. He succeeded to the unrestricted duties and powers of royalty in June 1812, when Wellington was commencing the Salamanca campaign, and Napoleon was engaging in that of Moscow; and he reaped the harvest prepared by the perseverance and sacrifices of others. He gave a cordial support to his Min-

isters and the nation in bringing the contest to a triumphant close; but there his merit in that respect ended. He departed from life amidst the heartburnings and irritation consequent on Catholic emancipation, and on the eve of the great change which was to usher in reform; but he had neither merit nor demerit in these great events. He opposed the first as long and strongly as was consistent with his duties as a constitutional monarch, and beyond all question he would have done the same with the last, had his life been prolonged to the period when it came so violently to agitate the nation. His merits or demerits as a sovereign are irrespective, as is often the case with constitutional monarchs, of the great events of his reign.

48. He undoubtedly possessed talents of a very superior kind. They were thus portrayed by two men who knew him well, and whose testimony, independent of their honest character and eminent fame, is rendered the more trustworthy that it was drawn *after* the monarch was no more. "Posterity," said Sir Robert Peel, "will regard his late Majesty as a sovereign who, during war, maintained the honour and the glory of England, and who, during the whole period of his delegated trust, or of his reign as sovereign, never exercised, or wished to exercise, a prerogative of the Crown, except for the advantage of his people. I am not overstepping the bounds of sober truth when I state that his Majesty was an enlightened friend of liberty, that he was an admirable judge and liberal patron of the fine arts; and I can from my own personal experience assert, that his heart was ever open to any appeal which could be made to his benevolence, and to the saving of human life, or the mitigation of human suffering." "The manners of George IV.," said the Duke of Wellington, "had received a polish, his understanding acquired a degree of cultivation, almost unknown to any individual: on every occasion he displayed a degree of knowledge and of talent not often to be expected of a person

holding his high office." This is very high praise, and as such it has excited the indignation of the Liberal historians; but the concurring testimony of all who enjoyed the Sovereign's private society, or even met him on business, attest to its truth. His taste was refined in the highest degree; his ear for music exquisite; his manners won for him the reputation of being the "first gentleman in Europe," and several of his private holograph letters display a felicity of expression which the most experienced professional writer might envy.*

49. Unfortunately his character, like that of most men, was of a very mixed description, and the bad qualities were those of the heart rather than the head. He was as well informed, clear-sighted, and intelligent, as the Ministers in daily converse with him on business asserted; but he was also as selfish, capricious, and self-willed, as the women admitted to still closer intimacy too fatally experienced. Love is the touchstone not only of the warmth, but of the character of the heart; it does not alter the disposition, but only brings it out; it renders the brave more brave, the generous more generous; but not less certainly the selfish more selfish, the egotistical more egotistical. George IV. was wholly incapable of standing this searching test. Supposing his severance from Queen Caroline to admit of excuse, from what was afterwards proved of the frailties and indiscretions of that ill-starred princess, his conduct on other occasions when he chose for himself, and could not plead the Marriage Act in extenuation, was cold-hearted, perfidious, and deserving of the very highest reprobation. His early amours

with "Perdita" probably came to no other end than that which an accomplished courtesan expects and deserves; but the case was very different with a most superior and charming lady, Mrs Fitzherbert, of whose person he obtained possession by going through a fictitious and fraudulent marriage-ceremony, which he afterwards made Mr Fox deny in Parliament. That illustrious man never forgave the insult thus offered to his honour; and when he discovered the falsehood of the denial of which he had thus been made the unsuspecting instrument, he withdrew altogether from an intimacy followed by requisitions so degrading. Of truth, like other systematic voluptuaries, he was in a great degree regardless, at least when it interfered with his pleasures or his passions. Self-willed and capricious throughout, he became, as he advanced in life, faithful only to one desire, the common refuge of such characters—he was mainly governed by the love of ease; and to this object he sacrificed many objects which he even regarded as matters of conscience. He was strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation, and had serious compunctious visitings for having yielded to it; but he had not energy sufficient to face the struggle which would have ensued had he thrown himself on the country, and refused the royal assent; nor, in truth, could such refusal at that period have served any good purpose.

50. WILLIAM IV., who succeeded on the death of the reigning sovereign, was a prince of a different character from his predecessor. Like him, he has been the object of alternate eulogium and vituperation from the two great parties which divided the state. It was his lot to be called to the throne on the eve of the greatest political revolution which has ever occurred in its history, and he has in consequence shared the fate of all persons involved in similar convulsions—that of being praised by each party as long as he favoured its views, and condemned as soon as he proved himself adverse to it. He was warmly eulogised by Mr Brougham at the outset of his reign,

* "Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above any reward. I know no language in the world worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say but devoutly to offer up my prayer of gratitude to Providence that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England."—PRINCE REGENT to DUKE OF WELLINGTON, 3d July 1813; GURWOOD'S *Despatches*, x. 532.

and the "most popular King since the days of Alfred" was the object of incessant panegyric from the Liberal press as long as he went along with their measures.* Gradually, however, their eulogies ceased, and at length turned into bitter invective, when he was found endeavouring to oppose the bulwark of the Crown to the threatening surges of democracy. In truth, however, he was not the fit object either of praise or blame on either occasion. On both he was the almost passive instrument of the efforts of others. The national passions were so strongly roused, that had he possessed the eloquence of Mirabeau, the capacity of Cæsar, or the energy of Napoleon, he would have failed in any attempt either to direct or oppose them.

51. His abilities were respectable, but not remarkable—by no means equal to those of George IV., which were, so far as natural powers go, by much the first of his family. Bred up by his father to the profession of the navy, he had imbibed the kindly feelings and buoyancy of mind so common in that profession, and at the same time shared in the deficiency of general information which the habits of a nautical life are so apt to produce. His conduct on the throne at times appeared inconsistent and capricious, but that did not proceed from any perfidy or duplicity of character, but from the limited range of his intellectual vision, which precluded him from foreseeing in the outset consequences which presented themselves with fearful clearness to him in the end. Brave individually, he was not firm politically; and above all he had a secret vein of vanity which led him to court popular applause, irrespective of the ultimate consequences of the course applauded

—a weakness common to him with Necker, Peel, and several other men, who have left the impress of their actions most indelibly engraven on the annals of their country, but perhaps the most dangerous which persons in exalted situations can possess.

52. He had not the passion for meretricious variety which the Prince of Wales had indulged early in life, but he had formed one lasting *liaison* with a celebrated actress, Mrs Jordan, by whom he had a numerous family, since ennobled by the title of Earl of Munster. He was in the sixty-fifth year of his age when he ascended the throne, and had been married for several years to the Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, who became Queen of England. She was a model of every feminine virtue, and endowed with no small amount of masculine courage and resolution. She had borne him two princes, both of whom died in infancy, and there was no longer any hope of a direct succession to the crown—a subject of regret at the time, but which has long since been forgotten in the virtues and popularity of the illustrious Princess who upon his demise succeeded to the throne.

53. The usual expressions of condolence on the death of the late monarch, and congratulation on the accession of the new, by both Houses, did not long suspend the strife of parties in Parliament; on the contrary, it only became more keen and impassioned. For the death of the former king had removed the personal antipathies which had been one great cause of the long exclusion of the Whigs from power, and the known intimacies and facility of character of the new monarch opened to them a fair prospect of speedily regaining it. The first proceedings in Parliament, accordingly, were marked by a great tenderness of the Liberal leaders towards the reigning sovereign. They had long suffered from a rupture with the throne, and they were resolved not again to incur a similar difficulty. The Tories were retained in their places by William; but it was well understood that they held them on sufferance only, and that as soon

* "I hope," said Mr Brougham, "that elsewhere there is too much magnanimity, too much patriotism, too much manliness, too much strength of mind, to permit the illustrious Sovereign now upon the throne to shrink from looking in the face that ultimate termination of his earthly existence from which a recent event may show him that princes no more than their subjects are exempt."—*Mirror of Parl.*, 1830, p. 2616. These words were spoken of a living sovereign, and therefore more suspicious than Mr Peel's eulogy on a departed one.

as, by a coalition of parties, they were thrown into a minority in the House of Commons, the Sovereign would without reluctance call the leaders of Opposition to the helm.*

54. The first question on which the temper of the Liberals to the new Sovereign was evinced was regarding a passage in the Address, in which the Ministers recommended, in answer to a message from the Sovereign, that Parliament should sit till provision was made for carrying on the public service, and then be dissolved. Earl Grey in the Lords, and Lord Althorpe in the Commons, moved for a provision for a Regency, in the event of the demise of the Sovereign in the interval before the new Parliament assembled. The debate was chiefly remarkable for the lavish encomiums bestowed by the Whig chiefs, and especially Mr Brougham, on the new King; but the motion, which was entirely a party move, was unsuccessful in both Houses, being defeated in the Lords by a majority of 44, and in the Commons by one of 46. These numbers indicated an approximation to equality between the two parties for long unknown, and presaged a change in administration at no distant period.

55. Two questions occurring during this session of Parliament powerfully contributed to influence the public mind, and increase the unpopularity of Ministers, already prepared by so many concurring causes. The first of these was a debate on certain prosecutions of the press, especially the *Morning Journal*, which had been instituted by Sir James Scarlett, the Attorney-General, for libels against the Government. Instead of adopting the wise

course of disregarding such attacks altogether, and replying to them only by integrity and wisdom of administration, it was deemed necessary to proceed against them by *ex-officio* information—a mode of proceeding unpopular at all times, and especially when instituted by a functionary who had himself been one of the warmest supporters of the liberty of the press. Government, at a critical moment, was seriously damaged in public estimation by this injudicious proceeding. The second was a motion brought forward by Mr Brougham, towards the close of the session, on the subject of colonial slavery. His motion was, that “this House do resolve, at the earliest practicable period next session, to take into its serious consideration the state of the slaves in the colonies of Great Britain, in order to the mitigation and final abolition of slavery.” The motion was resisted by Government, and thrown out by a majority of 29, the numbers being 56 to 27; but Mr Brougham made a powerful speech on the occasion, which harrowed up the feelings of the humane throughout the country, and procured for him the representation of the West Riding of Yorkshire at the next election. This debate, though conducted in a very thin House, deserves to be noticed as the commencement of that vehement feeling on the subject of slavery in the country, which soon after, for good or for evil, forced on the unconditional measure of NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

56. Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on 23d July, and next day a proclamation for its dissolution appeared, the writs being returnable on 14th September. Never had the country been appealed to under such critical circumstances, or a fortuitous combination of events produced such momentous effects on the British Empire. The very day after the proclamation dissolving Parliament appeared in the *London Gazette*, the famous ordinances were signed by Charles X., and the contest began in the streets of Paris which terminated in the overthrow of the French monarchy. Incalculable were the results of this

* “The Whigs were determined not to have another personal quarrel with the Sovereign, and thus put themselves in a painful position when called to the presence of the Sovereign, and called to act in his name. Whatever might happen, therefore, they were resolved to be on good terms with the King, having experienced the mischief done to their party by their unhappy strife with his predecessor. Sir Robert Peel had indulged in panegyric on the late, Mr Brougham employed his powers in eulogising the new Sovereign. Nothing, therefore, was heard but a chorus of praise of the dead and the living.”—ROEBUCK, vol. i. p. 256.

fortuitous, perhaps providential, coincidence. The elections, which commenced in the end of July or beginning of August, took place during an excitement, in consequence of that event, which never had been paralleled, since the Great Rebellion, in English history. All hearts were moved, all minds fired, all sympathies awakened by it. The national disposition, grave and sedate on ordinary occasions, was then roused to a pitch almost of frenzy. It is in such characters that the passions, when once thoroughly excited, are ever the strongest and most irresistible. Unbounded was the enthusiasm excited in the whole middle classes, and a large part of the higher, by that great event. The English mind has ever been sympathetic with the cause of freedom all over the world. Warmly interested in the first French Revolution at its outset, and detached from it only by the excitement of the war and its own atrocities, it now lent itself without reserve to the great and comparatively bloodless effort in favour of liberty made in the neighbouring kingdom. The heroism displayed by the citizens during the conflict, the clemency and abstinence from pillage by which the triumph was at first distinguished, the celerity and completeness of the victory, diffused a universal enchantment. All ranks, though from different motives, joined in it. The ardent and philanthropic beheld with thankfulness a great triumph, almost unstained by human blood, achieved for the arms of freedom; the middle classes were elated by the prospect of a citizen-king being placed on the throne, and their armed representatives in the National Guard disposing of the Crown; the press was charmed at the sight of the editors of newspapers becoming Ministers of State; the Radicals were in transports at beholding a dynasty overthrown by a well-concerted urban revolt, and a monarch of the people's choice, "surrounded by republican institutions," assuming the reins of government. Fearful of the consequences, and trembling for themselves, the aristocratic leaders and far-

seeing of the educated classes kept aloof, and awaited the course of events before they declared decidedly on the subject: but their numbers were too few to weaken the universal transports; and the Liberal chiefs, to preserve the lead to which they had been accustomed, were compelled, often in secret against their will, to take the lead in the expression of the general enthusiasm.

57. This general excitement, which went on daily increasing for some months after the Revolution of 1830 took place, appeared with decisive effect upon the results of the elections. It was not the number of the victories gained by the Liberals so much as their character which was the decisive thing. Not one Cabinet Minister obtained a seat by anything like a popular election, while their opponents carried the greatest constituencies without a contest, or by triumphant majorities. Mr Brougham was returned without opposition for the West Riding of Yorkshire. "The squires," said he, "were all against me, but I canvassed the towns and villages, and soon convinced them that resistance was hopeless." Devonshire, after a violent contest, was won by Lord Ebrington, a decided Whig; and the support of the same party secured the other seat for the county to Sir Thomas Acland, a Liberal Tory. Middlesex brought in Mr Hume by a large majority, and in Cambridgeshire the old-established influence of the Rutland family was defeated in consequence of the indignation of the freeholders at the duke's vote in favour of the Catholics. These changes in the counties were nearly all owing to the strong opinion of the rural population on that question, and the ulcerated feelings with which they regarded those who, as they thought, had betrayed them. But in the great towns the result was the same, though springing from a general sense of suffering in consequence of the change of prices rather than from religious feelings. Liverpool returned Mr Huskisson and General Gascoigne, both hostile, though on different

grounds, to the Government. London, Westminster, Aylesbury, and nearly all the great towns, chose Opposition members. Even Mr Croker lost his seat for Dublin University. In the general result of the election, it was calculated that Ministers had lost fifty seats, making a difference of a hundred on a vote: and the character of the changes was even more serious than their number; for of the eighty-two county seats for England, only twenty-eight were ministerial; of thirteen great cities only three returned members in that interest; and upon the whole of two hundred and thirty-six seats, more or less open, only seventy-nine were ministerial, while a hundred and forty-one were in decided opposition, and sixteen neutral.

58. The enthusiasm excited by the French Revolution was no doubt one cause of this decisive change, especially in the great towns, where it was sedulously fostered in public meetings, headed by Whigs and Liberals of all sorts. But much was also owing to the deep heartburnings produced in the agricultural districts by the resistance of Government to every petition for relief, and the entire failure of Catholic emancipation to allay any of the disturbances, or alleviate any of the sufferings of Ireland. The English Protestant leaders pointed with triumph on the hustings to the example of that distracted country, as proving what might be expected when men deviated from the faith of their fathers. So far from being pacified, it was daily becoming more disturbed; so far from O'Connell having sunk into a *nisi prius* lawyer, he had become a more formidable chief of agitation than ever. Emancipation had become the platform on which the leaders of the movement planted their whole batteries for the demolition of the Protestant faith, and the severance of the connection with Great Britain. A new Catholic Association was formed under the title of "The Friends of Ireland, of all Religious Denominations," the avowed objects of which were a repeal of the Subletting Act, radical

reform in Parliament, and the repeal of the Union.

59. The Lord-Lieutenant put down this Association by proclamation, upon which Mr O'Connell counselled a general run upon the banks, and formed a new association under the title of "The Anti-Union Association." This, too, was forbidden by the Lord-Lieutenant, upon which O'Connell summoned it to meet under the significant title of "Association of *Irish Volunteers* for the Repeal of the Union." He told them in the most emphatic terms to look at France and Belgium for examples of what might be done when the people were determined, and enjoined petitions from every county, city, parish, and village in Ireland, for the repeal of the Union, and the severance of all connection between Church and State. This Association, too, was proclaimed down; but meanwhile the object was gained: agitation was kept up, the press daily became more inflamed, the people more excited; and these feelings having been roused to the highest pitch at the time the elections came on, a great number of seats, especially in counties, were lost to the Government, and handed over to the most violent of the repeal agitators. And thus Ministers at once lost numerous seats in the English counties from the indignation felt at the concession of Catholic emancipation; and as many in Ireland, from the ingratitude with which the gift was received.*

* During the heat of this controversy in Ireland, Mr O'Connell was challenged for some violent expressions he had used in regard to Sir Henry Hardinge, then Secretary for Ireland. He refused to fight, on the ground of a "vow registered in heaven" never again to shed the blood of man in single combat, in consequence of once having done so before; and certainly no reasonable or honourable man will reproach another with abstaining from the absurdity of adding one crime to another by superadding murder to insult; but those who adopt this course should be careful to observe the *justum moderamen* in their own language, and if they have been casually betrayed into an intemperate expression, immediately to make the proper reparation. Instead of this, O'Connell had no sooner registered his vow in heaven against fighting, than he proceeded to apply the most violent and slanderous expressions to all his opponents on earth. It was then

60. A melancholy catastrophe, which heralded in vast social changes, diverted for a brief period during this autumn the public attention in Great Britain from the important political revolutions in progress, both abroad and at home. On the 15th September, the Manchester and Liverpool Railway was opened, being the FIRST EVER CONSTRUCTED FOR TRAVELLING in the empire. As such, it excited a very great interest, for opinions were much divided as to the success of the attempt; and some of the most eminent scientific characters had confidently predicted that it would prove a failure, or that at all events the carriages, owing to the friction of the wheels on the rails, could never be brought to go *more than ten miles an hour*. The Duke of Wellington, Mr Huskisson, and several persons of the highest distinction, went to Liverpool to be present at the opening, and set out in ten carriages, three on the southern and seven on the northern line, but travelling in the same direction, and nearly abreast. It was deemed an astonishing effort that the carriage which conveyed the Duke went sometimes at the rate of *fifteen miles an hour*!

61. At Parkside station the carriages stopped, and Mr Huskisson and he first used his favourite expression, "base, bloody, and brutal," with regard to the Duke of Wellington and Mr Peel, who had earned for him emancipation. His conduct at this period is thus commented on by one of the ablest of the Liberal annalists: "The correspondence on occasion of this offence to Sir H. Hardinge settles the matter for ever about O'Connell's honour, and the possibility of having dealings with him as between man and man: and it is here referred to as evidence that all parties that afterwards courted him, or allied themselves with him more or less for political purposes, were not entitled to complain when he betrayed, insulted, or reviled them. That any terms should have been held with O'Connell by Government, English public, or gentlemen in or out of Parliament, after his present agitation for repeal, and his published correspondence with Sir H. Hardinge in Oct. 1830, is one of the moral disgraces of our time."—MISS MARTINEAU, ii. 8. These expressions are given as conveying the opinion of a Liberal historian of deserved reputation, and of her party on their eminent men, rather than the author's own; for certainly they evince a tendency to slide too much into the very fault which she so justly censures in O'Connell.

several of his friends got out. Some of them, with the kind intention of bringing the Duke of Wellington and Mr Huskisson together after their estrangement, led the latter round to that part of the train where the Duke was seated, who, as soon as he saw him, held out his hand to him, which was shaken cordially. At this instant the train containing the other gentlemen set off, coming up past them, and a general cry arose, "Get in, get in!" Mr Holmes, who was with Mr Huskisson, immediately, with great presence of mind, drew himself close up to the Duke's train, the only thing to be done in such a situation, and which insures perfect safety. Mr Huskisson unfortunately seized hold of one of the doors of the Duke's train, which was struck by a projecting part of the other train in passing, and swung round. This caused Mr Huskisson to swing round also, and he fell on the other line of rails, so that his right leg was passed over by the engine and instantly crushed. The only words he uttered were—"I have met my death; God forgive me." This unhappily proved too true. He was carried to Eccles, where the best medical advice was obtained, but in vain. He survived only a few hours in great pain, which he bore with unshrinking fortitude. He received the sacrament with Mrs Huskisson, and his last words were—"The country has had the best of me; I trust it will do justice to my public character. I regret not the few years that might have remained to me, except for those dear ones," added he, grasping Mrs Huskisson's hand, "whom I leave behind me." He expired a few minutes after, and was interred, after a public funeral, in the new cemetery at Liverpool on the 24th, amidst the tears of an immense concourse of spectators.

62. With this mournful catastrophe, and thus baptised in blood, did the railway system arise in England. Rapid beyond all human calculation was the progress which it made, and boundless beyond all human ken are the effects which it has produced. Like most of the discoveries destined to produce great and lasting changes on human

affairs, its introduction owed little to science, by which it was distrusted, or to art, by which it was feebly supported; and its effects, as is generally the case with great inventions, did not immediately develop themselves. But ere long they were fully made manifest, and they have now, in a manner, changed the whole face of society in the civilised world. Before the year 1850, no less than eleven hundred and eleven Acts of Parliament had been passed, to form new lines or extend old ones; and the capital authorised to be expended on them amounted to the enormous sum of £348,012,188; while, by the year 1861, the paid-up capital amounted to £362,327,338, and the miles actually open for traffio to 10,869.*

63. A considerable impulse was given to these undertakings in the years 1834 and 1835, which were distinguished by great commercial activity; but by far the greater part of the railways were set on foot during the joint-stock mania, which lasted from the beginning of 1845 to the end of 1847, during which the sums authorised to be raised by Acts of Parliament were above £230,000,000.† Not more than £200,000,000 of the whole sums expended on railways has proved productive, or yielded any return whatever; and above £150,000,000 has been absolutely lost in these undertakings, so far as the proprietors or the capital of the nation is concerned. It will appear in the sequel how powerfully this prodigious raising and expenditure of money came to influence the fortunes and destinies of the State;

what unbounded prosperity it produced at one time, and what terrible disasters at another; and how this great excitement, coinciding with the existing monetary system, which encouraged speculations at first, and withdrew the means of completing them at last, landed the nation in a series of difficulties, from which it was only extricated by events in the western and southern hemispheres, so timely and important that they can only be ascribed to Divine interposition.

64. But the effects of the railway system have not been confined merely to the industrial and monetary concerns of the nation, great and lasting as these effects have been. It has produced social and political results of the very highest importance, and which, like other things in this world, have been partly salutary and partly pernicious. It has in a great measure destroyed space, and brought the most distant parts of the empire into comparatively close proximity with its great cities and metropolis. In this way it has, to a most surprising degree, equalised the circumstances of the different parts of the country, and deprived the immediate neighbourhood of the capital and large towns of the exclusive advantages which they have so long enjoyed. The markets of London are supplied with beef from Aberdeenshire, pork from Ireland, and vegetables and milk from the midland counties of England, as regularly as they used to be from the fields of Surrey or the downs of Sussex. Immense and en-

* PROGRESS OF RAILWAYS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM SINCE 1847.

Years.	Length of Lines.	Paid-up Capital.	Passengers.	Traffic Receipts.	Working Expenses.	Net Receipts.
	Miles.	£	Nos.	£	£	£
1847,	3,945	166,938,241	51,352,163	8,510,886	No return.	No return.
1851,	6,890	248,240,896	85,391,095	14,997,459	Do.	Do.
1856,	8,707	307,595,086	129,347,592	23,165,491	10,837,456	12,328,035
1861,	10,869	362,327,338	173,773,218	28,565,355	13,843,337	14,722,018

—*Statistical Abstract*, Nos. IX. 72, and X. 90

† Viz.—1845,	.	.	.	.	.	£60,824,088
1846,	.	.	.	.	.	132,096,224
1847,	.	.	.	.	.	40,397,395

£233,317,707

—*PORTER'S Progress of the Nation* (3d edition), 327.

tirely beneficial have been the effects of this equalisation; and they have already become most conspicuous in the improved cultivation and extended resources of the distant parts of the empire. Nor have the moral and social effects of the increased facilities of communication been less important, or less conducive to human happiness. By reducing to a third the expense, and to a fourth the time of travelling, they have extended its benefits to a proportionally wider circle, and, in particular, brought them within the reach of the middle class, to whom they were previously almost unknown. A tradesman or mechanic can now make the tour of the British Islands, or even of Europe, in a few weeks, which formerly was never attempted but by the nobility, and accomplished in as many years. Immense has been the effect of this happy facility, alike in dispelling prejudice, refining manners, and improving taste; and these changes have powerfully reacted upon capital cities. It is from the railway system, and the desires to which it gave rise among a new and wide circle, that the Great Exhibitions of London in 1851 and 1862, those at New York and Paris, and the glorious Crystal Palace at Sydenham, have taken their rise.

65. In a political point of view, the effects of the railway system have been not less important. By bringing the distant provinces of our empire, comparatively speaking, into close proximity with the metropolis, it has augmented their intelligence, and in the same proportion increased their political power. The constant intercourse from travelling, the increased facility for the transmission of books and newspapers, the almost instantaneous transmission of intelligence by the electric telegraph, which soon after followed, have powerfully contributed to equalise the advantages of situation, and give to the provinces a large portion, if not the whole, of the intellectual activity which formerly was peculiar to the metropolis. By enabling troops or police to be sent rapidly from one part of the country to

another, it has augmented the efficiency of the central government, and permitted it to provide with fewer men, and at a less cost, both for defence against external enemies, and the maintenance of domestic tranquillity. That worst of all ascendancies in a community, the sway of the mob of the capital over the Legislature, from the mere force of proximity of situation, so fatally experienced in Athens, Rome, and Paris, has been in a great measure destroyed. A more striking proof of this cannot be figured than was furnished by the fact, that when the disarmament of the National Guard in Belleville and Montmartre was carried into execution, after the suppression of the great insurrection in July 1848, it was effected by the *National Guards of La Vendée*, brought up by the Orleans railway from that distant and secluded province.

66. There is no unmixed good, however, in human affairs, save that arising from the exercise of virtue. Advantages, how great soever, are invariably attended by corresponding evils. The railway system is no exception to this general rule; on the contrary, it affords one of the most striking illustrations of it. It is the greatest promoter that ever came into operation of the *centralising system*; but it has induced its evils as well as its advantages. As much as it has brought the physical force of the provinces to the support of Government in the capital, has it brought the intellectual influence of the metropolis down to the provinces. The chief talent of the nation being there concentrated, from the objects of ambition, political, literary, or legal, which are presented, the sway of mind in a particular quarter has become wellnigh irresistible. The empire has become a huge metropolis, which the London press rules with despotic sway. Originality or independence of thought in the provinces is crushed in all save a few intrepid minds, by the overwhelming weight of the capital.

67. Nor has the material and political influence of great cities been less increased by the change than their intellectual sway. The facility of reaching

the metropolis has caused the great and the affluent to transfer nearly all their purchases to London; the attractions of Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow, have drawn the most part of the purchases of the middle classes in the provinces to these great emporiums of wealth and industry. The small towns have dwindled, or become stationary, because they have lost their purchasers; the great ones have swelled into Babylons, because they have tripled theirs. Politically speaking, the change has been of incalculable importance. The landed proprietors have ceased to influence the small boroughs, because all their purchases are made in the great ones, or the metropolis. The great manufacturing towns have become the rulers, because it is from them that the employment which feeds the lesser towns flows. The only influence which can be reckoned on as durable is that which gives bread or employment. When it is recollected that three-fifths of the House of Commons consist of the members for boroughs, it may be conceived how important an influence this change has come to have on the balance of parties in the State.

68. Experience has not yet enabled us fully to determine what influence the railway system, when generally introduced, is fitted to have on military operations—the attack or defence of nations; for the first great wars which broke out after its introduction—viz., those in Italy and Hungary in 1849, and Turkey in 1854—took place in countries where it had not been at all, or only partially introduced. But the Italian campaign of 1859, and those in America in 1861, 1862, and 1863, have thrown very considerable light on the subject. It is usually considered as having strengthened the means of defence rather than attack, by facilitating the concentration of troops, which it certainly does, on the menaced point. Yet must this be taken with some limitations; for if it facilitates the concentration of the defending, it in an equal degree aids the accumulation of the attacking force: if it will bring the military strength of all France in three days to the menaced

point in Belgium or the Rhine, it will not less certainly bring the whole invading force of Germany in as short a time to the same point. Louis Napoleon afforded a remarkable example of this, by the rapid transfer of the bulk of his army from the right to the left of the theatre of war in the opening of the campaign of 1859 in Lombardy. If generally introduced into Russia, railways would double the already great military strength of the Czar, by more than halving the distance which his troops have to march, and rendering the translation of them from the Baltic to the Euxine, or from Poland to the Caucasus, the work of a few days only, and of no fatigue or loss to the men.

69. Undoubtedly, however, upon the whole, it favours the arms of civilisation in a contest with barbarism; for it requires an effort of skill and expenditure of capital for its general adoption which can only be looked for in a wealthy and enlightened state. If it is equally adopted by two countries in a similar state of civilisation, as France and Germany, and *suffered to exist*, it may cause war to resemble more closely a game at chess, by enabling the players to make the moves at pleasure. But if one, when invaded, has the courage or the patriotic spirit to break up the system, it may give a very great, perhaps a decisive advantage, to the party making the sacrifice; for if the retiring army tears up the railway lines and breaks down the bridges which have been passed in its retreat, it retains the advantages of the system to itself, and takes them away from its opponent. This was repeatedly evinced in the American war in 1861, 1862, and 1863, where, as railroads or great rivers were the chief, often the only, means of communication, their destruction or obstruction became an essential object to the contending parties, and the power of doing so more than once saved the Confederates from ruin. In this way railways may be rendered an essential element in the defence, and important in maintaining the independence of nations. Probably, to take advantage of it, fortresses will come hereafter to

be constructed in the heart rather than the frontiers of kingdoms, in order that an invading enemy may find his own facilities diminish, and the forces of his adversary increase, as he approaches the centre of his power.

70. Before the great strife of parties began in Parliament, symptoms of discontent, attended with some danger and more alarm, began in some of the agricultural counties. Many of the numerous county petitions, which had been presented on the subject of agricultural distress for some years past, had predicted that, if some measures calculated to afford relief were not adopted, it would be impossible to prevent the working classes from breaking into open acts of violence. This prediction was now too fatally verified. The disturbances began in Kent, from whence they rapidly spread to Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Buckinghamshire. Night after night new conflagrations were lighted up by bands of incendiaries; corn-stacks, barns, farm-buildings, and live cattle, were indiscriminately consumed. Bolder bands attacked mills and demolished machinery; thrashing-mills were in an especial manner the object of their hostility. During October and November, these acts of incendiarism became so frequent as to excite universal alarm. The first rioters who were seized were treated, from feelings of humanity, with undue lenity by the county magistrates, which, of course, augmented the disorders; and it was not till severe examples had been made, by a special commission sent into the disturbed districts, and a large body of military was quartered in them, that they were at length put down. From what came out at the trials, it did not appear that these outrages had been the result of any general political design against the Government, but had rather arisen from great distress among the working classes, stimulated into acts of violence by the example of successful revolution at Paris, and similar acts of Jacobin atrocity in Normandy, where they had been very frequent. The Duke of Richmond stated the truth

when he said in Parliament, "I believe a feeling now exists among the labouring classes, that your lordships and the upper classes of society are to be regarded rather as their foes than their friends."

71. Parliament met on the 26th October; but some days having been consumed in swearing in members, the session was not opened till the 2d November. On that day, the King's speech alluded slightly to the recent overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon in France, but more specifically to foreign events in Belgium and Portugal. "The elder branch of the house of Bourbon no longer reigns in France; and the Duke of Orleans has been called to the throne by the title of King of the French. Having received from the new sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and maintain inviolate all the engagements with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the French court. I have viewed with deep regret the state of affairs in the Low Countries. I lament that the enlightened administration of the King of the Netherlands should not have preserved his dominions from revolt; and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the complaints and desires of his people to an extraordinary meeting of the States-General should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavouring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other states. I have not yet accredited my ambassador to the court of Lisbon; but the Portuguese Government having determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity, by the grant of a general amnesty, I think that the time may shortly arrive when the interests of my subjects will demand a renewal of those relations which have so long subsisted between the two countries. I place, without reserve,

at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues, and in those funds which may arise from any droits of the Crown or of the Admiralty, from the West India duties, or from any casual revenue, either in my foreign possessions or in the United Kingdom."

72. These words were of deep and important significance as regarded the policy which the Duke of Wellington's administration was prepared to pursue in reference to the important political changes then taking place, or which had recently occurred on the continent of Europe. But these changes, great as they were, did not form the all-absorbing object of public interest. It was domestic change which was the object of universal desire; it was on reform in Parliament that all hearts were set. Foreign affairs were regarded with interest almost entirely as they bore on this vital question; and, accordingly, on the very first day of the session, the two leaders of the opposite parties, Earl Grey and the Duke of Wellington, delivered their opinions on it in terms which have become memorable in English history. The former said: "We ought to learn wisdom from what is passing before our eyes; and when the spirit of liberty is breaking out all around, it is our first duty to secure our own institutions, by introducing into them a temperate reform. I have been a reformer all my life, and on no occasion have I been inclined to go further than I am prepared to go now, if an opportunity were to offer. But I do not found the title to demand it on abstract right. We are told that every man who pays taxes—nay, that every man arrived at the years of discretion—has right to a vote for representatives. That right I utterly deny. The right of the people is to have good government, one that is calculated to secure their privileges and happiness; and if that is incompatible with universal or very general suffrage, then the limitation, and not the extension, is the true right of the people."

73. The Duke of Wellington answered, in words which have become

memorable from the revolution in the constitution which they undoubtedly contributed, if not to create, at least to accelerate: "The noble Earl (Grey) has recommended us not only to put down these disturbances, but to put the country in a state to meet and overcome the dangers which are likely to arise from the late transactions in France, by the adoption of something like parliamentary reform. The noble Earl has stated that he is not prepared himself to come forward with any measure of the kind; and I will tell him further, neither is the Government. Nay, I will go further, and say that I have not heard of any measure, up to this moment, which could in any way satisfy my mind, or by which the state of the representation could be improved, or placed on a footing more satisfactory to the people of this country than it now is. I will say that I am thoroughly convinced that England possesses at this moment a legislature which answers all the good purposes of a legislature, in a higher degree than any scheme of government whatever has ever been found to do in any country in the world; that it possesses the confidence of the country; that it deservedly possesses that confidence; and that its decisions have justly the greatest weight and influence with the people. Nay, I will go yet further, and say that if, at this moment, I had to form a legislature for any country, particularly for one like this, in the possession of great property of various descriptions, although, perhaps, I should not form one precisely such as we have, I would endeavour to produce something which should give the same result—viz., a representation of the people, containing a large body of the property of the country, and in which the great landed proprietors have a preponderating influence. Further still, I beg to state, that not only is the Government not prepared to bring forward any measure of this description, but, in so far as I am concerned, while I have the honour to hold the situation which I now do

among his Majesty's councillors, I shall always feel it my duty to oppose any such measures when brought forward by others."

74. Such was the Duke of Wellington's famous declaration against reform, which immediately blew up the smouldering elements of innovation in the nation into a flame. No words from any statesman in English history produced such an impression. The transports became universal; all ranks were involved in it; all heads, save a few of the strongest and most far-seeing, swept away by it. Nearly all classes, though from different motives, had concurred in desiring reform, and with the characteristic dogged resolution of the English character, all, now that it was refused, resolved to have it. The High-Church party wished to raise a barrier against the Roman Catholics, against whom experience had shown the existing constitution afforded no sufficient security; the old Tories desired reform, because it would, as they hoped, restore the influence of landed property in the Legislature, and open the doors of Parliament to the petitions for agricultural relief; the Radicals longed for it, as a stepping-stone for themselves to supreme power; the great towns were unanimous for it, as conferring upon them their just share in the government of the country. The Whigs in secret were, for the most part, adverse to the change, as likely to undermine the influence by which they had, for a century after the Revolution, governed the country; but the current of public opinion was so strong that they, as popular leaders, were obliged to go along with it, and in public stand forth as the chief promoters of the desired change. The only considerable body in the State who steadily opposed reform in the abstract were the holders of the close boroughs, and the members whom they had introduced into Parliament; but their numbers were too inconsiderable to form any counterpoise to the formidable phalanx arrayed on the other side; and such as they were, their numbers had been lessened

to an unprecedented extent by the result of the last elections, conducted under the pressure of internal distress, and the fervour of the French Revolution.

75. This strange, and, in English history, unprecedented combination of parties in favour of reform, appeared on the very first night of the session in the House of Commons. There was no division on the Address; but in the course of the debate on it, Mr Brougham gave notice of a motion on the subject on the 16th November. He said "he had been described by one party as intending to bring forward a very limited, and therefore a very useless and insignificant plan; by another he was said to be the friend of a radical, sweeping, and innovating, and I may add—for I conscientiously believe it would prove so—a revolutionary reform. Both these schemes I disavow. I stand on the ancient ways of the constitution. To explain at this moment what I mean by that, would be inconvenient, indeed impossible; but my object in bringing forward this question is not revolution, but restoration; to repair the constitution, not to pull it down." From the manner in which this announcement was received by the old Tories, it was evident that a most formidable coalition of parties was likely to take place upon it.* "I must be allowed," said

* Mr Brougham's plan of reform, which was laid before his party on 13th November, was as follows—a curious commentary on his assertion, that he "was determined to stand on the ancient ways of the constitution."

1. All copyholders and landholders to have votes.

2. All householders also to have votes, regardless of the rent or value of the house.

3. The great towns, such as Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, and others, to have members.

4. All the rotten boroughs to be deprived each of half their present members, leaving at least one member to each.

5. All out-voters in towns to be disfranchised, but they still to have votes in counties.

6. Freemen to vote, if resident in the borough for six months.

7. Elections in all cases to be concluded in one day.

8. The House to be of five hundred mem-

Lord Winchelsea, who represented that body, "to say, that if the assertion of the noble Duke (Wellington), made on a former night relative to parliamentary reform, was framed with a view of conciliating and gaining the support of the noble and high-minded persons with whom he had been usually united, I can tell the noble Duke he might as well attempt to take high heaven by storm. These are times of danger and peril, in which we require to see efficient men at the head of the Government of the country. Now we see the consequence of having, not long since, given up a great question, not upon the ground of justice or equity, but upon that of fear. So far from creating confidence, the yielding up of that question has created a feeling of distrust in the minds of the people. They no longer rely on the Government to afford them redress, or to mitigate their sufferings; they know that Ministers will grant nothing but upon compulsion. I am one of those who feel the necessity of having competent men at the head of the administration in the present situation of the country; and I feel bound to say, that those who compose the higher branches of his Majesty's Government at this moment, are not, in my opinion, worthy of the confidence of the people in this hour of imminent peril."

76. When such was the language of the most steady and consistent supporters of Government in former times, it was evident that its overthrow was only a question of time; and the whole

bers; Ireland in that event to have eighty members, Scotland forty-five.—BROUGHAM'S MS., given in ROEBUCK, vol. i. pp. 420, 421.

This is what Mr Brougham called *Stare super antiquas vias*. His panegyrist Mr Roebuck more correctly designated it when he said, "By this scheme the whole character of the House of Commons would have been changed."—ROEBUCK, I. 421. Undoubtedly it would have been so. Household suffrage in the boroughs—that is, in three-fifths of the House—was "the class government of the labouring classes;" that is, revolution. The £10 clause in the Reform Bill avoided this danger, but only by running the nation into another—viz., the class government of shopkeepers, under which we have since lived.

attention of parties, and of the country, was fixed on the question, on what point the decisive division was to take place. A fortuitous event, however, accelerated the catastrophe somewhat sooner than was expected. It had been an ancient custom for the monarchs of England to partake, soon after their accession to the throne, of the splendid hospitality of the City of London; and on this occasion the day was fixed for the 9th November, being the one on which the lord mayor elect came into office. Magnificent preparations had been made for the monarch's reception, and all London was in anxious expectation of the splendid procession, when, on the evening of the 7th, the lord mayor received a note from the Home Secretary, stating that, in consequence of information recently received, there was reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty of the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of the nocturnal assemblage to create tumult and confusion, and endanger the lives of the people. The truth was, that the new police, which has proved so great a blessing to the metropolis, had lately come into operation; and the thieves and vagabonds of London, perceiving the difference between its energetic bands and the drowsy old watchmen who had preceded it, had been indefatigable in their endeavours to get up a tumult to overthrow these hated bands, and fixed on the day of the King's entry of the City for the execution of their design. Thousands of hand-bills had been printed and circulated, calling on the people to come armed on the occasion;* and in

* "To arms! Liberty or death!

"London meets on Tuesday next; an opportunity not to be lost for revenging the wrongs we have suffered so long. *Come armed*; be firm, and victory must be ours.—AN ENGLISHMAN." "Englishmen, Britons, and honest men! the time has at length arrived, and all London meets on Tuesday. *Come armed*; we assure you, from ocular demonstration, six thousand cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the immediate use of Peel's bloody gang. Remember the cursed speech from the throne. These damned police are to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?"—*Ann. Reg.* pp. 159, 160.

addition to the contemplated riot in the streets, it was intended to attack the Duke of Wellington's house while the police were absent in other quarters, in order to give a political colour to the disturbance.

77. Immense was the effect of this announcement upon the already excited minds of the metropolis. The most alarming reports were immediately in circulation, that a vast conspiracy had been discovered; that we were on the edge of a terrible convulsion; that the Revolt of the Barricades was to be re-enacted that very day in the streets of London. The citizens looked to the bolts and bars of their doors; the more courageous laid in arms, and prepared for resistance: the shutters were lined with iron plates, and iron blinds were hastily run up. Such was the general consternation that in two hours the Funds fell $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Before the end of the week the panic had subsided, when it was seen that no outbreak took place, and that the excessive alarm had been in a great measure unfounded. But with that reaction commenced a new set of feelings still more damaging to the Government. Ashamed of their own fears, and of the ridiculous length to which they had been carried, the citizens were fain to throw the responsibility for them upon the Ministers; and those who had a few days before been loudest in exaggeration of the danger, were now foremost in proclaiming its entire groundlessness, and the culpable timidity of the Government which had yielded to such unfounded alarms.

78. The Liberal chiefs in Parliament made a skilful use of the consternation produced by this event. "I regret much," said Mr Brougham, "the appearance of the letter of this morning. I regret it on account of the mischief which it is certain to cause in the mercantile world, and still more from the connection which it has with the fatal speech from the throne, and the still more fatal speech of the Duke of Wellington against every species of reform—a declaration to which I con-

scientiously believe he owes nine-tenths of his present unpopularity. I wish that that declaration had not been made. I wish also that I had not lived to see the day when a forgetfulness of the invaluable services in the field, which have won for the Duke of Wellington, as a soldier, a general, and a conqueror, a great, brilliant, and imperishable renown, coupled with a deviation by the noble Duke from his proper sphere into the labyrinth of politics—I wish to heaven I had not lived to see the day when the forgetfulness of the people of the merits of the soldier, and the forgetfulness of the soldier of his own proper sphere of greatness, display to England, to Europe, and to the world, that he cannot accompany his Majesty on his journey into the hearts of an attached and loyal population."

79. It was now evident to all the world that the downfall of the Wellington Ministry was at hand, and the only question was on what point they should make their election to be beaten. Three important questions stood for early discussion—the Civil List, Parliamentary Reform, and Negro Slavery—of the two last of which notices of motion had been given by Mr Brougham, and the former stood for the 16th of November. Ministers, with great propriety, resolved to retire on the first, on which they foresaw they would be beaten, because, by so doing, they avoided implicating the Crown or themselves upon the all-important national questions which remained behind. The debate came on upon the 16th November, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved in common form that the House do resolve itself into a committee on the Civil List, whereupon Sir Henry Parnell moved as an amendment, "that a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the estimates and accounts printed by command of his Majesty regarding the Civil List." The debate was a very short one, but it was distinguished by one significant circumstance. Three old Tories—Mr Banks, Mr Wynn, and Mr Holm-

Sumner — spoke in favour of Sir H. Parnell's motion, and against the Government. On a division there appeared 233 for the amendment, and 204 against it, giving a majority of TWENTY-NINE against Ministers. Mr Hobhouse immediately asked Sir Robert Peel * whether Ministers intended to retain office after this expression of

the sentiments of the House, to which he properly declined to give any answer at the time; but the next day the Duke of Wellington announced in the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, that they held office only till their successors were appointed.

on the death of his father, at the reverend age of eighty.

* He had lately succeeded to the baronetcy

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